



C. IULI CAESARIS COMMENTARII

RERUM IN GALLIA GESTARUM

VII

A. HIRTI COMMENTARIUS VIII.

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

This edition is intended not only for teachers and pupils, but also for general readers who may wish to become acquainted with Caesar's masterpiece and for scholars who have not time or inclination to read my larger books. The critical notes are printed along with the others at the foot of the text, where they will be more easily understood than if they were relegated to a critical appendix; and the references which they contain will enable any one who may wish to specialize to pursue his researches further. I have taken account of all the relevant works that have appeared in England and America and on the Continent since the completion of the second edition of my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*; and in a few cases I have modified or supplemented statements which I made there.

There is no more interesting Latin book for boys than Caesar's account of the Gallic war, provided that they will give their minds to it and that they have the help of a good teacher, who realizes the obligation of keeping far ahead of his class. Young pupils, it is true, can read so little at one time that interest in the story, as such, can hardly, unaided, be sustained. Even Macaulay's Essays might be dull if they were read by a foreigner, with a dictionary, at the rate of a single paragraph a day. But the difficulty is only apparent. Before the study of this book, or of any of the separate editions which I have prepared of each Commentary, is begun, I would recommend teachers to make their pupils read Part I of my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* and the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of my *Ancient Britain*, or, if this

should be impracticable, to read them aloud themselves. I feel less diffidence in making this suggestion because it has been made already by well-known critics as well as by the Curricula Committee of the Classical Association, and because the books which I have named have been in part translated into German for the use of schools. If, before a boy begins to grapple with Caesar's Latin, he has got a general notion of the whole story, he will work with far more heart.

The principle to which I have adhered in writing my notes has been to avoid giving any information which the learner can easily acquire for himself through the medium of grammar, dictionary, or such other books as he may fairly be supposed to have. My aim has been not to save him the labour—if I had done so he would only have been bored—but to let him feel the pleasure of thinking; and I have therefore tried, as far as was possible with due regard to space, to appeal to his reason,—not only to state results, but to enable him to follow the steps by which they were attained. Merely inform a pupil that Alesia was situated on Mont Auxois, and you will profit him little, for cut-and-dried information is indigestible; but make him understand that it was there and that to suppose that it was anywhere else involves absurdities, and you will set his intellect to work. I desire indeed to appeal not only to the learner's reason but also to his scepticism and his latent critical acumen. I should be glad to hear that he had tried to pick holes in my arguments; for I do not wish him to accept them until he is convinced that they are sound. For the benefit of any one who may be disposed to test them, I have given at the end of various notes references to my larger books; and I hope that some readers may feel moved to gain such a mastery of the subject as is unattainable with a succinct commentary.

The High Master of St. Paul's School, to whom I am grateful, has read nearly all my manuscript; and, after considering his suggestions, I wrote some additional notes, struck out one or two, and modified a few others; but he is not responsible for anything which this book contains.

I have thought it right to confine myself in the notes to explaining Caesar's text. Various historical comments and other remarks which may be helpful, but which would have been out of place in an edition of the *Commentaries*, are to be found in Part I of my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (second edition) and of *Ancient Britain*.

Some readers may perhaps find opportunities of exploring the scenes of Caesar's more important operations; for when one finds oneself, say, at Martigny or upon the plateau of Alesia, the chapters in which Caesar describes what happened there become more vivid than even the best maps and plans can make them. I have given on pages 447–8 directions as to the best way of reaching the various places which I have in mind.

It is now usual in English schools to read the classics in snippets, partly, I suppose, in order that boys may become acquainted with many authors before they leave school. But by following this plan they cannot become intimate with any. One may read Macaulay's essay on Clive with profit even if one ignores all the others; but to read the ninth chapter only of his *History of England* would not be wise. Moreover, there is no reason, apart from the consideration of what subjects are most remunerative, why Caesar should only be used as an elementary text-book. It cannot be read with the maximum of profit by a young boy, and it ought to be read rapidly through, at least once, by the highest form in the school. In saying this I have the support of the late High Master of St. Paul's, who told me that

when he was High Master of Manchester Grammar School he read the whole work with his best pupils. Apart from the mere interpretation of the Latin, which requires far more scholarship than is commonly supposed, the book demands, for its full comprehension, at least such an elementary knowledge of Roman history as may be acquired from the late Professor Pelham's masterly *Outlines*. Furthermore, it demands intelligence sufficiently developed to understand the exposition of ethnological, social, religious, and political questions; and this demand can hardly be satisfied by the Fourth Form.

In conclusion let me translate an extract from a letter relating to Caesar, which Mommsen wrote in 1894 to Dr. Heinrich Meusel:—'The noble work deserves all the labour that can be spent upon it. The enormous difference between these Commentaries and everything else that is called Roman History cannot be adequately realized.'

11 DOURO PLACE,
KENSINGTON, W.
November 13, 1913.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

[1] Reproduced by the kind permission of Dr. H. Meusel.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. = Rice Holmes's *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 1907.

A. C. S. = A. Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz.*

A. J. = *Archaeological Journal.*

B. ph. W. = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.*

C. G. = Rice Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 2nd ed., 1911.

C. I. L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

C. J. = *Classical Journal* (Chicago).

Cl. Ph. = *Classical Philology* (Chicago).

C. Q. = *Classical Quarterly.*

C. R. = *Classical Review.*

C. S. = A. Klotz's *Cäsarstudien.*

D. R. R. = G. Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic.*

D. S. = Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.*

G. C. = Stoffel's *Histoire de Jules César*,—*Guerre civile.*

G. K. = A. von Göler's *Caesars Gallischer Krieg*, 2nd ed., 1880.

H. G. = C. Jullian's *Histoire de la Gaule.*

H. R. = Th. Mommsen's *History of Rome.*

J. B. = *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin.*

L. C. = H. Meusel's *Lexicon Caesarianum.*

N. J. = *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, &c.

N. ph. R. = *Neue philologische Rundschau.*

Ph. = *Philologus.*

Ph. Suppl. = *Philologus, Supplementband.*

P. S. A. = *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

R. E. A. = *Revue des études anciennes.*

Rh. M. = *Rheinisches Museum.*

S. P. A. = *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Th. l. L. = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae.*

Tr. = Rice Holmes's *Caesar's Commentaries . . . translated into English.*

W. kl. Ph. = *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.*

Z. G. = *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen.*

Z. ö. Gy. = *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien.*

HOW AND WHEN CAESAR WROTE THE *COMMENTARIES*

THE *Commentaries on the Gallic War* were published not later than 46 B.C., for Cicero notices them with admiration in his *Brutus* (75, § 262), which appeared in that year. Most probably indeed they were both written and published several years earlier; for it is more than unlikely that Caesar would have had time for literary composition during the intense labour of the civil war, and moreover, as Mommsen says (*Hist. of Rome*, v, 1894, p. 499), the book was doubtless intended [at least in part] to justify before the Roman public what Caesar had done in Gaul. I will explain this in discussing the trustworthiness of the narrative.

There are two main theories about the way in which Caesar composed his book. Some critics believe that he wrote each commentary year by year, after the campaign which it described: others that he wrote the whole seven —for it must be remembered that the eighth was written by his friend, Aulus Hirtius—in the winter of 52–51 B.C. or in the year 50. The latter view is supported by Hirtius, who says (Praef., § 6), *ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecerit scimus* ('others know the flawless excellence of his work; I know more—how easily and rapidly it was done'). If this remark is not absolutely inconsistent with the supposition that each commentary was written in the winter that followed the campaign which it described, the natural meaning is that the whole was the result of one continuous effort. The statement of Hirtius, who was one of Caesar's most intimate friends, and probably also his literary secretary, is the only original testimony that we have, and must be accepted unless it can be shown to be inconsistent with facts. Some critics think that it is. In ii, 28, § 1 we read that 'the Nervian people . . . was brought to the verge of extinction', whereas in v, 39–42

we are told that they vigorously attacked Quintus Cicero, and in vii, 75, § 3 Caesar says that they were called upon to contribute 6,000 men to the army which attempted to relieve Vercingetorix. Again, in vi, 2, § 3 Caesar affirms that 'all the Cisrhenane Germans', who included the Segni and Condrusi, were in arms against him: in vi, 31, §§ 1–2 he implies that these two tribes proved their innocence. But many of the Nervians who fought against Cicero had doubtless been too young to fight three years before; the statement that the tribe was wellnigh exterminated may have been only a rhetorical flourish, based upon misleading reports, which Caesar or his secretary had not had time or inclination to sift; and the inconsistency between vi, 2 and vi, 31 only proves that he did not thoroughly revise his work. Even real inconsistencies, which are very few, can be accounted for by hasty use of discordant materials, lapse of memory, or mere carelessness.

It may be regarded, then, as certain that Caesar wrote the *Commentaries* after the campaign of 52 B.C.; and the only question is whether he wrote them in the winter following that campaign or later. I am not sure that he would have had time to write them in the winter; for from the very beginning of 51 he was hard at work, campaigning against the Bituriges and other tribes. Mommsen, indeed, argues (*Hist. of Rome*, v, 1895, p. 499, n. 1) that the book must have been not only written but published before the end of 51, because in vii, 6, § 1 Caesar 'approves the exceptional laws [passed under the influence of Pompey] of 702' (52 B.C.), and he could not have done this after his rupture with Pompey, when he reversed certain judgements which were based upon those laws. But why should not the publication have taken place in 50 B.C.,—the year before that in which the civil war began? It seems to me most probable that it did, for this was the only year between Caesar's first consulship and the last year of his life in which he was not fighting; and, as far as we know, he was then comparatively at leisure (*Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 202–10). See p. 436.

THE TEXT OF THE *COMMENTARIES*

EVERY one who can read the *Commentaries* with interest will want to know how far the manuscripts in which they have been handed down to us correspond with what Caesar wrote; for if he will think, he will see that none of them correspond with it exactly, and that although scholars have been trying ever since 1469, when the first printed edition was published, to remove the errors, many must still and always will remain. The oldest of the extant manuscripts was written fully 900 years after the book was first put into circulation. Now, however careful a scribe may be, he can hardly avoid making some mistakes in copying out a written book; the scribe who copies his copy will make more; and so on. Even contemporary copies of Caesar's original manuscript doubtless contained mistakes. Cicero[1] complains that books sold by the booksellers of Rome had been carelessly copied; and, notwithstanding all the care of proof-readers, few modern books are entirely free from printers' errors. Besides, a manuscript might pass into the hands of a reader who would make notes on the margin; and if another copy were to be made from the one which contained these notes, the copyist might be misled into incorporating them in the text. Thus two kinds of mistakes would gradually find their way in. An example of the latter kind—*nocte intermissa*—will be found in i. 27, § 4. An example of the other shows how even a very careful copyist might go astray. In viii, 32, § 2 the famous stronghold, Uxellodunum, is mentioned for the first time. *Uxellodunum* was only written by the copyist in two of the good manuscripts: the rest have *auxilio dunum*, which, as every one will see, is nonsense. Can you imagine how this curious blunder was made? In this way. In some manuscript a reader wrote either in the margin or above *uxcllodunum* (not *Uxellodunum*, for even proper names were written with small initial letters) the words *a. uxillodunum*, and by *a.*, which was an

[1] *Q. fr.*, iii, 5-6, § 6.

abbreviation, he meant *aliter*, 'otherwise'. He wished to show that besides *uxellodunum* there was another spelling, *uxillodunum*. This manuscript passed into the hands of a copyist who misunderstood the abbreviation *a.* and wrote *auxillo dunum*, and as *l* might easily be mistaken for *i*, somebody else wrote *auxilio dunum*.

A great many manuscripts of Caesar exist; but only nine or ten of them are now considered good. They are divided into two groups, known as α and β, and generally believed to be derived from a common original, or archetype, which is called *X*. Each manuscript is called by a letter, which is here prefixed to the full name:—

A = codex Bongarsianus (or Amstelodamensis 81) of the ninth or tenth century.

B = Parisinus I (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 5763, ninth or tenth century).

M = Vaticanus (Vatican, 3864, tenth century).

Q = Moysiacensis (Paris, Bibl. nat., 5056, twelfth century).

S = Ashburnhamianus (Bibl. Laurent. R. 33, tenth century).

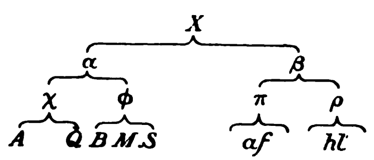
a = Parisinus II or Thuaneus (Paris, Bibl. nat., 5764, eleventh century).

f = Vindobonensis I (Bibl. Vindob. [Vienna], 95, twelfth century).

h = Ursinianus (Vatican, 3324, eleventh century).

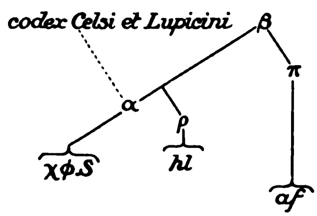
l = Riccardianus (Bibl. Riccard. [Florence], 541, eleventh or twelfth century).

H. Meusel traces the pedigree of these MSS. as follows:



To φ may be added the best manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 10,084), which is known as Lovaniensis and referred to as *L*. I have published a collation of this manuscript in the *Classical Quarterly* of July, 1911, and Meusel has estimated its value in *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1912, pp. 15–18.

Professor A. Klotz (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1910, pp. 224–34) thinks that the foregoing pedigree, which has been generally accepted, is incorrect. He believes, with Professor B. Kübler, that the archetype of all the extant MSS. was a copy belonging to β, and that α is descended from a copy belonging to the same group, in which readings from a manuscript of the sixth century, published by two editors—Julius Celsus Constantinus and Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus—were inserted. Accordingly Klotz has constructed this pedigree, which, in the opinion of Meusel (*Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1912, pp. 18–21), may possibly be right:—



The two groups, α and β, differ from each other about 1,500 times; and an editor cannot do without either. But when they differ and neither is obviously wrong, how is he to decide between them? Simply, in most cases, by considering the context or by carefully noting Caesar's use of language in passages in which the two groups agree. This laborious task has been performed by various critics, notably by three German scholars, Rudolf Schneider, Meusel, and Alfred Klotz. Let me give one or two examples. In v, 35, § 5 α has (cum a prima luce ad horam octavam) *pugnaretur*; β has *pugnassent*. The former is preferable because Caesar in describing the duration of a battle almost always uses the passive. In vii, 64, § 2 αh have (peditatu quem ante) *habuerat* (se fore contentum dicit); while the rest of the β MSS. have *habuerit*, which is certainly right, because the relative clause is part of what Vercingetorix said, and therefore the subjunctive is necessary. But in some cases the claims of α and β appear to be equally balanced; and here, for reasons which I have given in the *Classical Review* of 1901 (p. 175), I follow with Meusel the reading of α.

There is also a considerable number of passages in which, though all the manuscripts agree, the text is obviously wrong, and has been corrected with more or less success. Some of these emendations are certainly right. For instance, in i, 40, § 9 the MS. reading is (cui rationi contra homines barbaros . . . locus fuisset) *ac* (ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse); and the obvious correction, *hac*, appeared just four centuries ago in the Aldine edition. Again, in vii, 3, § 2 the MSS. have (Nam) *ubique* (maior atque inlustrior incidit res, clamore . . . significant): the emendation *ubi quae* is self-evident. Other emendations are highly probable; and fortunately those doubtful or corrupt passages which are important for history are very few.

In this book it would be useless to give a list of the various readings of the manuscripts, or to explain in all cases the reasons that have led me to adopt one reading[1] in preference to another. I have briefly discussed in foot-notes all the more important passages in which the text is uncertain; but in regard to comparatively unimportant variations, where I have either been convinced by Meusel's arguments or those of other scholars, or have independently come to the same conclusion, I have not here stated the reasons: they are to be found in articles to which I refer below.[2] Readers of the critical notes will see that when I enclose a word or a passage in the text in square brackets, I do not necessarily mean more than

[1] Teachers and other readers who may be interested in textual questions will find a full *apparatus criticus* in H. Meusel's edition of 1894, which is supplemented by an article contributed by the present editor to the *Classical Quarterly* of July, 1911. A list of articles which may be consulted with profit will be found in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 202; and others will be referred to in my foot-notes. Every one who wishes to make a special study of the *Commentaries* from the linguistic point of view should read Meusel's paper in *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1894, pp. 214–398, and Professor Postgate's in the *Classical Review*, 1903, pp. 441–6.

[2] See the preceding note. In the *Classical Review*, 1901, p. 176, I have given reasons for preferring in many places the reading of β. Nipperdey rated this group very low, partly perhaps because he was ignorant of *h* and *l* and in his time *a* had not been accurately collated; but even he was often obliged to have recourse to β. It must not, however, be imagined that those scholars who have vindicated the independent worth of β undervalue α.

that I regard it as open to suspicion, though some bracketed words are certainly spurious. The obvious emendations, of which I have already given two examples, and which, as a rule, I have adopted silently, will be found in Meusel's critical edition. The principle to which I have adhered is never to incorporate an emendation in the text, even when I am inclined to believe that it represents what Caesar wrote, unless the MS. reading or readings seem indefensible. When, for instance, one finds that in vii, 10, § 1 *expugnatis* is used in a sense which the verb has nowhere else in Caesar, and never in Cicero or in Sallust, one feels the necessity of caution.

NOTE.—When I quote readings adopted by Meusel which are not in his text of 1894, they are to be found in the reissue of his school edition (1908) unless I state that he has adopted them since.

THE CREDIBILITY OF CAESAR'S NARRATIVE

For the history of the first seven years of Caesar's conquest of Gaul our principal authority is Caesar himself. It is, indeed, impossible to grasp the full meaning of his narrative without the help of the modern scholars who have contributed so much to the task of solving the problems which the *Commentaries* present. It is true, moreover, that Cicero's writings illustrate certain phases of the war, and that later writers, such as Suetonius, Plutarch, and Dion Cassius, make certain statements, true or false, which are not to be found in Caesar. But Caesar is *the* authority; and thoughtful readers will want to know how far his narrative is trustworthy. According to Suetonius,[1] Pollio, who served under Caesar in the civil war, thought that the *Commentaries* were written carelessly and with little regard for truth; that Caesar had accepted without due inquiry the reports of his officers; and that, either intentionally or from failure of memory, he was inaccurate in describing what he had done himself. Now it is almost certain that Pollio was referring to Caesar's *Commentaries on the Civil War*, with which we are not here concerned;[2] but suppose that he had the same opinion of the *Gallic War*. If so, as he did not serve in Gaul, he could only have repeated what he had heard from others; and their opinions would have been of no value except about what they had seen themselves. As I have learned from conversation with men who had taken part in Sir Charles Napier's conquest of Sind and in the Indian Mutiny, and from letters which they wrote to me, how

[1] *Diuus Iulius*, 56.

[2] According to Suetonius, Pollio thought that Caesar would have rewritten and corrected his narrative if he had had an opportunity (*existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse*). A. Klotz (*Rh. M.*, 1911, p. 81) remarks that Pollio could hardly have said this in regard to the *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, which were published by Caesar himself.

mistakes in military histories arise, I believe that I can form a tolerably just idea of the meaning of Pollio's criticism. Caesar inevitably made mistakes; and Pollio may have conversed with eyewitnesses who pointed out these mistakes, who were perhaps aggrieved by them, and who, exaggerating their importance, as men who have no sense of historical proportion will always do, shrugged their shoulders and exclaimed, 'Such is history.' Caesar's accuracy has been confirmed, on various points, by modern investigations. Every one who has seen the places which he described will admit that he was gifted with the faculty of observation. Most of the operations which are pictured in his narrative were performed under his own eye: he had opportunities for observing what happened in a battle or a siege which a modern general, whose operations extend over a vast area, cannot have; and he very rarely indulges in that sort of detailed description which gives rise to most of the mistakes that are made in modern military histories. This is a point which I could not make perfectly clear to a 'general reader' unless he would listen attentively while I explained to him the labour which I have myself undergone in writing an account of a modern battle and the process by which I have been enabled to correct mistakes which had crept into my original draft. But all who have tried to write military history from original sources will understand what I mean. As a rule Caesar gives us only the outline of a battle,—he tells us just so much as may enable us to understand the moves, and no more. He sent dispatches to the Senate, and it may be assumed that he kept copies of them: his generals sent reports to him; and he finished his book within a year after the close of the war. His account, therefore, was a contemporary account by the eyewitness who had the best eyes, the most favourable point of view, and the most trustworthy information.

As for the speeches which he puts into the mouths of Vercingetorix and others, nearly all are very short and written, like many reports in newspapers of speeches, in *Oratio Obliqua*, which shows that he only professed to give

the gist of what was said. Almost the only one which is at all open to suspicion is the comparatively long speech in the seventy-seventh chapter of the *Seventh Commentary*, which he attributes to Critognatus. Departing from his custom, he wrote this speech in the form of *Oratio Recta*; and as there was certainly no shorthand writer present when Critognatus was speaking, the words were of course Caesar's own. But we may reasonably suppose that he was informed of the drift of Critognatus's arguments by some one who had listened to them—perhaps by Vercingetorix himself—for he made at least 60,000 prisoners after the fall of Alesia.[1]

Serious charges have, however, been brought against the general tone of Caesar's narrative. They may be grouped in two classes, according to the motives which his accusers have imputed to him. These motives are, first, a desire to justify unconstitutional, illegal, or unrighteous acts, and secondly, a desire to magnify his own exploits, to obtain for himself the credit of certain exploits of his officers, and to conceal everything that might damage his reputation as a general. I shall examine in foot-notes those of his statements which I believe to be either inaccurate or misleading; but in this little book it would of course be out of place to notice all the charges—or even all that are worth noticing—which have been brought against him; and I have done so already in two other works.[2] Good judges have accepted the conclusion which I reached,—that under close scrutiny nearly all the charges break down. As an acute critic has remarked, Caesar took pains to justify his first two campaigns—those which he conducted against the Helvetii and Ariovistus—because in crossing the frontier of the Roman Province he had acted without the sanction of the Senate; but he knew that if he could convince his readers that he had done right in 58 B. C., all would be well, for the other

[1] Cf. vii, 71, § 3 with 89, § 5 and 90, § 3, and see the note on the first of these passages.

[2] *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, pp. 173-244, and the second edition of the same, 1911, pp. 211-56; *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 1907, pp. 666-72.


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campaigns followed as a matter of course. And his self-justification was sound. Naturally he made out the best case that he could, but he did not falsify facts: he only emphasized, as he had a right to do, the fact that he had acted for his country's good. So far as I am aware, no great writer, no great historian, no great statesman or general has ever thrown serious discredit upon the *Commentaries*. Of course they are not absolutely true: no history is. Caesar was sometimes either uncritical or careless in using the reports of his generals: he may have thought it discreet to withhold some valuable information: he doubtless sometimes exaggerated, probably because he was misinformed, the numbers of his enemies and the losses which he or his officers had inflicted upon them; he may have concocted an excuse for the one defeat—the defeat at Gergovia—which he himself suffered; and I am willing to believe that his memoirs leave upon the mind an impression of his prowess, if not of his character, more favourable than would have been produced by the narrative of an impartial historian. But on the whole he could afford to tell the truth. He did full justice to his lieutenants; he wrote most generously of his enemies;[1] and I see no reason for believing that he was ashamed of anything that he had done. 'On ne peut contester', says the Duc d'Aumale, 'que ses récits respirent la sincérité';[2] and Montaigne, in a note written on the margin of his copy of the *Commentaries*, called the author 'le plus net, le plus disert, et le plus sincère historien qui fut jamais'.[3] Perhaps we shall hit the exact truth if we add the comment of the Duc d'Aumale,—'le plus sincère de ceux qui ont écrit leur propre histoire.'[4]

[1] See ii, 27, § 5 and vii, 30, § 3.

[2] *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 2e pér., xv, 1858, p. 119.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 118. [4] *Ib.*

THE ETHNOLOGY OF GAUL

Everybody knows the three sentences with which Caesar's narrative of the Gallic war begins: 'Gaul, taken as a whole, is divided into three parts, one of which is inhabited by the Belgae, another by the Aquitani, and the third by a people who call themselves Celts and whom we call Gauls. These peoples differ from one another in language, institutions, and laws. The Gauls are separated from the Aquitani by the Garonne, from the Belgae by the Marne and the Seine.' This information was enough for Caesar's Italian readers: he did not trouble himself or them about the races which had inhabited Gaul long before Gauls and Belgae arrived, and whose descendants lived there still; and if we had to depend upon him alone, we should know no more about the ethnology of Gaul than the man in the street knows about the ethnology of Britain, where the descendants of Huguenots, Flemings, Jews, Normans, Danes, Saxons, Celts, and aborigines are living now under the common name of Englishmen. A century ago the most learned men knew very little more than what Caesar told them. But within the last generation or two a great deal more has been ascertained,—mostly from evidence which was not to be found in books. Here I need only give a short explanation of the way in which the information has been acquired and a short statement of the results.

The information has been derived from four different sources,—the evidence of Caesar and other ancient writers and the three sciences, which are steadily growing, called physical anthropology, archaeology, and philology. The anthropologists have worked in two different ways: they have carefully measured skeletons or skulls found in caverns, in ancient graves, and elsewhere, and belonging to men who were living in Gaul not only after the Celtic invasion (see p. xlvii) but many hundreds or thousands of years before Caesar set foot in the country, and have

classified them in various groups, not forgetting to note the surroundings in which they were found; they have also taken very numerous observations of the height, hair, eyes and complexion, and skull-form of living Frenchmen, Belgians, and others, in the hope that the results would help them to give a true account of the population of ancient Gaul. The archaeologists have collected, arranged, and described the tools, weapons, and ornaments which were found with or apart from the skeletons, and have thereby been able to fix the period of Gallic history or the prehistoric period to which this or that skeleton or group of skeletons belonged. Thus some skeletons have been found interred with stone knives, others with bronze daggers, others with iron swords, bronze brooches, chariot-wheels, and horse-trappings of various kinds. The philologists have endeavoured to learn from names of tribes and places and from the scanty remains of the Iberian and Ligurian languages whether the Iberians and Ligurians, whom Caesar ignored, inhabited other parts of Gaul besides those which ancient writers assigned to them, and have also used the remains of the old Celtic languages in order to find out whether the Celtae all spoke the same language or formed two groups which spoke two dialects, how they were related to the Belgae, and how both were related to the Germans.

Before I proceed let me ask the reader to bear in mind two things. First, Caesar uses the words 'Celts' (*Celtae*) and 'Gauls' (*Galli*) in a restricted sense. As we shall see presently, the Belgae were Gauls and Celts as well as the Celtae: there had been Celts in Germany before he came to Gaul; there were Celts in Britain and in Spain; the Gauls who beat the Romans in the battle of the Allia[1] were Celts. Secondly, Belgae, Celtae, and Aquitani were all, more or less, mixed. No pure race exists.

Let us begin at the beginning. The oldest human fossils that have been found in Gaul belong to the Palaeolithic Age. Not only Gaul, but also Belgium and Central Europe as far east as Croatia were then inhabited

[1] See p. xxxix.

by hunters belonging to what is generally called the Neanderthal race, after a skull which was found about fifty years ago in the valley of the Neander in Rhenish Prussia. As far as we can tell from the bones that have been discovered, they were short, sturdy men, with very low receding foreheads, huge projecting brow ridges, and certain ape-like features,—for instance, extremely defective chins. These people, although they manufactured flint tools with considerable skill, were certainly much inferior in mental power to others of a different type who were their contemporaries; and towards the end of the Palaeolithic Age there dwelt in South-Western Gaul a people who, as we may infer not only from their beautifully formed heads, but from the wonderful works of art which I have mentioned in the Introduction, were as intelligent as modern Europeans. Skulls of this type were discovered at Laugerie-Basse and Chancelade in the valley of the Lozère; and nearly related to the race which they represent were people remarkable for great stature, some of whose skeletons have been unearthed from caves near Mentone, and who are generally called after a specimen that was found beneath the rock-shelter of Cro-Magnon in Périgord.

Thus even in the Old Stone Age the inhabitants of Gaul belonged to several different types. Some ethnologists believe that the Neanderthal race became extinct; but descendants of the other groups were living in Caesar's time; and *their* descendants are living now.

So much for the Palaeolithic Age. Of the Neolithic Age, which followed it, we of course know much more. The skeletons that have been found belong for the most part to two groups. Both were short or of middle height, and both, as we may infer from the complexion of their modern descendants, were dark; but the shorter, who are called after Grenelle, near Paris, where six typical specimens were discovered, were sturdily built and had short round heads; while the others, the most famous representatives of whom belonged to the caverns of l'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes in the department of the Lozère, were generally slender and had well-formed

oval heads. Probably the latter were descended from the palaeolithic race which is represented by the skeletons of Chancelade and Laugerie-Basse; but the round-headed people, as would appear from the places in which their remains were most numerous, migrated into Gaul by two routes,—through Belgium and Savoy. People who resembled the long-heads of the Lozère dwelt in the Neolithic Age in our own island and in various parts of Central and Southern Europe: the round-heads were rare in Britain, but numerous on the Continent, as they are still.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the neolithic inhabitants of Gaul belonged to one or the other of these two main types. Here and there long-headed individuals were tall; and in some places skeletons of divers kinds have been found jumbled together. But although the two principal groups gradually intermingled, they were certainly at first distinct; for of 140 interments 55 contained only long skulls, and 20 only short ones; while every one of the skulls—54 in all—that were taken from the caverns of l'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes were long.

Invaders different from the people who have just been described may have settled in Gaul in the Bronze Age; but we cannot be sure, for in that period the dead were more often cremated than interred. At a later time, when iron weapons were beginning to be used instead of bronze, a tall race, which, as far as we can judge from skeletons, resembled the Celts, occupied the eastern departments of the Jura and the Doubs; and they were most probably new-comers.

In Switzerland—the original home of the Helvetii—the long-headed and the round-headed group were both represented.

I must now say a few words about the Ligurians and the Iberians, who inhabited Gaul before the Celts arrived. Before 500 B.C. the Ligurians possessed South-Eastern Gaul, east of the Rhône and at least as far north as Bellegarde in the department of the Ain; and at that time or not long afterwards they were mingled, west of

the Rhône, with Iberians. So much we learn from historians and geographers: but there is some reason to believe that Ligurians occupied the whole eastern region of Gaul as far north as the Marne; for certain suffixes, or endings of place-names, namely *-asca*, *-asco*, *-osca*, *-osco*, *-usca* and *-usco*, which are found very frequently in Piedmont, where Ligurians were the primitive inhabitants, also occur in twenty-five of the eastern departments[1] of France, and these departments form one unbroken tract. Indeed it is not improbable that Ligurians, even in Caesar's time, inhabited Aquitania; for there were five tribes in Liguria proper[2] and sixteen or seventeen in Aquitania[3] whose names ended in *-ates*; and such names are to be found nowhere else in Gaul.[4] The Iberians probably migrated into Southern Gaul from Spain; for Iberians occupied the whole eastern region of the Spanish peninsula, though the name 'Iberian' was perhaps applied originally only to a people who dwelt between the river Ebro and the Pyrenees. It is generally believed, though some scholars are of a different opinion, that Basque, which is still spoken in the south-western corner of France and the adjacent part of Spain, is closely related to the language, of which there were doubtless several dialects, that was spoken by the Iberians. Several place-names are quoted to prove this, especially *Iliberris*, which occurs, in various forms, both in Spain and in Southern Gaul. There was an *Illiberris* in Roussillon, an *Elimberri* in Auch, and an *Illiberri* in Granada. The word *iri* in Basque means 'town' and *berri* means 'new'; so that *Iliberris*, like the Celtic *Noviodunum*,[5] would have meant 'New Town'. This word, however, has given rise

[1] Alpes-Maritimes, Var, Bouches-du-Rhône, Gard, Hérault, Basses-Alpes, Vaucluse, Hautes-Alpes, Drôme, Ardèche, Savoie, Isère, Ain, Rhône, Jura, Saône-et-Loire, Côte-d'Or, Doubs, Haute-Saône, Yonne, Aube, Marne, Haute-Loire, Aveyron, and Ariège.

[2] The Deciates, Desuviates, Ednates, Nantuates, and Quariates.

[3] The Cocosates, Elusates, Gates, Sibusates, Sotiates, Tarusates, and ten or eleven others mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.*, iv, 19, § 108).

[4] The Belgic Atrebates are perhaps only an apparent exception. It must, however, be admitted that no Aquitanian names in *-asca*, &c., have been cited.

[5] *B. G.*, ii, 12, § 1; vii, 12, § 2; 55, § 1.

to a great deal of discussion, about which I can say nothing here, but of which I have given a short account in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (pages 290–8). There is another fact which makes the Iberian question complicated and difficult. Certain inscriptions, called Iberian, have been found in Spain. Some of them are written in Roman letters; other in letters adapted from the Phoenician alphabet, from right to left; others again in the same letters from left to right. Nobody has yet been able to translate them; but a French scholar who has devoted his life to the study of Basque denies that any trace of Basque is to be found in them. Moreover, the great majority of the place-names in the Spanish peninsula and in Southern Gaul which we find in the ancient road-books[1] and in the writings of the ancient geographers cannot be explained from Basque. Perhaps the problem may be solved by supposing that Basques inhabited Spain before the Iberians invaded it; that they were the founders of Iliberris, of Elimberri, and of Illiberri; and that before the time of Caesar they had been driven by the Iberians, who probably spoke the languages of the inscriptions, into the region where Basque is still spoken.

The Greek geographer, Strabo, says that the Aquitanians resembled the Iberians (by whom he means the mass of the inhabitants of the entire Spanish peninsula, not merely of the part which belonged to Iberians properly so called) rather than the Gauls, and spoke a language akin to that of the former. What is certain is that, except Aquitania, the region inhabited by Iberians and Ligurians was subdued, long before the time of Caesar, by Celts.

It is now time to speak of the Galli, or, as they called themselves, Celtae, and of the Belgae. I have said enough to show that each of these two groups was a mixture of various races,—that the Celtic and Belgic invaders had given their names to a population which comprised descendants of palaeolithic and neolithic races, and of later invaders. Several questions have to be answered. When did the invaders who gave their name

[1] See p. 403.

to the mixed population called Celtae first enter Gaul? Did they introduce the language which we call Celtic, or was it spoken in Gaul before they arrived? Did they all speak the same language? Were they kinsmen of the Belgae, and did the Celtae and the Belgae speak the same language? Were any of the Belgic tribes German? Were the Celtae and the Belgae, when they invaded Gaul, nearly related to the Germans? Before I attempt to answer these questions I will ask the reader to bear in mind that Caesar uses the word *Galli* in two senses: sometimes he means the people between the Seine or the Marne and the Garonne, sometimes he means both them and the Belgae.

According to the historical evidence, the first Celtic invasion of Gaul cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century before Christ; but, as we have already seen, the tall men whose skeletons have been found in Eastern France in graves of a somewhat older period may have belonged to the first group of Celtic invaders. If we may trust Caesar, the Gauls in general, including the Belgae, were conspicuously tall: 'the Gauls,' he says, 'as a rule, despise our short stature, contrasting it with their own great height';[1] and all the ancient writers who describe the Gauls say much the same, most of them adding that the Gauls were fair. Now any observant person who has travelled much in France must have noticed that tall blonde people are rare, and that, with comparatively few exceptions, they are only to be seen in the north-eastern departments, where many of the inhabitants are descended from German invaders. How are we to account for the contrast between modern Frenchmen and the Gauls whom Caesar and other ancient writers described? To begin with, we may be sure that even in Caesar's day tall fair men formed only a minority of the population; for, as we have seen, the people who were in possession when the Celts arrived were for the most part short and dark, and we may be sure that even the Celtic invaders were not all of the same type: when untrained observers enter a strange country they notice

[1] *B. G.*, ii, 30, § 4.

the individuals whose physical features are unfamiliar and ignore the rest. Thus a modern English traveller hastily remarks that Scotsmen have red hair and red beards; while a trained observer, having entered in his note-book all the observations that he has been able to make, reports that in certain districts most Scotsmen are dark, while in that part of Scotland in which fairness is most conspicuous, not more than eleven per cent. of the people have red hair. Still, the proportion of blonde people in Gaul was certainly much greater than in modern France; and we have to account for the difference. First, it must be remembered that a great many Gauls perished in Caesar's wars or were sold into slavery; and of those who were thus lost to the country a number disproportionately large probably belonged to the dominant race, by whose great stature he was so impressed. Secondly, except in comparatively cold climates, the tall fair type is less successful in the struggle for existence than the dark. Thirdly, there is reason to believe that the fair type is less able than the dark to resist the unhealthy conditions of the slums in crowded cities. Fourthly, in families of which one parent is fair and the other dark, the proportion of dark children is generally greater than the proportion of fair. Lastly, a mixed population tends to revert to the type which was at the beginning that of the majority. There is little doubt, then, that since the time of Caesar, although France has been invaded by Franks, Visigoths, Alani, Saxons, Burgundians, and Normans, among all of whom fairness and tall stature were conspicuous, the dark type has been gaining ground upon the fair. No observant person who knows the outlines of English history will be surprised at this. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes who conquered Britain were at least as fair as the Celts; they settled among a people of whom the dominant element in Caesar's time had been, as it was in Gaul, Celtic; and they killed a good many of them. Afterwards they were themselves conquered by Danes and Normans, among whom fairness was also common. But the dark element, which had existed in prehistoric Britain as in prehistoric Gaul,

maintained itself. Except in certain parts of Scotland, where the descendants of Scandinavians are numerous, and in certain rural districts where the population has remained comparatively pure, fair people are more or less rare; and darkness is gradually increasing.

It is generally taken for granted that the Celts brought the language which is called Celtic into Gaul, and that it gradually became universal except in Aquitania. One or two well-known writers, however, believe that the Celtic invaders, when they entered Gaul, spoke German, and learned Celtic from the people among whom they settled. Thus Professor Ridgeway, speaking of the British Isles, but perhaps thinking also of Gaul, argues that even when 'conquerors bring with them some women of their own race', they are generally 'liable to drop their own language and practically adopt that of the natives'; and, remarking that both Gaelic and Welsh are still spoken in the British Isles, he says that it is absurd to suppose that the earlier inhabitants of Britain became 'completely Celticized' in speech in the few centuries that elapsed between the Celtic invasions and the time of Caesar. Now it is quite true that in many instances conquerors have adopted the language of the people whom they conquered; but in these cases the conquerors, besides being far inferior in number, were also either less civilized or not much more civilized than the conquered. The Celtic conquerors of Gaul and Britain did bring with them not only 'some women' but all their women; for this was the regular practice both of the Celts and of the Germans.[1] The time in which, according to Professor Ridgeway, it is incredible that the Celtic language became dominant in Britain and in Gaul was considerably longer than that in which, as he admits, the language of a small minority of English settlers became dominant in Ireland. Remember how quickly the language of Rome took root in Britain,[2] Gaul, and Spain. If we were to suppose that the Celtic conquerers of Gaul learned Celtic from the

[1] See *B. G.*, i, 29, § 1; 51, § 3; iv, 14, § 5.

[2] See Prof. F. J. Haverfield's *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 24-9.

natives whom they conquered, we should have to admit, first, that the language which the Celts found spoken not only in Gaul and Britain, but also in Switzerland and Spain, was Celtic; secondly, that Celtic was spoken by the aborigines of the Stone Age in Gaul and Britain, Switzerland and Spain, for if it was not, *some* invaders must have imposed it; and, lastly, that if the aborigines of the British Isles and of Gaul spoke Celtic, Celtic must have branched off from the primitive 'Indo-European' language, from which the languages of Persia, Afghanistan, and Northern Hindostan, as well as most of the languages of Europe, are descended, in the Palaeolithic Age! Besides, if the aborigines of the British Isles spoke Gaelic, why did not the Brythons, who conquered them, and whose language was the ancestor of Welsh, learn Gaelic from them? If the Celts did not speak Celtic when they invaded Gaul and Britain, how are the numerous Celtic place-names in Germany to be accounted for? Do they not prove that the Celts spoke Celtic before they crossed the Rhine? Every one admits that the language of the Belgae was Celtic: they certainly did not learn it from the Gauls whom they found in possession, for Caesar says that they expelled them;[1] therefore they must have spoken it when they invaded Gaul. Surely we may infer that the Celts who had already conquered the rest of Gaul did the same.

Celtic was spoken in two of the three divisions of Gaul, —those which were inhabited by the Celtae and the Belgae respectively. But was the language everywhere the same, or were there two dialects, as there are in the Celtic regions of Great Britain,—Wales and the Scottish Highlands? It is certain that in Caesar's time the Belgae and most of the Celtae, as well as the bulk of the Britons who dwelt south of the Cheviot Hills, spoke the language which is called Brythonic, and from which are descended the languages which are now spoken in Wales and part

[1] *B. G.*, ii, 4, § 1. No doubt Caesar's words are not to be taken literally; but, admitting this, all analogy is opposed to the assumption that the Belgae did not speak Celtic before they crossed the Rhine.

of Brittany. The people who spoke this language are called 'P Celts', because they had changed the original sound *qu* into *p*. Thus the original form of *Parisii* would have been *Qarisii*. The same change took place in other languages; for instance, the Greek equivalent of *equus* is ἵππος. But there is some reason to believe that in certain parts of Gaul a Celtic dialect was spoken in which the sound *qu* was retained. This dialect is called Goidelic, and it was the ancestor of Gaelic, which is still spoken in the western parts of Ireland and in the highlands of Scotland. Those who believe that it was spoken in Gaul in Caesar's time point to the words *Sequana* and *Sequani*, the ancient name of the river Seine and the name of the tribe whose chief town was Vesontio (Besançon). But some Celtic scholars believe that these names were not Celtic, but Ligurian,—a language of which we know hardly anything. All that we can be sure of is that if a Goidelic dialect had been spoken by the earlier Celtic invaders, it had been superseded, except perhaps in certain districts, by Gallo-Brythonic. The Belgae, then, and the Celtae spoke the same language; their physical features are described by ancient writers in terms which are virtually identical; and they were closely related in blood and had a common civilization.

But we must not forget that Caesar says that, according to the ambassadors who came to him from the Remi, 'most of the Belgae were of German origin' (*plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*[1]). He does not, however, endorse the statement of the ambassadors; and the fact that he himself, rightly or wrongly, specifies five Belgic tribes—the Eburones, Caerosi, Paemani, Segni, and Condrusi—as German,[2] perhaps implies that he had reason to believe that the rest of the Belgae were not. Tacitus[3] regards only the Triboci, the Nemetes, and the Vangiones as 'undoubtedly German tribes' (*haud dubie Germanorum populi*); and none of the three were Belgae at all. The Treveri (who were Celtae, not Belgae) and the Nervii, according to Tacitus, wished to be considered Germans; but, if he was rightly informed, this very fact would

[1] *B. G.*, ii, 4, §§ 1-2. [2] *Ib.*, § 10; vi, 32, § 1. [3] *Germania*, 28.

appear to show that they were not what they professed to be. Strabo says that the Nervii were Germans; but the names of Nervian and Treveran individuals, as well as the geographical names of both tribes, were Celtic. So also were the names of the Eburones and their two kings,—Ambiorix and Catuvolcus. Hirtius, the author of the *Eighth Commentary*, while he notes the resemblance of the Treveri to the Germans in manners and customs, says that it was due to the fact that the Treveri were neighbours of the Germans.[1] Perhaps there were Celticized Germans among the Nervii and the Treveri; but unless we know what the Roman ambassadors meant by the word *Germani*, their statement that the Belgae 'were of German origin' proves nothing; and it would be very rash to assume that they meant a Teutonic people who spoke a Teutonic language. My own belief is that they only meant that the Belgae were descendants of a people who had once dwelt on the east of the Rhine.

But what of the five tribes—the Eburones, Caerosi, Paemani, Segni, and Condrusi—whom Caesar himself calls Germans? A famous scholar, Karl Müllenhoff, argues that they too were Celts; for, he observes, their tribal names, the names of individuals among them—Ambiorix and Catuvolcus—and the ancient names of rivers and places within their territory are Celtic. This is true; but it does not settle the question. The prevalence of Celtic names might be accounted for by supposing that German invaders had mingled with an older Celtic population. Celtic place-names existed in Germany long after the time of Caesar, and this proves that people who spoke Celtic once lived in Germany; but at the time of the conquest of Gaul, if any Celts remained in Germany, they had been absorbed in the German population. *Kent* is a Celtic name; but that does not prove that the present inhabitants of Kent are Celts. Still, I believe that in the main Müllenhoff was right. Probably the Reman ambassadors or Caesar's informants, whoever they were, only meant that these five tribes, like the other Belgae, were descended from people who

[1] *B. G.*, viii, 25, § 2.

had dwelt east of the Rhine; and if Caesar called them *Germani* in a special sense, as distinct from the rest of the Belgae, the explanation may be that they were the latest immigrants. It seems unlikely that they, alone among the Belgic tribes, learned Celtic in Gaul. If they did, they must have learned it from Celts whom they conquered or among whom they settled; and if so, they must have been unaccompanied by women (see p. xxviii) and inferior in numbers to the Celtic peoples whom they subdued, and who, with them, formed the 'Cisrhenane Germans'.[1] The Atuatuci, indeed, were really of German origin if, as is generally believed, the Cimbri and Teutoni, from whom they were descended,[2] were Germans; but their ancestors were apparently left in Gaul without women.

And now we have come to our final question,—the relationship between the Celts and the Germans. The reader will understand that by 'the Celts' I mean not only the invaders who had conquered the country between the Seine and the Garonne but also the Belgae. We have seen that when the Celts invaded Gaul they already spoke Celtic; but there is good reason to believe that their predominant physical type differed little, if at all, from that of the Germans. The ancient writers unanimously describe the two peoples in terms which are virtually the same. The Germans, like the Gauls, were tall and fair: that is the sum and substance of their evidence. The Germans whom they described were, moreover, like the Celts, a long-headed race. I am, indeed, inclined to believe that in the time of Caesar the purest Celts and the purest Germans, although both were tall and fair and long-headed, differed from one another; and my reasons are these. Among our Celtic-speaking fellow citizens are to be found numerous specimens of a type which also exists in those parts of Brittany that were colonized by invaders from Britain and in those parts of Gaul in which the Celtic invaders appear to have settled most thickly, as well as in Northern Italy, which was once occupied by Gauls; and this type, even among

[1] *B. G.*, vi, 2, § 3. [2] *Ib.*, ii, 29, § 4.

the most blonde representatives of it, is strikingly different from that of the purest representatives of the ancient Germans. Put a Perthshire Highlander side by side with a Sussex farmer. Both will be fair: but the red hair and beard of the Scotsman will be in marked contrast with the fair hair of the Englishman; and their features will differ still more. I remember seeing two gamekeepers in a railway carriage running from Inverness to Lairg. They were tall, athletic, fair men, evidently belonging to the Scandinavian type which is so common in the extreme north of Scotland; but they were utterly different from the tall fair Highlanders whom I had seen in Perthshire. There was not a trace of red in their hair, their long beards being absolutely yellow. The prevalence of red among the Celtic-speaking peoples is most remarkable. Not only do we find in Perthshire 11 men in every 100 whose hair is absolutely red, but underlying the blacks and the dark browns the same tint is everywhere to be discerned. In France, again, the proportion of red-haired individuals is greatest not in Normandy or the north-eastern departments, where the proportion of German immigrants was greatest, but in Finistère, where many of the Celtic invaders from Britain landed. I think that what I have said is enough to establish at least a probability that the Celts and the Germans, notwithstanding their general resemblance, differed from one another; and some years ago the late Dr. Beddoe, a renowned anthropologist, told me that he was strongly inclined to adhere to my view. But after all the most that I have succeeded in proving is that the Celts had become different from the Germans some centuries after they had parted from them; and what we want to learn is whether any difference had arisen when they first entered Gaul. The tall Gaul and the tall German were undoubtedly descended from a common fair-haired stock; and it is very likely that in so far as the Celts of Gaul differed in Caesar's time from the Germans, the difference was due to intermarriage with Ligurians and dark descendants of the prehistoric races.

I must not forget the Britons; for Caesar invaded

Britain as well as Gaul. As we have seen, the latest pre-Roman invaders were Celts. Towards the close of the Palaeolithic Age the earlier inhabitants were perhaps joined by immigrants akin to the people of Chancelade and Laugerie-Basse; at all events in Derbyshire there has been found a bone engraved with the figure of a horse's head, which reminds one of the spirited designs of the artists of the Dordogne. The neolithic inhabitants of Britain, so far as we know, belonged for the most part to the same stock as the long-headed neolithic people of Gaul; but towards the end of the Neolithic Age immigrants, of whom I have already spoken, like the round-heads of the Grenelle type, began to appear, some probably coming from Gaul, others, as we may infer from the pottery which they brought with them, from the Netherlands and the valley of the Rhine. During the earlier part of the Bronze Age invaders of a very different kind came in successive hordes. They too were broad-headed, but in a less degree; they had rugged features and over-hanging brows; and they were taller and more powerfully built than the older population. Probably they came from Denmark or Danish islands, where skeletons like theirs have been unearthed; and possibly also from the Scandinavian peninsula. The first Brythonic settlers apparently inaugurated the Iron Age in this country, and they were succeeded by the Belgae, who began to appear in the third century before Christ.

Enough has been said to enable the general reader to understand Caesar's narrative; but any one who may wish to study the subject more closely will find abundant information in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pages 257–340, and *Ancient Britain*, pages 375–461. See also in regard to the people of the Neolithic Age in France *L'Anthropologie*, 1912, pages 53–91.

HOW SOME OF CAESAR'S CAMPS AND OTHER EARTHWORKS HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED

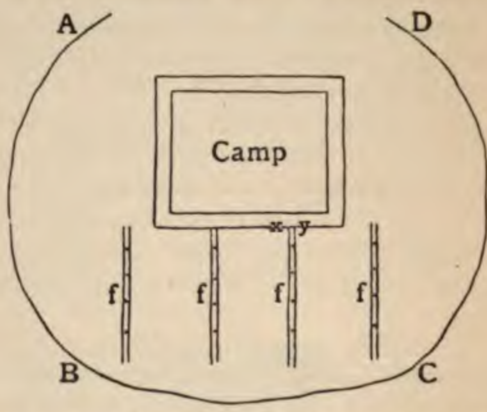
THE late Colonel Stoffel contributed much to our knowledge of the history of the Gallic war by excavations, which he carried out on behalf of Napoleon III. In 1899 he described to me his method in a letter which I have printed in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (1899, pages xxvi–xxx ; 1911, pages xxiv–xxvii), and of part of which I here give a free translation. This method was identical with that which is followed by Professor Haverfield and other well-known investigators.

The colonel begins by remarking that land on which an entrenched camp can be constructed always has an upper layer of productive soil (*terre végétale*), varying from one or two to five feet thick, below which lies the subsoil (*sous-sol* or *sol vierge*),—marl, limestone, or other, according to the locality. 'When,' he continues, 'after



a battle or a siege, the Roman army quitted its camp, the people of the country would demolish the entrenchments, in order to be able to resume cultivation; and they shovelled the earth of which the rampart was composed into the ditch (*fossé*). The ditch was thus filled with *mixed soil*, composed partly of productive soil, partly of subsoil, and often containing objects which the soldiers had left on the rampart, such as broken weapons, sling-bullets, coins, bones, &c. For some time the upper part of the ditch which had been so filled up presented the [slightly convex] form A B, because the earth which had

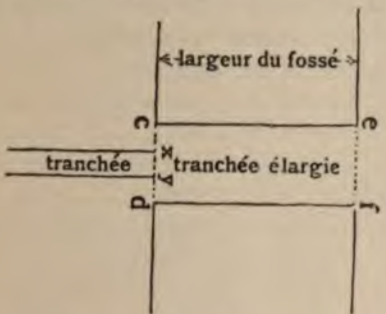
been thrown in did not pack closely; but in course of time and owing to yearly cultivation, the ground settled down to the level of the surrounding land; and thus all apparent traces of Caesar's camps have disappeared. The earth with which the ditches are filled is loose and never recovers the consistency of virgin soil, so that even now, after the lapse of 2,000 years, it easily breaks under the blows of the pick. This is what enables one to discover the ditches, when one knows how to determine the probable position of a camp. That, as you very truly say, is the essential condition. First of all, then, one must study the country where one supposes the camp to



have been situated; and to do this requires a thorough knowledge of Caesar's *Commentaries* and also special military knowledge.' I may remark that the camp would be constructed, if possible, on an easily accessible and yet defensible position, that is, on gently sloping ground: it would have to be near pasturage for the horses, running water, and timber, which was needed both for fortification and for firewood.

'The following', continues Colonel Stoffel, 'is the method which I have always adopted in order to discover the ditches of a camp. Let A B C D represent an area within which I believed that the camp of which I was in search was to be found; and let us assume that the layer of productive soil is 70 centimetres [about 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches]

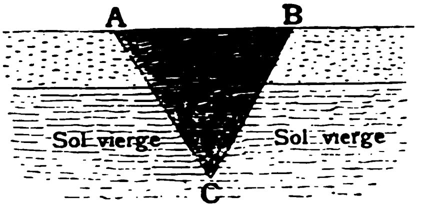
thick. I placed the workmen, with their picks and shovels, in several rows *fff* . . . , at right angles to one of the supposed sides of the camp. Each of them had to turn up the layer of productive soil along a space two feet wide. If, after turning up the layer to a depth of 70 centimetres, they felt their picks strike unyielding ground, that showed that the ground had never been disturbed and that they were not on the Roman ditch. The workmen then continued to move forward. But when they unmistakably reached the ditch at *x y*, the case was different. Then, after turning up the soil to the depth of 70 centimetres, they no longer found themselves, as before, on unyielding ground: on the contrary,



they met with loose soil, which broke easily,—a sign that it had formerly been disturbed. I then enlarged the "trench" (*tranchée*)—the space that was to be excavated—giving it a width of six feet (*c d*) instead of two (*x y*), to enable the men to work more easily; and they dug out the "trench" till they came to the bedrock. One could soon tell, for another reason, whether one was on the Roman ditch or not; for, if one was really there, one could make out without difficulty on the two edges, *e c* and *f d*, of the "trench" the outline of the ditch, which was recognizable by the colour of the mixed earth—that of the old rampart—contrasted with the colour of the virgin soil that surrounded it.

'I have never seen anything more curious than the outlines of the little ditches of the small camp which I discovered on the hill of the Roche-Blanche [at Gergovia

(see p. 305)]. There the layer of productive soil, at the most 50 or 60 centimetres thick (if my memory is good), lies upon a calcareous subsoil as hard and white as



chalk: the ditches of the camp, filled with a mixture of productive soil and chalk, presented outlines which stood out against the earth by which they were surrounded, as sharply as the annexed triangle A B C on the white paper.'

INTRODUCTION

Three centuries before the birth of Caesar, while patrician was still struggling with plebeian, while both were still contending with rival peoples for supremacy, the Gauls first encountered their destined conquerors. For a generation or more, the Celtic wanderers, whose kinsmen had already overflowed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, and passed into Britain and into Ireland, had been pouring, in a resistless stream, down the passes of the Alps. They spread over Lombardy. They drove the Etruscans from their strongholds in the north. They crossed the Po, and pushed further and further southward into Etruria itself. At length they overthrew a Roman army in the battle of the Allia, and marched unopposed through the Colline Gate. The story of the sack and burning of the city was noised throughout the civilized world; yet the disaster itself, though it was never forgotten, hardly affected the history of Rome. It probably tended to rivet the bonds of union between her and the other cities of Latium, and to strengthen her claim to supremacy in Italy. From time to time during the next century the Gauls returned to plunder: but their incursions were repelled; and the champion of Italian civilization was Rome.

Gallic invasion of Italy: battle of the Allia and its results.

390 B.C.

But the Roman dread of the Gauls long remained; and more than once Rome's enemies enlisted their services against her. In the last Samnite war Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls made a desperate effort to crush the rising power; and after this attempt had been frustrated, the Etruscans once again rose in revolt, and their Gallic mercenaries destroyed a Roman army under the walls of Arretium. It was not until the Senones had in their turn been defeated and expelled from Italy, and the Boii, who hastened to avenge them, had been crushed near the Lake of Vadimo, that the republic was finally released from the fear of Gallic invasion.

Gallic tribes assist the enemies of Rome.

295 B.C.

283 B.C.

282 B.C.

The Romans fight their way to the Po; Years passed away. Rome became mistress of the peninsula, and determined to vindicate her natural right to the rich plain on her own side of the Alpine barrier. The Gauls offered a strenuous resistance, and even assumed the offensive. Reinforced by a swarm of free-lances from the valley of the upper Rhône, they boldly crossed the Apennines and plundered Etruria. The Romans were taken by surprise: but in the great battle
225 B.C. of Telamon they checked the invasion; and within two years they fought their way to the right bank of the Po. The Insubres on the northern side still held out: but before the outbreak of the second Punic war Mediolanum,
222 B.C. or Milan, their chief stronghold, was captured; and the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona were founded.

and conquer Cisalpine Gaul. 218 B.C. But the work of conquest was only half completed when Hannibal descended into the plain, and the exasperated Gauls rallied round him. When Rome emerged, victorious, from her great struggle, they knew what was in store for them, and made a last attempt to win back
200 B.C. their liberty. Placentia was sacked, and Cremona was invested. The Roman army which marched to its relief gained a victory, but was in its turn almost annihilated
199 B.C. by the Insubres. The Gauls, however, could never long act together: their countrymen beyond the Alps gave them no help: the league of the northern tribes was rent
196 B.C. by discord and treachery; and the Insubres and Cenomani were compelled to accept a peace, which allowed them indeed to retain their constitution, but forbade them to acquire the Roman citizenship. South of the Po the Boi strove frantically to hold their own: but in a series of battles their fighting men were wellnigh exter-
191 B.C. minated: the Romans insisted upon the cession of half their territory; and on both sides of the river the survivors were gradually lost among Italian settlers.

Formation of the Roman Province in Transalpine Gaul. [Marseilles.] Eastward and southward and westward the empire of the Romans spread. They conquered Greece. They conquered Carthage. They conquered Spain. But between the central and the western peninsula they had no means of communication by land save what was afforded by the Greek colony of Massilia. It was an entreaty

from the Massiliots for protection that gave occasion to the wars which resulted in the formation of the Province of Transalpine Gaul; and the natural willingness of the Senate to support their most faithful allies was doubtless stimulated by the desire to secure possession of the indispensable strip of coast between the Alps and the Pyrenees, partly also perhaps by the idea of creating a Greater Italy for the growing Italian population. In 155 B.C. the Romans stepped forward as the champions of Massilia against the Ligurian tribes between the Maritime Alps and the Rhône. The highlanders who inhabited the mountains above the Riviera were crushed in a single campaign; after an interval of thirty years their western neighbours, the Salyes, were forced to submit; and their seaboard, like that of the other tribes, was given to the Massiliots. But the Romans had come to stay. The Aedui, who dwelt in the Nivernais and western Burgundy, calculated that the support of the republic would help them to secure ascendancy over their rivals; and by a treaty, fraught with unforeseen issues, they were recog- 123 B.C.
nized as Friends and Allies of the Roman people. The Allobroges, on the other hand, whose home was between the Lake of Geneva, the Rhône, and the Isère, refused to surrender the king of the Salyes, who had claimed their protection; and Bituitus, King of the Arverni, with all 121 B.C.
the hosts of his dependent tribes, marched to support them. Just twenty years before the birth of Caesar a great battle was fought at the confluence of the Rhône and the Isère.[1] The Gauls were beaten; and the bridges over the Rhône broke down beneath the multitude of the fugitives.

This victory was, in the strictest sense, decisive. The Romans were now masters of the lower Rhône; and if they were ever to penetrate into Further Gaul, their base could be advanced some hundreds of miles. The Arverni, whose power had extended to the Rhine and the Mediterranean, had received a blow from which they never recovered.

[1] M. Jullian (*H. G.*, iii, 17, n. 4), rejecting the tradition, argues that the battle took place on the Rhône at Pont-St. Esprit.

The Province which was now formed stretched from the Maritime Alps to the Rhône; but the frontier was rapidly extended until it ran along the Cevennes and the river Tarn down into the centre of the Pyrenees. The Gallic tribes were obliged to pay tribute and to furnish troops; and, although, in accordance with Roman principles, they were permitted to retain their own forms of government, their subjection was assured by the construction of roads and fortresses. The heavy exactions of the conquerors provoked frequent insurrections; but year by year the Provincials became steadily Romanized. Roman nobles acquired estates in the Province, and sent their stewards to manage them. Roman merchants built warehouses and counting-houses in the towns; and the language and civilization of Rome began to take root. Narbo with its spacious harbour was not only a powerful military station, but in commerce the rival of Massilia. Nor was the activity of the Romans confined to the Province itself. Catamantaloedis, King of the Sequani, whose territory lay north of the Allobroges, received from the Senate the title of Friend; and the same honour was bestowed upon an Aquitanian noble and upon Ollovico, King of the Nitiobroges, who ruled the upper valley of the Garonne. These distinctions were doubtless prized as much by Gallic chieftains as the title of Knight Commander of the Star of India by an Indian prince of our own time. For what services they were conferred, we do not know; but events were already paving the way for the conquest of the great country that stretched beyond the Rhône and the Cevennes to the Rhine and the Atlantic Ocean.

[Narbonne.]

Gaul and its inhabitants.

The aspect of this region was, of course, very different from that of the beautiful France with which we are familiar. The land of gay cities, of picturesque old towns dominated by awful cathedrals, of cornfields and vineyards and sunny hamlets and smiling chateaux, was then covered in many places by dreary swamps and darkened by huge forests. Gaul extended far beyond the limits of modern France, including a large part of Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, and the Rhenish Provinces,

Belgium, and Southern Holland. The people were divided into three groups, differing, so Caesar tells us, in race, language, manners, and institutions. Between the Garonne and the Pyrenees were the Aquitani. North-east of the Seine and the Marne, in the plains of Picardy, Artois, and Champagne, on the mist-laden flats of the Scheldt and the lower Rhine and in the vast forest of the Ardennes, dwelt the Belgae, who may have partially mixed and were continually at war with their German neighbours. The lowlands of Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, and part of the Rhenish Provinces, the great plains and the uplands of central France, and the Atlantic seaboard, were occupied by the Celtae.

Prehistory of Gaul.

Modern science, however, has established a more precise classification. During the last fifty years the classical texts, which were once the only source of knowledge, have been supplemented by geological, archaeological, and anthropological research; and it has become possible to reconstruct the prehistory, the very existence of which had hardly been suspected, of every European land. Skeletons have yielded information about the physical characters of the people: their implements and weapons, their clothing and ornaments, their art, and even their religion, have been revealed by relics extracted from the river-drift, from caverns and sepulchres, from villages, hill-forts, and buried hoards. The Celts were but the latest invaders of Gaul; and their life was profoundly influenced by the Ligurians, the Iberians, and the nameless tribes who, during countless millenniums, had dwelt in Gaul before them. The earliest belonged to the Quaternary Period, which included the Great Ice Age; and the time, incalculably long, during which they and their fellows in Britain and on the Continent existed, is known as the Palaeolithic, or Old Stone, Age. They saw the volcanoes of Auvergne, which during countless centuries have slumbered, belching forth flame and discharging lava: mammoths and rhinoceroses, lions, bears, and hyenas, bisons, gluttons, wolves were their fellows; and over the vast expanse of the forest-cumbered land, where they roamed in quest of food, there was no sign,

save their rude handiwork, that they would rise superior to the beasts which the primitive savage regards with mingled fear and veneration. Yet they buried their dead with scrupulous care, sometimes placing tools beside them; and we may perhaps infer that they fancied that the soul would still endure. These ancient hunters were not all of one type. Men with low brutish foreheads and huge beetling brows ranged over the whole country between Croatia and the river Dordogne; gigantic skeletons have been found in the department of the Dordogne and in the caves of Mentone; and before the end of the Quaternary Period there were living in the caves of Laugerie-Basse and Chancelade a people who, if we may judge from their well-formed and capacious skulls, possessed an intellectual capacity not inferior to that of their modern descendants. They have indeed left evidence of their powers; for late in the Palaeolithic Age appeared the dawn of pictorial art. From the caves of the Tarn-et-Garonne and the Dordogne have been recovered bones and antlers, engraved or carved with likenesses of mammoths, reindeer, and other animals, of fishes, and of men. Specimens of their work, which are recognized by modern artists as true works of art, are preserved in the museums of France; and reproductions have been published of frescoes with which, by the dim light of their rude lamps, they covered the walls of Pyrenean caves. The palaeolithic races had one feature in common: their heads were long in proportion to their breadth; and the same characteristic is found in the skulls of the slender stunted people of l'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes in the department of the Lozère, who, though they were descended from the older inhabitants, belonged to the Neolithic Age. These peoples, who are called after the caverns in which the first specimens were found, appear to have been diffused over the length and breadth of Gaul. But as the new epoch advanced, new races began to appear; and the invaders, who came from the east, and gradually mingled with the aborigines, were a short but sturdy folk, characterized by great breadth of skull. The palaeolithic hunters had been forced to wander in search of game:

their successors domesticated cattle and ultimately learned to till the soil. Among them were some whose chiefs erected dolmens, or vast structures of stone, to cover the sepulchres of their dead. Some are of enormous size, and could only have been erected by the toil of multitudes, controlled and organized by chiefs whose motive was to propitiate the spirits that they believed to survive. At Pérotte, in the department of the Charente, a stone was set up which weighed forty tons and had been quarried twenty miles away: the tumulus of Mont St. Michel in the Morbihan is a veritable hill, and contains more than forty thousand cubic yards of stone. The era in which these monuments were constructed was marked by considerable commercial activity; for some of them have yielded ornaments of a mineral resembling turquoise, which must have been imported; amber beads had already been conveyed from the Baltic by way of the Elbe, the Moldau, and the Danube; and flint from the factory of the Grand-Pressigny in the Indre-et-Loire was diffused as far as Switzerland.

Slowly, insensibly, civilization moved onward. There is evidence to show that the Neolithic Age set in nearly ten millenniums before our era; the Bronze Age, which succeeded it, began about 2000 B. C.; and it was not until more than a thousand years had passed that the culture which derives its name from the Tyrolese settlement of Hallstatt, and in which bronze, as material for tools and weapons, gradually gave place to iron, spread westward across the Rhine. The knowledge of metals penetrated into Gaul by two routes, of which the starting-point was in the Aegean. South-Eastern Gaul was served by a route that led through Central Europe; Western Gaul borrowed from Spain. Although the memory of intertribal war is preserved by earthworks and stone forts which, even in the Neolithic Age, had been erected upon the hills, commerce, internal and external, advanced with rapid strides. Forests were gradually cleared; and trackways were laid out from village to village. Caravans began to cross the Alps from the valley of the Po. Gold crescent-shaped ornaments, intended to be worn round

the neck, and fancifully decorated with geometrical figures, were brought from Ireland; comparison of the types of pottery, of knives and axes, razors and swords, of bracelets, pins, and brooches, shows that many were derived from Italy and Germany; and before the end of the Hallstatt period trade was established with the Greeks, while wine was imported and distributed by the merchants of Massilia.

The Ligurians and Iberians.

The earliest inhabitants of Gaul about whom history has anything to tell were the Ligurians and Iberians, neither of whom are mentioned by Caesar. According to the ancient geographers, the land which originally belonged to the Ligurians was the mountainous tract between the Rhône, the Durance, and the Cottian and Maritime Alps: but by the fifth century before Christ they were mingled with Iberians on the west of the Rhône; and from the evidence of certain geographical names as well as of archaeology, it would seem that they once possessed the whole of Eastern Gaul as far north as the Marne. The culture of this region in the Bronze Age differed from that of the west, but closely resembled that of Northern Italy, where we know that Ligurians lived. The vast number of sickles which have been discovered in the south-east show that the Ligurians were industrious tillers of the soil; and they may have been descended, at least in part, from Swiss lake-dwellers of the Stone Age, who probably introduced cereals and domestic animals into Gaul. The origin of the Iberians remains uncertain: but when they came under the notice of the Greeks they occupied the eastern part of Spain as well as the country between the Pyrenees and the Rhône; and it should seem that they had crossed the Pyrenees and made conquests in Aquitania as well as on the Mediterranean coast. There can be little doubt that in the land which belonged to them, in Spain as well as in Southern Gaul, there once existed, besides Celtic, at least two forms of speech,—Basque and a language or languages, still undeciphered, in which were engraven the so-called Iberian inscriptions. But if the Iberians were not one race, the bulk of them were small and dark, and not unlike the

neolithic people of l'Homme Mort. In Caesar's time Liguria, as well as the land of the Iberians, was also peopled by the descendants of Celtic invaders. It was about the seventh century before the Christian era that the tall fair Celts began to cross the Rhine, accompanied doubtless by the descendants of aliens who had joined them during their long sojourn in Germany. Successive swarms spread over the land, partly subduing and mingling with the descendants of the palaeolithic peoples and of their neolithic conquerors, partly perhaps driving them into the mountainous tracts. Physically, they resembled the Germans whom Caesar and Tacitus describe; but they differed from them in character and customs as well as in speech. The Belgic Celts were the latest comers; and if Caesar was rightly informed, the languages of the Belgae and the Celtae were distinct. Of the modern Celtic dialects, Gaelic, which is spoken in the Highlands of Scotland, Manx, and Erse, which is spoken in the west of Ireland, are descended from an old Celtic language, called Goidelic; while Welsh and Breton are traceable to the British language called Brythonic, which was closely akin to Gaulish or Gallo-Brythonic. The difference between the languages of the Belgae and the Celtae was probably slight; for if a Goidelic dialect was spoken anywhere in Gaul, the vestiges of Gallic that remain belong, for the most part, to the Brythonic branch of the Celtic tongue. In Aquitania the natives remained comparatively pure, and formed a separate group, which, in Caesar's time, stood politically apart from the Celtae as well as from the Belgae. They are generally spoken of as an Iberian people; but the name is misleading. The conquering Celts, as we may infer from proper names, had advanced, though probably in small numbers, beyond the Garonne; and evidence supplied by recent measurements of living inhabitants appears to show that in certain parts of Aquitania the old broad-headed element was considerable. But it is certain that the Celtic language was not generally spoken in Aquitania; and the Iberian type was sufficiently conspicuous to give some support to the popular theory.

The Celts.

Thus when Caesar entered Gaul, the groups whom he called Belgae, Celtae, and Aquitani were each a medley of different races. The Belgae were the purest and the least civilized of the three; and both in Belgic and in Celtican Gaul the Celtic conquerors had imposed their language upon the conquered peoples. Even in a political sense, the Belgae and the Celtae were not separated by a hard and fast line; for the Celtican tribe of the Carnutes was among the dependants of the Belgic Remi, while on the other hand the Celtican Aedui claimed supremacy over the Belgic Bellovaci. But if not scientifically complete, the grouping adopted by Caesar was sufficient for the purpose of his narrative. Just as a modern conqueror, without troubling himself about questions of ethnology, might say that the people of Great Britain were composed of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Welsh, so Caesar divided the people of Gaul into Belgae, Celtae, and Aquitani. Setting aside the Aquitani, of whom he had little to tell, the medley of peoples whom he called 'Galli' had probably so far coalesced that they had acquired certain common traits of character. Perhaps when he described the features of the Gallic temperament which had most impressed him in the course of the war, he took little note of the lowest class, the cultivators and the shepherds, who had not much to do with political life: but we can hardly suppose that his remarks applied only to the ruling class or to the purer Celts;[1] and, guided by his observations, we cannot go far astray. The Gauls were an interesting people, enthusiastic, impulsive, quick-witted, versatile, vainglorious and ostentatious, childishly inquisitive and childishly credulous, rash, sanguine, and inconstant, arrogant in victory and despondent in defeat, submissive as women to their priests, impatient of law and discipline, yet capable of loyalty to a strong and sympathetic ruler.

Civilization of the Gauls.

The notices which Caesar and other writers have left of their civilization have been supplemented by the evidence of archaeology. Five centuries before the birth of Christ

[1] See especially *B. G.*, ii, 1, § 3; iii, 19, § 6; iv, 5, §§ 2–3, 13, § 3; vii, 20–1.

the culture of Hallstatt had given place to that which takes its name from the village of La Tène, at the northern end of the lake of Neuchâtel, where, some sixty years ago, was discovered a precious series of antiquities. The art, essentially Celtic, characterized by the tasteful use of curves, which was practised in the design and decoration of these objects, was in part an outgrowth of that of Hallstatt, but also owed much to classical and even to oriental influences. Imported into Britain by the Brythonic invaders, it there shook itself free from all trammels, and attained an even higher level than in Gaul, culminating in the graceful and exquisitely decorated shield of bronze and red enamel which adorns the Central Saloon of our National Museum. Specialists have determined three periods, known as La Tène I, II, and III, of which the last began about forty years before the proconsulship of Caesar. By that time the Gallic peoples had all risen far above the condition of barbarians; while the Celticans of the interior had attained a certain degree of civilization and even of luxury. Their trousers, from which the Province took its name of Gallia Braccata, and their many-coloured tartan shirts and cloaks excited the astonishment of their conquerors. The chiefs wore rings and bracelets and necklaces of gold; and when those tall fair-haired warriors rode forth to battle with their helmets wrought in the shape of some fierce beast's head and surmounted by nodding plumes, their chain armour, their long bucklers, and their clanking swords, they made a splendid show. About fifty years before Caesar's time, war-chariots, which had excited the astonishment of the Romans in the battle of Telamon, and which were still used in Britain, had fallen into disuse, probably because the wealthy natives had begun to import horses powerful enough for a charge of cavalry; but from the older graves of the department of the Marne, which have yielded numerous remains of these cars, bronze horse-trappings of most delicate open-work and bronze flagons which had been fetched from Greece have been unearthed. The arts of building and of fortification had made a considerable advance. Walled towns

or large villages, the strongholds of the various tribes, were conspicuous on numerous hills. The plains were dotted by scores of open hamlets. The houses, built of timber and wattle-work, were large and well thatched. Tweezers and ornamented mirrors of bronze lay on the tables of Gallic dames. Painted pottery, decorated with spirals or symmetrical curves, was used everywhere, except, apparently, in the remote north-western peninsula. The fields in summer were yellow with corn. The vine was not yet cultivated : but the merchants of Massilia imported wine from Italy; and wealthy Gauls would eagerly barter a slave for a jar. Roads, suitable for wheeled traffic, ran from town to town. Rude bridges spanned the rivers ; and barges, laden with merchandise, floated along them. Ships, clumsy indeed but larger than many that were seen on the Mediterranean, braved the storms of the Bay of Biscay and carried cargoes between the ports of Brittany and the coast of Britain. Tolls were exacted on the goods which were transported on the great water-ways ; and it was from the farming of these dues that the nobles derived a large part of their wealth. The Aeduans were familiar with the art of enamelling. The miners of Aquitaine, of Auvergne, and of the Berri were celebrated for their skill. Every tribe had its coinage; and the knowledge of writing, in Greek and in Roman characters, was not confined to the priests. Diodorus Siculus[1] remarks that the Gauls threw letters, addressed to the dead, on to funeral piles; and Caesar, after he had defeated the Helvetii, found in their encampment a schedule, on which were recorded in Greek characters the names of individuals, the number of emigrants capable of bearing arms, and the numbers of old men, women, and children. It would seem, indeed, that some knowledge of Latin had penetrated even to the rudest tribe of the Belgae.[2] When Caesar was marching to relieve Quintus Cicero, who was besieged by the Nervii, he wrote to him in Greek characters,

[1] v, 28, § 6.

[2] On the other hand, it must be remembered that Caesar conversed with Diviciacus through an interpreter (*B. G.*, i, 19, § 3).

for fear the letter might be intercepted and read. At an earlier time there were natives, at least in the Province, who acquired a smattering of Greek. Rich enthusiasts resorted to Massilia as a school of learning, and became so enamoured of Greek culture that they wrote contracts in the language of their teachers. Indeed in all that belonged to outward prosperity the peoples of Gaul had made great strides since their kinsmen first came in contact with Rome; and the enormous fortunes which Caesar and his staff amassed are evidence of their wealth.

The coins which have just been mentioned require special notice; for none of the antiquities of the Later Iron Age have thrown more light upon the culture of the Gauls. The oldest were copied in the earlier half of the third century before Christ from gold coins of Philip of Macedon, which had been introduced through Massilia. For some time they bore no inscription, except the name of Philip, more or less deformed; but about the middle of the following century—more than a hundred years before the same change was made in our island—they began to be stamped with the names of the rulers by whom they were issued, among whom are to be recognized some who have been commemorated by Caesar,—notably the great Vercingetorix, whose coins are worth about fifty times their weight in gold. Greek characters are sometimes quaintly jumbled with Latin, which gradually became familiar after the Romans had established their footing in the land. Many Roman coins, indeed, must have been circulated in Gaul after the colonization of Narbo; and Roman influence is apparent on many Gallic coins, for example in a figure of Pegasus, which appears on one that bears the name of Tasgetius, King of the Carnutes. For many years gold coins were the only medium of exchange; but, as commercial needs increased, silver and bronze passed gradually into use, the coins of the latter metal being imitated from those of Massilia, and, in the case of certain Belgic specimens, even from those of Campania. The coins, indeed, illustrate not only the commerce of the Gauls, but also their Coins.

intertribal relations, their manners and customs, and perhaps occasionally their religion. Thus, while the extreme rarity of Arvernian coins in the great mart of Bibracte may perhaps be explained by the traditional enmity between the Arverni and the Aedui, the discoveries of British coins in Gaul and of Gallic coins in Britain attest the maritime trade which Caesar notices; coins of Central Europe found as far west as Saintonge and Gallic coins found in the Bohemian stronghold of Stradonić prove that the Gauls had intercourse with the valley of the Danube; Massilian coins found in various parts of Gaul bear witness to the enterprise of the Greek colony; and numerous hoards of silver coins of one type, all of which have been found in the basin of the Garonne, confirm the impression which we derive from the *Commentaries* that the relations of Aquitania were mainly with Spain. Again, when we notice that horses and swine are figured on Gallic coins more frequently than any other animals, we are reminded of the passage[1] in which Caesar observes that the Gauls imported well-bred horses at great cost, and of the passage in which Strabo[2] speaks of the hams which the Sequani exported to Italy. Shields and trumpets remind us of Diodorus's[3] description of Gallic arms; and the lyre, which is figured on certain coins, may represent the instrument with which the bards accompanied their songs. It is remarkable that all the coins which have been found in the great strongholds are of late date—not earlier than about a hundred years before the Christian era—which tends to show that none had been founded more than half a century before Caesar entered Gaul. Probably Avaricum, Bibracte, Lutecia, and the other towns which he mentions were fortified during the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutoni, which devastated Gaul between 113 and 109 B. C.

Bibracte. Of all these towns the one which is best known to us was Bibracte, described by Caesar as 'by far the wealthiest and most important town of the Aedui', which stood upon Mont Beuvray, a few miles west of Autun. If

[1] *B. G.*, iv, 2, § 2. [2] iv, 3, § 2; 4, § 3. [3] v, 30, §§ 2–4.

Cicero had visited it he might perhaps have spoken with less disdain of the urban life of the Gauls.[1] Streets, workshops, ramparts have been revealed by excavation. Fifteen hundred coins, nine-tenths of which belonged to the period of independence, testify to the manifold commercial relations of the inhabitants. The houses show that the round conical wooden huts which Strabo described were only the more primitive productions of Gaulish domestic architecture. Like them, indeed, the houses at Bibracte were partly subterranean, this form having been adopted as a precaution against cold on such a high altitude, and probably, like the modern cottages of the Morvan, they were thatched with straw; but their shape was rectangular, they were built of stone compacted with clay, and they were entered by an interior staircase. The crucibles, moulds, and polishing-stones of enamel-workers, broken tools, brooches, and pottery, all belong, like the coins, to the latest period of the Celtic Iron Age. Besides these relics of native workmanship were painted vases, imported from Italy, which Gallic artificers soon learned to imitate.

But the growth of material prosperity had not been matched by true national progress. The Aquitani, indeed, the maritime tribes, and the Belgae were untouched by foreign influences; but the Celticans of the interior had been enfeebled by contact with Roman civilization. Much nonsense has been written about the enervating effect of luxury. Its effect, however, when it is suddenly introduced among a half-civilized people, is quite different from its effect when it is a natural growth. The Gauls had lost the strength of barbarism, and had not gained the strength of civilization. They had once, as Caesar remarked,[2] been more than a match for the Germans; but enervated by imported luxury, and cowed by a succession of defeats, they no longer pretended to be able to cope with them.

Political and social organization.

The reader will have gathered from the foregoing pages that neither the Belgae, nor the Celtae, nor the Aquitani

[1] See Cicero's speech, *De prov. cons.*, 12, § 29.

[2] *B. G.*, vi, 24, § 1.

formed one state or even a confederation: each of the three was a group of tribes, which Caesar called *civitates.* The tribe was generally an aggregate, more or less compact, of communities to which he gave the name of *pagi,* the members of which had originally been related by blood or by near neighbourhood; but it would seem that some of the smaller tribes consisted each of one *pagus* only. Each *pagus,* under its own magistrate, appears to have enjoyed a certain measure of independence, and to have contributed its separate contingent to the tribal host. Each tribe had its council, which Caesar called a senate, and had once had its king: but when Caesar came to Gaul revolutionary forces were at work to which there were analogies in the earlier history of Greece and Rome. Many of the states had expelled their kings, whose authority had passed in some cases into the hands of annually elected magistrates, while in others perhaps the council kept the government to itself. A rule which prevailed among the Aedui illustrates the anxiety which was felt lest monarchical power should revive. In that state the chief magistrate, who was known as the Vergobret, was forbidden to stir beyond the frontiers of the country, from which it may be inferred that it was not lawful for him to command the host. The executive was generally weak. Some of the smaller communities of which a tribe was composed occasionally acted on their own account, in opposition to the rest or to the policy of the tribal authorities. Like the Anglo-Saxon thanes and the Norman barons, the nobles surrounded themselves with retainers,—loyal followers or enslaved debtors; and none but those who became their dependants could be sure of protection. On the other hand, none but those who were strong enough to protect could be sure of obedience. The oligarchies were no more secure than the monarchs whom they had supplanted. These men or their descendants sullenly plotted for the restoration of their dynasties, and, reckless of the common weal, they were in the mood to court the aid even of a foreign conqueror, and to reign as his nominees. Here and there some wealthy noble, like Pisistratus in Athens,

armed his retainers, hired a band of mercenaries, won the support of the populace by eloquence and largess, and, overthrowing the feeble oligarchy, usurped supreme power. Thus the oligarchies lived in perpetual unrest: if no one noble was conspicuously strong, there was intestine strife; if one could make himself supreme, the government was overthrown. The populace were perhaps beginning to have some consciousness of their own latent strength; but there is no evidence that anywhere they had any definite political rights. The Druids and the nobles, or, as Caesar called them, the knights, enjoyed a monopoly of power and consideration: the bulk of the poorer freemen, ground down by taxation and strangled with debt, had no choice but to become serfs.

And if in individual tribes there was anarchy, want of unity was the bane of them all. It was not only that Belgian and Aquitanian and Celtican were naturally distinct: the evil was more deeply seated. It is of course true that disunion is the normal condition of half-civilized peoples. The Old English tribes showed no genius for combination: it was the strong hand of an Egbert, an Edgar, an Athelstan, that laid the foundations of the English kingdom. Nor was the kingdom united, except in the loosest sense, even on the eve of the Norman Conquest. If Harold was formally king over all England, his subjects felt themselves Yorkshiremen or men of Kent rather than Englishmen. Moreover, the circumstances of the Gauls were peculiarly unfortunate. Their patriotism, if it was latent, was real: they were proud of what their fathers had achieved in war; and the sense of nationality was stirring in their hearts. Caesar himself allows that some of the tribes were comparatively well governed;[1] and even clientship, which after all harassed our own government until Henry the Seventh stamped it out, had its noble side. Who does not respect the 'six hundred devoted followers' of Adiatunnus,[2] the four squires whom neither fear nor favour could induce to betray Ambiorix,[3] and those attendants of Litaviccus who remembered that 'Gallic custom brands it as shameful

[1] *B. G.*, vi, 20. [2] *Ib.* iii, 22. [3] *Ib.* vi, 43, § 6.

for retainers to desert their lords even when all is lost'?[1] If the Gauls had been unmolested or had been exposed to attack only from a single enemy, it seems probable that, in the fullness of time, some great ruler might have welded them into a united nation. But menaced as they were by the Germans on one side and by the Romans on another, their tendency to disunion was increased. And, though it is foolish to pass sweeping judgements upon a people of whom, except during the few years that preceded the loss of their independence, we have only the scantiest knowledge, it would be a great mistake to leap to the conclusion that, in political capacity, one race is as good as another. No one would deny that the Greeks were endowed with a genius for art and literature which their environment doubtless helped to develop; and it may be that the Celts were but poorly endowed with political talent, and that circumstances had helped to stunt its growth. The important fact is, explain it as we may, that the tribal rulers of Gaul had not achieved even that first step towards unity which the kings of Wessex achieved when they swallowed up the petty kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Or perhaps it would be more true to say that, when the Romans first established themselves on the west of the Alps, the Arvernian king had achieved that step; but that first his defeat on the banks of the Rhône, and afterwards the revolution which subverted the royal power, had broken the ascendancy of his house and dealt a fatal blow to the political development of Gaul. There, as in Latium, the downfall of the monarch inevitably weakened the power of the tribe; and the oligarchies, if they had the power, were not granted the time to work out their own salvation. Individual tribes, such as the Aedui and the Arverni, did indeed achieve some sort of supremacy over their weaker neighbours; and in certain cases two tribes, for example the Senones and the Parisii, formed one state. There were leagues of the Belgae, the Aquitani, and the maritime tribes. But supremacy had not hardened into sovereignty; and the leagues were loose, occasional, and uncertain. If

[1] *B. G.*, vii, 40, § 7.

some powerful baron, stimulated by ambition or impressed by the evils of disunion, succeeded in clutching the power of a Bretwalda,[1] he was forthwith suspected by his brother nobles of a design to revive the detested monarchy, and was lucky if he escaped the stake. The country swarmed with outlawed criminals, who had fled from justice, and exiled adventurers, who had failed to execute *coups d'état*. Nobles and their clients lived sword in hand; and hardly a year passed without some petty war. Every tribe, every hamlet, nay, every household was riven by faction. One was for the Romans and another for the Helvetii; one for the Aedui and another for the Arverni; one for a Diviciacus and another for a Dumnorix; one for the constitutional oligarchy and another for the lawless adventurer. All, in short, were for a party; and none was for the state.

Unifying influences.

Yet, besides the memory of their glorious past, which, as Caesar once remarked,[2] both saddened the Gauls and spurred them to desperate enterprises, there were certain influences which tended to make every man feel that he and his fellows belonged to one nation. If the French are the most united of all peoples, they owe this fortune to their country, whose unifying tendency has ever been the same. France, says Vidal de la Blache,[3] who of all geographers knows best how to make his readers feel the tie between motherland and people,—France is a country whose regions are naturally connected, and whose inhabitants learned early to mingle with and to know one another. No country of equal extent comprises such diversities; but they pass off into each other by insensible gradations. 'There is', says this writer, 'a beneficent force—a *genius loci*—which has guided our national life,—an indefinable power which, without obliterating

[1] The king of one of the seven principal kingdoms of early English history, if he was strong enough, exercised over the other kings 'an acknowledged, though probably not a very well-defined supremacy'. See E. A. Freeman's *Norman Conquest of England*, i, 1870, pp. 27, 542-8.

[2] *B. G.*, v, 54, § 5.

[3] E. Lavisse, *Hist. de la France*, t. i, 1 (by P. Vidal de la Blache), pp. 49, 51-2; *Bull. de géogr. hist. et descr.*, 1902, pp. 119, 124.

varieties, has blended them in a harmonious whole.' The wayfarer who roams from the sand-hills of the Channel to the mountains of Auvergne, from the uplands of the Morvan to the plain of the Berri, conversing with peasant and townsman in turn, who is touched by the spirit of prehistoric life wafted from the rude stone monuments of Brittany and by the spirit of imperial Rome which broods over the mediaeval glories of Bourges and over that ancient town[1] which is being revealed by the excavator on Mont Auxois—who feels how one influenced the other and both survive in our Mechanical Age—will comprehend what the geographer means; and for him the tale which Caesar told will become real.

Religion. And in Gaul, as in England before the Norman Conquest, there was another influence which in some measure counteracted disunion,—community of religious ideas, controlled by one ecclesiastical organization. Local deities of course abounded: but the great gods whom Caesar noticed, however variously they may have been conceived by various tribes, were common to Gaul; while every rite and every sacrifice was recognized and regulated by Druidism.[2]

But though religion might perhaps foster the idea, it could not supply the instant need of political union. Over the vast wooded plains of Germany fierce hordes were roaming, looking with hungry eyes towards the rich prize that lay beyond the Rhine. Moreover, the danger of Gaul was the danger of Italy. The invader who had been attracted by 'the pleasant land of France' would soon look southward over the cornfields, the vineyards, and the olive-gardens of Lombardy. When Caesar was entering public life, men who were not yet old could remember the terror which had been inspired by the Cimbri and Teutoni,—those fair-haired giants who had come down, like an avalanche, from the unknown lands that bordered on the northern sea. They descended into the valley of the Danube. They overthrew a Roman consul in Carinthia; crossed the Rhine and threaded the passes of the Jura; and overran the whole of Celtican

Invasions of the Cimbri and Teutoni.

113 B.C.

[1] Alesia. [2] See the notes on vi, 13-14, 17-18.

Gaul. Four years after their first victory they defeated 109 B.C. another consul in the Province. Then they vanished: but four years later they reappeared; and two more armies were routed on the banks of the Rhône. The 105 B.C. panic-stricken Italians dreaded another Allia: but, while Italy lay at their mercy, the Cimbri turned aside; and when, after three years' wandering in Spain and Gaul, they rejoined the Teutoni, and the two swarms headed for the south, Marius was waiting for them on the Rhône, and his brother consul in Cisalpine Gaul. Once more the host divided; and while the Teutoni encountered Marius, the Cimbri threaded the Brenner Pass, and descended the valley of the Adige. The Teutoni were 102 B.C. destroyed in the neighbourhood of Aix; the Cimbri at Vercellae, near the confluence of the Sesia and the Po. 101 B.C.

But if this danger had been averted, the movements of the other German peoples might well cause anxiety. A bitter enmity had for many years existed between the Aedui and the Arverni, each of whom were overlords of a group of tribes. The Arverni, in conjunction with the Sequani, hired the aid of a German chieftain, Ariovistus, who crossed the Rhine with fifteen thousand men. They were enchanted with the country, its abundance, and its comparative civilization; and fresh swarms were attracted by the good news. After a long struggle the Aedui were decisively beaten, and had to cede territory and give hostages to the Sequani, who apparently usurped the supremacy which had been exercised by the Arverni. One of the leading Aeduans, the famous Druid, Diviciacus, went to Rome and implored the Senate for help. His aim was not merely to get rid of Ariovistus and to free his country from the yoke of the Sequani, but also to regain his own influence, which had been eclipsed by that of his younger brother, Dumnorix. He was treated with marked distinction, made the acquaintance of Caesar, and discussed religion and philosophy with Cicero; but the Senate did not see their way to interfere on his behalf. All that they did was to pass a vague decree 61 B.C. that whoever might at any time be Governor of the Province should, as far as might be consistent with his duty

Invasion of Ariovistus. 71 B.C.

to the republic, make it his business to protect the Aedui and the other allies of the Roman people.[1] Meanwhile the Sequani had found that their ally was their master. He was not going to return to the wilds of Germany when he could get a rich territory for the asking. He compelled the Sequani to cede to him the fertile plain of Alsace. At length they and their Gallic allies, including, as it should seem, even the Aedui, mustered all their forces and made a desperate effort to throw off the yoke: 60 B.C. but they sustained a crushing defeat; and their conqueror was evidently determined to found a German kingdom in Gaul.

Revolt of the Allobroges. 61 B.C. 60 B.C.

Meanwhile the Allobroges, who had never yet fairly accepted their dependent condition, had risen in revolt. They were still embittered by defeat when the Roman agents in the Province were alarmed by the appearance of bands of marauders on the right bank of the Rhône.

Threatened invasion of the Helvetii.

They had been sent by the Helvetii, a warlike Celtic people, who dwelt in that part of Switzerland which lies between the Rhine, the Jura, the Lake of Geneva, and the Upper Rhône. The Romans had already felt the weight of their arms. A generation before, the Tigurini, one of the four Helvetian tribes, had thrown in their lot with the Cimbri. They had spread desolation along the valley 107 B.C. of the Rhône, defeated a consular army, and compelled the survivors to pass under the yoke. Now, in their turn, they were hard pressed by the Germans; they had reason to fear that the victorious host of Ariovistus would sever them from their Celtic kinsmen; and they had formed the resolution of abandoning their country and seeking a new home in the fertile land of Gaul.

The author of the movement was Orgetorix, the head of the Helvetian baronage. His story throws a vivid light upon the condition of the Gallic tribes. He persuaded his brother nobles that they would be able to win the mastery over Gaul, and undertook a diplomatic mission to the leading Transalpine states. Two chiefs were

[1] I agree with Long (*D. R. R.*, iii, 477) that the senatorial decree was aimed against Ariovistus; for there is no evidence that the Helvetii entered Gaul before 60 B.C.

ready to listen to him, Casticus, whose father had been the last king of the Sequani, and Dumnorix, brother of Diviciacus, who was at that time the most powerful chieftain of the Aedui. If Diviciacus saw the salvation of his country in dependence upon Rome, his brother regarded the connexion with abhorrence. He was able, ambitious, and rich; and the common people adored him. Orgetorix urged him and Casticus to seize the royal power in their respective states, as he intended to do in his, and promised them armed support. The three entered into a formal compact for the conquest and partition of Gaul; and, if they had any aim beyond their own aggrandizement, they may have hoped that their success would not only checkmate Ariovistus, but stop the anarchy which paralysed their country and avert the encroachments of Rome. Their purpose threatened the republic with a twofold danger. Once they had gone, the lands which they left vacant would be overrun by the Germans, who would then be in dangerous proximity to Italy; and there was no telling what mischief they might do in Gaul. Above the din of party strife at Rome the note of warning was heard. Men talked anxiously of the prospects of war; and the Senate sent commissioners to dissuade the Gallic peoples from joining the invaders. But the ambitious triumvirate had still to reckon with the Helvetii. They heard that their envoy had broken his trust, and immediately recalled him to answer for his conduct. He knew that if he were found guilty, he would be burned alive; and accordingly, when he appeared before his judges, he was followed by his retainers and slaves, numbering over ten thousand men. The magistrates, determined to bring him to justice, called the militia to arms; but in the meantime the adventurer died, perhaps by his own hand.

But the idea which he had conceived did not die. The Helvetii had no intention of abandoning their enterprise, nor Dumnorix of abandoning his. He had married a daughter of Orgetorix; and he was quite ready to help them if they would make it worth his while. They resolved to spend two years in preparing for their

emigration; bought up wagons and draught cattle; and laid in large supplies of corn. But in Italy there was a statesman ready to checkmate them.

Consulship of Caesar.

One of the consuls for the year 59 was Julius Caesar. About the time of the election Ariovistus, who had already paid court to Caesar's predecessor, Metellus, made overtures for an alliance with Rome; and doubtless with the object of securing his neutrality in view of the threatened Helvetian invasion, the Senate conferred upon him the title of Friend of the Roman People. They had already half promised to protect their Gallic allies. They now practically guaranteed to the conqueror of those allies the security of his conquest. And in this latter policy Caesar, if we may believe his own word,[1] fully concurred. He must have seen the impending troubles. But he was not yet free to encounter them; and he doubtless approved of any expedient for keeping the barbarian chief inactive until he could go forth in person to confront him. That time was at hand. In the year of his consulship Caesar was made Governor of Illyricum, or Dalmatia, and of Gaul, that is to say of Gallia Cisalpina, or Piedmont and the Plain of Lombardy, and of Gallia Braccata, or, as it was usually called, the Province. If Suetonius[2] was rightly informed, his commission gave him the right to include Gallia Comata—'the land of the long-haired Gauls'—that is to say the whole of independent Gaul north of the Province, within his sphere of action.[3] As he assumed the responsibility of invading Britain also, it may be well to say a few words about the people whom he found there. The primitive life of Britain, in its main features, though more backward,

How he attempted to provide against the Helvetian danger.

He is appointed Governor of Gaul.

[1] *B. G.*, i, 33, § 1; 35, § 1; 43, § 4. [2] *Divus Iulius*, 22.

[3] It has been objected (*Athenaeum*, Jan. 13, 1900, p. 42) that 'in another passage (*Gram.*, c. 3) Suetonius applies the expression "Gallia Comata" to a portion [only] of Transalpine Gaul'. Suetonius (ed. C. L. Roth, p. 289, l. 23) there says that 'Munatius Plancus, when he was Governor of Gallia Comata, founded Lugdunum' (*Munatius Plancus, cum Galliam regeret Comatam, Lugdunum condidit*), which surely does not prove that the Province could properly be called Gallia Comata. Still Suetonius may have used the expression incorrectly.

was not very different from that of Gaul; and from an early period there was intercourse between the two. Britain, like Gaul, had its Stone Age, its Bronze Age, its Early Iron Age. Its earlier inhabitants, like those of Gaul, were conquered by Celts, the latest hordes of whom were Belgae. Druidism flourished in Britain: the Britons worshipped gods who were also Gallic; and we have seen that trade was carried on across the Channel. But even in Caesar's time the Britons lagged behind their continental kinsmen. Though in the social and the political conditions, the manners and customs of the two countries there were many points of resemblance, in Britain there is no sign that either oligarchy or tyranny had yet anywhere supplanted monarchy.

His army. [The 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th.]

Caesar's appointment carried with it the command of an army consisting of four legions, perhaps about twenty thousand men. One of them was quartered in the Province: the other three were at Aquileia, near the site of the modern Trieste. He could also command the services of slingers from the Balearic Isles, of archers from Numidia and Crete, and of cavalry from Spain; but, as his own narrative will show, he raised the bulk of his cavalry year by year in Gaul itself. The number of the auxiliary infantry was perhaps generally about one-tenth of that of the regulars; the number of the cavalry varied greatly, but four hundred for each legion was near the average. Various military reforms had been introduced by Marius; and the legions of Caesar were, in many respects, different from those which had fought against Hannibal. They were no longer a militia, but an army of professional soldiers. Each legion consisted of ten cohorts; and the cohort, formed of three maniples or six centuries, had replaced the maniple as the tactical unit of the legion. From the earliest times the legion had been commanded by an officer called a military tribune. Six were assigned to each legion; and each one of the number held command in turn. But they now often owed their appointments to interest rather than to merit; and no tribune in Caesar's army was ever placed at the head of a legion. They still had administrative duties to perform, and

exercised subordinate commands. But the principal officers were the *legati*, who might loosely be called generals of division. Their powers were not strictly defined, but varied according to circumstances and to the confidence which they deserved. A *legatus* might be entrusted with the command of a legion or of an army corps; he might even, in the absence of his chief, be entrusted with the command of the entire army. But he was not yet, as such, the permanent commander of a legion. The officers upon whom the efficiency of the troops mainly depended were the centurions. They were chosen from the ranks; and their position has been roughly compared with that of our own non-commissioned officers. But their duties were, in some respects, at least as responsible as those of a captain: the centurions of the first cohort were regularly summoned to councils of war; and the chief centurion of a legion was actually in a position to offer respectful suggestions to the legate himself. Every legion included in its ranks a number of skilled artisans, called *fabri*, who have been likened to the engineers in a modern army; but they were not permanently enrolled in a separate corps. They fought in the ranks like other soldiers; but when their special services were required, they were directed by staff-officers called *praefecti fabrum*. It was their duty to execute repairs of every kind, to superintend the construction of permanent camps, and to plan fortifications and bridges; and it should seem that they also had charge of the artillery,—the *ballistae* and catapults, which hurled heavy stones and shot arrows against the defences and the defenders of a besieged town.

The legionary wore a sleeveless woollen shirt, a leathern tunic protected across breast and back by bands of metal, strips of cloth wound round the thighs and legs, hob-nailed shoes, and, in cold or wet weather, a kind of blanket or military cloak. His defensive armour consisted of helmet, shield, and greaves: his weapons were a short, two-edged, cut-and-thrust sword and a javelin, the blade of which, behind the hardened point, was made of soft iron, so that, when it struck home, it might bend and not be available for return. These, however, formed

only a part of the load which he carried on the march. Over his left shoulder he bore a pole, to which were fastened in a bundle his ration of grain, his cooking vessel, saw, basket, hatchet, and spade. For it was necessary that he should be a woodman and navvy as well as a soldier. No Roman army ever halted for the night without constructing a camp fortified with trench, rampart, and palisade.

The column was of course accompanied by a host of non-combatants. Each legion required at least five or six hundred horses and mules to carry its baggage;[1] and the drivers, with the slaves who waited on the officers, formed a numerous body. Among the camp-followers were also dealers who supplied the wants of the army, and were ready to buy booty of every kind.[2]

His intentions.

What line of policy Caesar intended to follow, he has not told us. While he was going forth to govern a distant land, the government of his own was lapsing into anarchy. He must have seen that the Germans would soon overrun Gaul unless the Romans prevented them; and that the presence of the Germans would revive the peril from which Marius had delivered Rome. We may feel sure that he had determined to teach them, by a rough lesson if necessary, that they must advance no further into Gaul, nor venture to cross the boundaries of the Province or of Italy. Confident in himself and supported by his fellow triumvirs, Pompey and Crassus, he was prepared to act without waiting for senatorial

[1] Caesar nowhere mentions that he used wagons or carts during the Gallic war, though it seems certain that he must have used some, to carry artillery and material for mantlets and the like. See *Bell. Afr.*, 9, § 1; *B. C.*, iii, 42, § 4. The larger pieces of artillery were of course not conveyed entire, but in parts, which were put together as occasion required.

[2] There is no evidence that there was any medical staff in Caesar's army or under the republic at all, though it may perhaps be inferred from a passage in Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 11) that wealthy officers were attended by their private surgeons. Moreover, as Long remarks (*D. R. R.*, ii, 19), 'it is hardly possible that there were no surgeons or physicians in a Roman army [in Caesar's time] when they were employed to look after the health and wounds of gladiators.'

sanction; and it can hardly be doubted that he dreamed of adding a new province to the empire, which should round off its frontier and add to its wealth. But whether he had definitely resolved to attempt a conquest of such magnitude, or merely intended to follow, as they appeared, the indications of fortune, it would be idle to conjecture. The greatest statesman is, in a sense, an opportunist. When Caesar should find himself in Gaul, he would know best how to shape his ends.


Tolosa
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ROME .

C. IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS PRIMUS

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum 1 unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi 2 omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt.

The three divisions of Gaul.

1, § 1. *Gallia . . . divisa.* Notice the order of the words. They must not be translated by 'All Gaul is divided', which is not only hideous, but wrong. The meaning is 'Gaul, taken as a whole, is divided'. The plural—*Galliae* and *Galliarum*—used of the several divisions of Gaul, occurs in Cicero (*Fam.*, viii, 5, § 2; 9, § 2; &c.); and Caesar wished to make it clear that he meant the whole of Transalpine Gaul.

Celtae. This word, in its widest sense, denotes various kindred peoples, who spoke languages from which the modern Celtic dialects are descended; who originally inhabited Central Europe; and who migrated into Gaul, Spain, Britain, Italy, and Asia Minor. The Greek equivalents of *Celtae* and *Galli* were used indifferently by Polybius. Caesar uses the word *Celtae* in a narrow sense; for the Belgae also were a Celtic people. *Galli* in Celtic meant 'warriors' or 'brave men'. It must be borne in mind that although all the people who dwelt between the Seine and the Garonne called themselves Celtae, there were no Celtae there some centuries before Caesar's time. The Celtae were a mixed population, descended partly from pre-Celtic inhabitants, partly from Celtic conquerors.

§ 2. *lingua.* See pp. xxiv–xxv, xxviii–xxx, xlvii. Celtic was not generally spoken in Aquitania. The Aquitanians spoke Iberian, that is to say, Spanish dialects, probably including Basque, which is still spoken in the south-western corner of France and the adjacent part of Spain. Most of the Celtae spoke a language called Gaulish or Gallo-Brythonic, which was also that of the Belgae, and was virtually identical with the language of the Brythons, or British Celts, from which Welsh is descended. Perhaps, however, in Caesar's time some of the Celtae spoke another Celtic dialect, akin to that which was the ancestor of Gaelic; for at a later period inscriptions were erected in Gaul in a language which was different from Gaulish; and though it may have been a dead language (Latin inscriptions belonging to our own time are to be seen in London), it must have been once spoken in Gaul.

Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Ma-
3 trona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi
sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate
provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mer-
catores saepe commeant atque ea quae ad effeminandos
4 animos pertinent important, proximique sunt Ger-
manis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum con-
tinenter bellum gerunt. Qua de causa Helvetii
quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere
cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum
aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus
5 bellum gerunt. [Eorum una pars, quam Gallos ob-
tinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano,
continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Bel-
garum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen
6 Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis
Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem
partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et
7 orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad
Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est
ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis
et septentriones.]

Gallos . . . dividit. These statements were accurate enough for Caesar's purpose; but they are not literally correct. The Bituriges Vivisci, a tribe which he does not mention, belonging to the Celtae, inhabited the country round Bordeaux on both banks of the Garonne, the estuary of which is called the Gironde; and the Veliocasses, a Belgic people (ii, 4, § 9), had some territory on the left bank of the Seine (*C. G.*, p. 344).

§ 3. *provinciae.* See p. xlii.

§§ 5–7. H. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 20–3) and A. Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 27–30) have independently given reasons for believing that this passage was not written by Caesar. The most noteworthy are that *initium capit*, *ab* (Sequanis), *ab* (extremis Galliae finibus) *oriuntur*, (spectant) *in*, (spectant) *inter*, and the singular, *septentrionem*, are unclassical or inconsistent with Caesar's style.

Eorum, the vagueness of which Meusel derides, can only mean *Gallorum* in the wider sense—Belgae, Aquitani, and Galli—or it must be regarded as loosely equivalent to *terrae quam incolunt Belgae, Aquitani, Galli*, the word *partium* being understood. As far as I can see, *eorum* and *eos* are used just as vaguely in vi, 11, § 3, 13, § 4, and vii, 75, § 4, the genuineness of which is certain.

2 Orgetorix's conspiracy. 61 B.C.

Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala, [et P.] M. Pisone consulibus regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum vir- 2 tute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci natura 3 Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat ut et minus 4 late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem 5 hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3 The Helvetii prepare to emigrate into Gaul: Orgetorix's intrigues.

His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coemere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse 2 duxerunt; in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix de- 3

2, § 1. *M. Messala . . . consulibus*,—that is to say, in 61 B.C. *et P.*, which is inserted in the MSS. before *M. Pisone*, is certainly an interpolation. As Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 68), no Roman in the time of the republic had two *praenomina*; and in such phrases Caesar invariably omitted *et*.

§ 5. *milia passuum*. See p. 403.

3, § 1. *pertinerent*. The subjunctive is used because Caesar is not giving his own opinion as to what preparations were required, but that of the Helvetii: 'to make the necessary preparations' means 'to make the preparations which, as they considered, were necessary'.

§ 3. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 54–5, 105) deletes *ad eas res conficiendas* on the ground that Caesar would not have repeated

4 ligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscipit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio,
61 B.C. Sequano, cuius pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet,
5 quod pater ante habuerit; itemque Dumnorigi Haeduo, fratri Diviciaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate

so clumsily a phrase which he had used only two lines before. I am not so sure. Certainly he would not have done so if he had revised his work: but he wrote very rapidly (viii, Praef., § 6); and painstaking writers, in revising their manuscript, have often detected similar clumsy repetitions, which they had made unconsciously. Besides, if *ad eas res conficiendas* is expunged, it becomes necessary to insert *dux*, as Meusel does, after *Orgetorix*. On the other hand, Meusel is perhaps right in deleting *sibi* (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 54–5, 72); for it has no point unless Caesar meant to imply that Orgetorix had delegated certain functions to others. Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 6, n. 1) adopts the reading of B^2,—(Is) *ubi*; but *in eo itinere* appear to be the opening words of a new sentence.

suscipit is an emendation, due to Davies and accepted by Meusel. The MSS. have *suscepit*; but Caesar nowhere changes tenses of the indicative within a sentence or a series of connected sentences without an evident reason. I have therefore adopted similar emendations in a few other passages. See *J. B.*, 1894, pp. 342–4.

§ 4. *amicus* was a title which the Senate bestowed on foreign chieftains whom it wished to conciliate. See p. xlii.

ut regnum . . . habuerit. Careful readers will have noticed that *persuadet* is followed not by *occupet*, but by *occuparet*: the reason is that *persuadet*, like *deligitur* (§ 3), is historic present, and is therefore equivalent to *persuasit*. Even in English some writers, notably Carlyle, in telling a story, use the present tense instead of the past when they feel that it is more vivid. Still, Caesar almost always uses the present subjunctive after the historic present of verbs of asking and the like,—*orare*, *rogare*, *imperare*, &c. (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 354–5). After *occuparet* one might have expected *habuisset*, not *habuerit*; but in relative clauses Caesar often uses the perfect subjunctive even after and before secondary tenses of the same mood. See *J. B.*, 1894, pp. 362–4, 381.

Evidently Catamantaloedis had either been dethroned or succeeded by an oligarchical government. Such revolutions (see pp. liv–lvii) were common in Gaul in the century that preceded the arrival of Caesar.

§ 5. *Diviciaci.* (See p. lix.) We shall learn more about him in chapters 16, 18–20, 31–2, 41, &c.

principatum. It is doubtful whether in this passage *principatus* means 'the principal [unofficial] power' or 'the chief magistracy'. If it means the latter, Dumnorix was at this time (60 B.C.) Vergobret of the Aedui (see 16, § 5). In vi, 8, § 9 *principatus* denotes 'the chief magistracy' of the Treveri; but

obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem
conaretur persuadet eique filiam suam in matrimonium
dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, 6
propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obten-
turus esset: non esse dubium quin totius Galliae 7
plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque
exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac 8
oratione adducti inter se fidem et ius iurandum dant
et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissi-
mos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

Orgetorix called to account by the Helvetian magistrates: his suicide.

Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Mo- **4**
ribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere
coegerunt; damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut
igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae dictionis 2
Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad
hominum milia decem, undique coegit, et omnes
clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum

in vii, 39, § 2, where we learn that between Eporedorix and Viridomarus there was *de principatu contentio*, the meaning is simply that they were rivals for power; for the chief magistrate was then Convictolitavis (vii, 33, § 4). I am inclined to believe, however, that Dumnorix was Vergobret; for if not, we must assume that as he held the *principatus*, he was stronger than the Vergobret; and if so, he would probably have made himself king (cf. i, 18, §§ 3–9; ii, 1, § 4; and *C. G.*, pp. 555-6).

§ 7. *totius Galliae* is equivalent to *totius Galliae civitatum* (or *populorum*).

§ 8. *Hac . . . sperant.* The meaning is clear, but the expression is loose; for though *adducti* refers only to Casticus and Dumnorix, the subject of *dant* and of *sperant* is really, though not grammatically, Casticus, Dumnorix, and Orgetorix.

4, § 1. *per indicium*,—of an informer.

§ 2. *ad* (hominum) is here equivalent to *circiter* or *fere*.

clientes held an honourable position, which resembled that of the armed retainers of mediaeval barons; and a powerful landowner, who could afford to maintain a large number of them (cf. 18, §§ 3-6; ii, 1, § 4), might make himself supreme in his tribe. In vii, 40, § 7 Caesar remarks that 'Gallic custom brands it as shameful for retainers to desert their lords even when all is lost'. He also uses the word *clientes* to denote tribes which stood in a dependent relation to some more powerful tribe. Cf. i, 31, § 6; iv, 6, § 4; v, 39, § 3; vii, 75, § 2.

obaeratos. This word is illustrated by vi, 13, § 2, where Caesar, speaking of the lower classes of Gaul, says, 'Generally, when crushed by debt or heavy taxation or ill-treated by powerful individuals, they bind themselves to serve men of rank, who exercise over them all the rights that masters have over their slaves'

habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos ne causam diceret
3 se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis
ius suum exequi conaretur multitudinemque hominum
ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est;
4 neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse
sibi mortem consciverit.

5 Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id quod
constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant.
2 Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt,
oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad
quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt;
3 frumentum omne, praeter quod secum portaturi erant,
comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium
mensum molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre
4 iubent. Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis
vicisque exustis una cum iis proficiscantur, Boiosque,
qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum

(*plerique cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus; in hos eadem omnia sunt iura quae dominis in servos*).

§ 3. *Cum . . . conaretur.* As Mr. W. E. P. Pantin explains in his lucid chapter on 'The Conjunction *Cum*' (*Macmillan's Latin Course: Third Part*, p. 60), '*Cum* with a subjunctive puts before us the *circumstances* in which the action represented by the principal verb takes place,' whereas *cum* with the indicative tells us 'only how one action is related to another with regard to the *time* of its occurrence'.

5, § 1. *ut . . . exeant* explains *id quod constituerant.*

§ 3. *domum reditionis.* The construction is noticeable; but the noun, *reditio*, is formed from a verb of motion, and parallel instances are to be found in Cicero (Brutus, 16, § 62, &c.).

essent. After the historic present Caesar not infrequently uses an imperfect subjunctive in final clauses which do not depend upon verbs of asking and the like (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 354–5). See the second note on 3, § 4.

mensum. C. Wagener (*N. ph. R.*, 1899, pp. 241–6) shows that the form *mensium* does not occur in any writer before, contemporary with, or a little later than Caesar.

§ 4. The learner has probably noticed that *iis* is used instead of *se*, and he will find other instances; but to lecture Caesar for inaccuracy, as some editors do, is presumptuous. It would be wiser to observe how he used the language of which he was a master and to modify grammatical rules. Probably he shrank from writing *secum* after (oppidis) *suis*.

transierant Noreiamque oppugnabant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

They determine to march through the Roman Province.

Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo **6**
exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur, mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent; alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius 2
atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque non nullis locis vado transitur. Extremum 3
oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Genava. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant vel vi coacturos ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem compa- 4
ratis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, 58 B.C.
A. Gabinio consulibus.

oppugnabant was proposed by H. Kraffert instead of the MS. reading *oppugnarant*. As Meusel remarks (*J.B.*, 1894, pp. 236–7), to say that the Boi *had* once besieged Noreia would in this context be pointless and irrelevant.

6, § 1. *Erant omnino . . . possent.* There were other passes, north of the Pas de l'Écluse (*unum . . . Rhodanum*), leading through the Jura; but they were out of the question, either because the Helvetii shrank from encountering Ariovistus (see pp. lix–lxii) or for some other reason which Caesar ignored (*C.G.*, pp. 613–14). The subjunctive—*possent*—is necessary because *quibus* is equivalent to *talia ut iis*; and the explanation of *ducerentur* is similar.

§ 2. *qui nuper pacati erant.* See p. lx.

§ 3. *quod nondum . . . viderentur.* The subjunctive is used because the disaffection of the Allobroges is mentioned simply as a ground for the confidence of the Helvetii, not as a fact which Caesar guarantees.

§ 4. *qua die. Dies* in the singular is often feminine when it means a fixed day, and almost always when, as in 7, § 6, it means a period of time.

a. d. V. Kal. Apr. The Roman calendar was at this time in disorder; and the disorder became much worse before 45 B.C., on the first day of which the Julian calendar came into operation. Under the old calendar the year consisted of only

Caesar marches from Rome to Geneva and destroys the bridge over the Rhône: the Hel-

7 Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam
nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci
et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulte-
2 riorem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Provinciae
toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat
(erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una), pontem,
3 qui erat ad Genavam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius

355 days, or, roughly, twelve lunar months; and an additional month, consisting alternately of 22 and 23 days, was intercalated every other year after the 23rd of February. This, however, was an excessive correction, the excess amounting to 4 days in every 4 years; and in 191 B.C. the college of pontiffs was authorized to make or to omit intercalations at their discretion. This privilege they often abused, omitting an intercalary month occasionally, in order to please some governor of a province who wished to return as soon as possible to Rome. Between 58 and 45 B.C. only two months were intercalated; and the result was that in 46 B.C. the calendar was 90 days in advance of the real time. In order to make it right, Caesar, who was then Dictator, enacted that that year should contain 445 days. The date which he gives in this passage—*a. d. V. Kal. Apr.*—corresponded with March 24 of the Julian calendar and with March 22 of our reformed calendar (*A. B.*, pp. 706–26; *C. Q.*, 1912, pp. 73–81).

7, § 1. *eos . . . conari* is added to explain *id nuntiatum esset.* The English phrase, '*It* was announced that,' &c., is somewhat similar. We should say, 'As soon as Caesar was informed that they were attempting to march,' &c.

Galliam ulteriorem means Transalpine Gaul, including the Roman Province.

ad Genavam. Remember that if *ad* were omitted, the meaning would be different.

§ 2. *legio una.* This was one of the four legions—the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th (see p. lxiii and 10, § 3)—which Caesar had under his command when he started for Gaul. In the time of Marius the legion, on a war footing, was supposed to number 6,000 men (Appian, *Mithr.*, 87, 108); and the legions of Sulla (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 9; *Marius*, 35) and of Lucullus (Appian, *Mithr.*, 72) were of the same strength. The organization of the army in the time of Caesar remained the same; and we may infer from one of Cicero's letters (*Att.*, ix, 6, § 3) and from Caesar's narrative of the civil war (*B. C.*, iii, 4, § 3) that what we may call the ideal strength of the legion was also unchanged. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that when Caesar had, for example, eight legions under his command, they amounted to 48,000 men; for his losses were of course considerable. He tells us (v, 49, § 7) that in the fifth year of the Gallic war two legions, including perhaps the 400 cavalry (46, § 4) that accompanied them, numbered barely 7,000. From time to time, however, his losses were repaired, wholly or in part, by fresh drafts (vii, 7, § 5; 57, § 1). See *C. G.*, pp. 559–63.

vetii ask his leave to march through the Province: his temporizing reply.

adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum
mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nam-
meius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinebant,
qui dicerent sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter
per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter
haberent nullum: rogare ut eius voluntate id sibi
facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cas- 4
sium consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvetiis
pulsum et sub iugum missum, concedendum non
putabat; neque homines inimico animo, data facultate 5
per provinciam itineris faciundi, temperaturos ab
iniuria et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium 6
intercedere posset dum milites quos imperaverat con-
venirent, legatis respondit diem se ad deliberandum
sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. April. reverte-
rentur.

§ 3. *dicerent*. See the second note on 3, § 4. In final relative clauses Caesar uses the present subjunctive after an historic present much oftener than the imperfect. Here the imperfect may be due to the influence of *obtinebant* (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 356, 361). If the reader does not quite understand what I mean, an English example will make it clear. In a book written by a distinguished scholar this sentence occurs: 'It would have been easy enough for Virgil to have taken up at once the heroic vein in the man' [Aeneas]. 'To have taken up' ought logically to be 'to take up'; but the perfect was loosely used under the influence of 'it would have been'.

§ 4. *L. Cassium*. This officer was defeated in 107 B.C. by the Tigurini (see 12, §§ 4–7), one of the four Helvetian tribes. According to the *Epitome* of Livy (ch. 65, with which cf. Orosius, v, 15, §§ 23–4), the defeat took place in the country of the Nitiobroges, which corresponded with the departments of Lot-et-Garonne and Tarn-et-Garonne. Mr. W. E. Heitland has suggested to me that when the Helvetii determined to settle in Western Gaul (*B. G.*, i, 10, § 1), they may have been influenced by the recollection of what the Tigurini had achieved (*C. G.*, p. 555).

sub iugum. The 'yoke' was composed of two javelins planted in the ground and crossed above by a third. The troops were disarmed before they defiled under it; and in doing so they were of course obliged to stoop, and were mocked by their enemies (*D. S.*, iii, 667).

§ 6. *Id. April*. The Ides, that is to say, the 13th, of April corresponded with April 9 of the Julian calendar. Careful readers will have inferred from the date that *diem* does not mean 'a day', which, moreover, would in Latin be *unum diem*.

He fortifies the left bank of the Rhône: futile attempts of the Helvetii to force a passage.

8 Interea ea legione quam secum habebat militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Iuram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum XVIIII murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim
2 fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito
3 transire conentur, prohibere possit. Ubi ea dies quam constituerat cum legatis venit et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare et, si vim facere conentur,
4 prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii ea spe deiecti navibus iunctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, non numquam interdiu, saepius noctu si perrumpere possent conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

Dumnorix induces

9 Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis

8, § 1. *murum . . . perducit.* Caesar's description, as Colonel Stoffel pointed out after he had examined the banks of the Rhône between Geneva and the Pas de l'Écluse, is not to be understood literally. Evidently he threw up earthworks only in the places where the bank was not so steep as to form a natural fortification; and Dion Cassius (xxxviii, 31, § 4), who says that he fortified the most important points, had the wit to perceive his meaning. Some commentators, indeed, have insisted that a continuous rampart would have been a better protection. But how could the Helvetii have climbed the banks, where they were precipitous, with their wagons? And, supposing that some of them had climbed without their wagons, they would also have been able to climb the assumed rampart unless Roman soldiers had been there to defend it; while if they had been there, the bank would have served as a natural rampart. Caesar was not writing a treatise for military engineers, but a popular narrative; and he expressed himself loosely (*C. G.*, pp. 614–15).

§ 2. *praesidia* here would be best translated by 'piquets'.

castella,—redoubts constructed at intervals along the line of earthworks, and garrisoned by piquets (*praesidia*).

conentur. The MS. reading is *conarentur*; but, as Meusel shows (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 356), after the historic present, *communit*, the present, *possit*, which is found in $\alpha\pi$, accords with Caesar's usage in final relative clauses, and if he wrote it, not *posset*, which occurs only in ρ, he must also have written *conentur*.

§ 4. *Helvetii . . . conati.* These attacks were doubtless made only by impatient isolated bands. The Helvetian commander (see 13, § 2) would not have sanctioned such folly.

invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum 2
sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Haeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a
Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione 3
apud Sequanos plurimum poterat et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo
beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem sus- 4
cipit et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant, Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant.

the Sequani to let them pass through their territory.

Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per **10**
agrum Sequanorum et Haeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus
absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, 2
intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet.
Ob eas causas ei munitioni quam fecerat T. Labienum 3
legatum praeficit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus

Caesar, learning that they intend to pass through the country of the Santoni, goes back to Cisalpine Gaul and

9, § 2. *impetrarent*. See the second note on 5, § 3.

10, § 1. *renuntiatur*. Perhaps, as Meusel thinks, Caesar wrote *nuntiatur*; but Schneider defends *renuntiatur* on the ground that the news was probably brought by spies whom Caesar had himself sent out to ascertain the plans of the Helvetii.

§ 2. *provinciae* is genitive. Cf. v, 19, § 2,—*magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat.*

§ 3. *legatum*. The reader will notice that this word is used here and in many other passages in a sense different from that which belongs to it in 7, § 3 and 8, § 3. As it is formed from *legare*, its original meaning is that of a deputy or commissioner of any kind. *Legati*, in the sense in which the word is used here (see p. lxiv), were generally, if not always, senators, and were as a rule appointed by the senate (Cicero, *Fam.*, i, 7, § 10); but Caesar, perhaps without consulting that assembly, could appoint *legati* himself (Cicero, *Att.*, ii, 18, § 3; *Q. fr.*, ii, 10 [12], §§ 4–5); and indeed Cicero did so when he was Governor of Cilicia (*Fam.*, xiii, 55, § 1. *Legati* were expected to perform any duty with which their chief might entrust them. On Monday a *legatus* might be placed in command of a legion and lead it in battle (*B. G.*, i, 52, § 1); on Tuesday he might be sent to raise a fresh levy of troops (vi, 1, § 1). Several passages (i, 52, § 1 ii, 26, § 1; v, 1, § 1; 25, § 5; vii, 45, § 7) prove that in Caesar's

returns with reinforcements.

contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes
4 erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Ceutrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus
5 occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis ab Ocelo, quod est ⟨oppidum⟩ citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

time any *legatus* who commanded a legion in Gaul was specially appointed to his command by Caesar and held it only so long as Caesar pleased. The office of *legatus* was passing through a transitional stage and gradually tending to crystallize into the form which it assumed under the Empire, when the *legatus* became a *legatus legionis* (*C. G.*, pp. 563–4).

Italiam here, as often, means Cisalpine Gaul; for Caesar could not levy troops outside his province.

duasque . . . conscribit. Caesar raised these legions, which were numbered XI and XII, on his own responsibility. This is proved by the facts that it was agreed in the conference which he held with Pompey and Crassus at Luca in 56 B.C. that he should receive a grant for the payment of the legions which he had raised (Cicero, *De prov. cons.*, 11, § 28; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 24; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 21), and that this grant was voted by the Senate (Cicero, *Fam.*, i, 7, § 10). We may suppose that before Caesar left Italy the recruits had received orders to be ready to assemble along the road, so as to join the veteran legions on their march from Aquileia; for otherwise he might not have been able to reach the Saône near Lyons by the early part of June, as he certainly did (12, §§ 1–2; 16, § 2). See *C. G.*, p. 48, n. 2, and *C. Q.*, 1912, p. 80.

§§ 3–5. *qua proximum . . . exercitum ducit.* Ocelum (§ 5) was close to Avigliana (see p. 418): therefore in the Italian part of his march Caesar moved up the valley of the Dora Riparia, and of course crossed the Mont Genèvre and passed by Brigantio (Briançon) in the country of the Caturiges. As he was making for that part of the country of the Segusiavi which lies between the Rhône and the Saône near Lyons (see the note on 11, § 1), it will be evident to any one who consults a good map that his shortest route would have led past Grenoble, if between Briançon and Grenoble there was then a practicable road: but it is very doubtful whether this route would have led him into the country of the Vocontii; and I therefore believe that he took the road which leads past Embrun, Chorges, Gap, and Die (*C. G.*, pp. 615–16).

§ 5. *citerioris provinciae*,—Cisalpine Gaul.

The Aedui, Ambarri, and Allobroges solicit his aid against the Helvetii.

Helvetii iam per angustias et fines Sequanorum **11**
suas copias traduxerant et in Haeduorum fines per-
venerant eorumque agros populabantur. Haedui, 2
cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos
ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: ita se omni 3
tempore de populo Romano meritos esse ut paene in
conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi [eorum]
in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint.
Eodem tempore ⟨quo⟩ Haedui Ambarri, necessarii et 4
consanguinei Haeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt
sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim

11, § 1. *Helvetii iam . . . pervenerant.* The route which the Helvetii pursued, after threading the Pas de l'Écluse (6, §§ 1–2; 9, § 1) to the Saône, cannot be traced exactly, but can be roughly indicated if we can find out where they crossed the river. They crossed it where it was so sluggish that one could not tell, by merely looking, in which direction it was flowing (12, § 1); and it answers most closely to this description in that part of its course which lies between Trévoux and Thoissey. If the Helvetii crossed here, they had probably moved along the right bank of the Rhône as far as Culoz, and then struck off westward, along the line of the road which leads past Virieu-le-Grand, Tenay, and St. Rambert, and across the plateau of Dombes. If, on the other hand, they crossed the Saône at Mâcon, they doubtless followed the route which passes through Châtillon, Nantua, and Bourg. Mâcon is on the direct road from the Pas de l'Écluse to Toulon-sur-Arroux, near which, as we shall see in the note to 24, § 1, the decisive battle of the campaign was fought; and M. Jullian argues that the Helvetii could only have found the necessary boats at a frequented spot. But boats might surely have been found between Belleville and Villefranche, which are both on great roads: such boats as the Helvetii did find were not sufficient, for they used rafts as well (12, § 1); and if they had crossed at a place so renowned as Mâcon (Matisco), which Caesar mentions in vii, 90, § 7, would he not have said so? Moreover, the territory opposite Mâcon on the eastern bank of the river belonged to the Ambarri (p. 406): if, then, the Helvetii had crossed at Mâcon, Caesar would surely have written in 10, § 5 not *in Segusiavos*, but *in Ambarros* (exercitum duxit). See *C. G.*, pp. 616–19.

§ 3. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 64) deletes *eorum*, because if there were a pronoun, it ought to be *sui*, and even if *eorum* were admissible, it ought to follow *agri*.

§ 4. ⟨*quo*⟩ *Haedui Ambarri.* The MSS. have *Haedui Ambarri* only, which will not do. Accordingly Meusel deletes *Haedui*; but, as he has justly remarked (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 72), one cannot see how the word could have been interpolated, and accordingly he was formerly inclined, as I am, to believe that *quo*, which is supplied in the Aldine edition (1513), dropped out of the text.

5 hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt et demonstrant sibi praeter agri 6 solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

The bulk of the Helvetii cross the Saône: Caesar defeats their rearguard on the left bank.

12 Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Haeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat iudicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. 2 Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres iam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit quae nondum

12, § 1. *Id Helvetii . . . transibant.* See the note on 11, § 1. Perhaps the Helvetii crossed the Saône at various points; for it has been suggested that if they had all crossed at one, they would have opposed Caesar's passage (*C. G.*, p. 616).

§ 2. *exploratores.* The English equivalent is not 'scouts', but 'patrols'. Scouts, properly so called, were known as *speculatores* (ii, 11, § 2).

vero is the reading of β. Most editors adopt the reading *fere*; but Schneider points out that as three-fourths of the Helvetii had already crossed the river, the remainder must have been one-fourth, and therefore *fere* would be pointless. Cf. Klotz, *C. S.*, p. 98, n. 2.

de tertia vigilia is generally explained as meaning 'in the third watch' (*Th. l. L.*, v, 64, with which cf. *Cl. Ph.*, 1913, pp. 7–13), though Caesar sometimes writes *tertia vigilia*, &c., without *de*. I am not quite sure that *de* does not mean 'just after' (the beginning of the third watch). See the note on ii, 7, § 1. For military purposes the Romans divided the period between sunset and sunrise into four watches of equal length, the third of which began at midnight.

e castris profectus . . . transierat. We have seen (11, § 1) that the Helvetii probably crossed the Saône between Trévoux and Thoissey. When Caesar set out to attack the Tigurini he was in the country of the Segusiavi (10, § 5) and probably south of Trévoux; for Trévoux, being situated between two places called Ambérieux, may have belonged to the Ambarri. South of Trévoux the most suitable spot for a camp is on the heights which command Sathonay. The Tigurini were evidently not more than a few miles north of Caesar's camp; and we may infer that the route by which they had approached the Saône was the valley of the Formans. This valley is dominated on

flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes 3
adgressus magnam partem eorum concidit; reliqui
sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas
abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus; nam 4
omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est.
Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum 5
memoria L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius
exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive casu sive 6
consilio deorum immortalium quae pars civitatis
Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano
intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re 7
Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias
ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem
legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio quo Cassium interfecerant.

Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut **13**
consequi posset, pontem in Arari faciendum curat
atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii repentino eius 2
adventu commoti cum id quod ipsi diebus XX aeger-

He crosses the Saône: the Helvetii attempt to negotiate,

the left by hills which would have screened the Roman column from observation as it marched from Sathonay (*C. G.*, pp. 618-19).

§ 3. *Eos impeditos . . . abdiderunt.* According to Appian (*Celtica*, 1, § 3) and Plutarch (*Caesar*, 18), it was not Caesar who defeated the Tigurini, but Labienus; and it has been said that Plutarch's words—*οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ Λαβιηνός*—show that he intended to correct Caesar. But, supposing that he did, what reason is there to believe that his statement is more trustworthy than Caesar's? Caesar gave all his lieutenants, and especially Labienus, full credit for their exploits; and even if he had wished to rob Labienus of his due, he must have known that every officer in the army would detect his lie, and would make the truth known privately if not publicly. I believe that Plutarch and Appian either drew hasty inferences from the fact that Caesar, when he went back to Italy for reinforcements (10, § 3), had left Labienus near the Pas de l'Écluse, that is, east of the Saône, or, like some modern writers, made the mistake of assuming that Caesar himself was encamped on the west of the river. But, as M. Camille Jullian suggests, it is quite possible that Labienus may have commanded a division under Caesar (*C. G.*, pp. 231-3).

§ 5. *L. Cassium . . . miserat.* See the first note on 7, § 4.

§ 7. *quod.* See the second note on 14, § 3.

13, § 1. *pontem.* As this was constructed in a single day, it was doubtless made, like the bridge which Labienus threw across an arm of the Seine (vii, 58, § 4), by lashing barges together.

rime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno
fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cui
legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassia
3 dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare eg
si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret,
eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios u
4 eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; s
bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veter
incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Hel
5 vetiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortu
esset, cum ii qui flumen transissent suis auxilium
ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere
6 virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita a patribus
maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute con-
7 tenderent quam dolo aut insidiis niterentur. Quare
ne committeret ut is locus ubi constitissent ex
calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus
nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

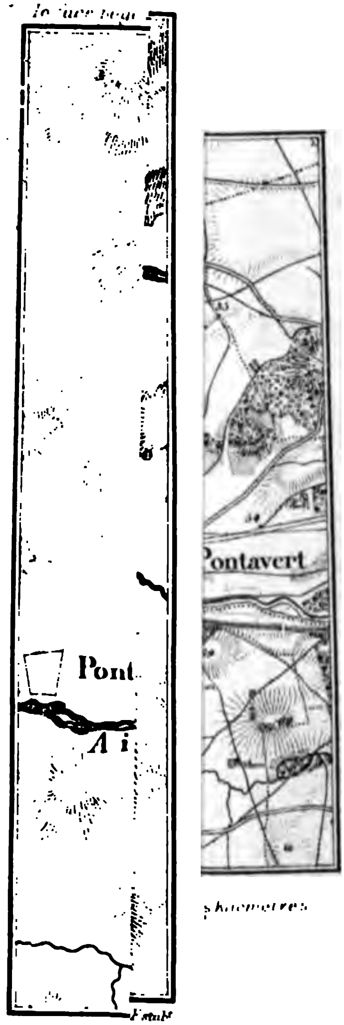
14 His Caesar ita respondit: eo sibi minus dubitationis
dari, quod eas res quas legati Helvetii commemoras-
sent memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre quo
2 minus merito populi Romani accidissent; qui si
alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse
difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque com-
missum a se intellegeret quare timeret neque sine
3 causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae

§ 2. *ut flumen transirent.* See the note on 5, § 1.

§ 5. The conjunction *quod*, as the reader will notice in the course of this book, has various senses. Here it evidently means 'as to the fact that', but the force of this clumsy phrase can be given in another way,—'Granted that he had surprised one clan . . . he need not therefore exaggerate his own powers,' &c.

§ 6. *contenderent quam dolo* is an emendation, proposed by B. Dinter. The MS. reading, *quam dolo contenderent*, although Heller (*Ph. Suppl.*, 1889, p. 359) has defended it, is hardly grammatical.

14, § 3. The only way of translating the first *quod*, which is merely a connecting particle, is to omit it. Our language does not require such a link between the two sentences. Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 1536) regards this *quod* as a relative pronoun; and he would interpret it, I suppose, as meaning 'As to which' (, if, &c.).



Pontavert

oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua 4
victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se impune iniurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo 5
gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores

quod (eo invito), as in 12, § 7, and many other passages, serves to explain a preceding word,—here *iniuriarum*. A translation will make this clear: 'Even if he were willing to forget an old affront, how could he banish the recollection of fresh outrages,—their attempt to force a passage through the Province?' &c. Where *quod* means 'because', as in 6, § 3, 9, § 3, and 47, § 2, the meaning is unmistakable.

If *posse* is the right reading, not *posset*, which is found in χ, its subject can only be *se* understood. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 339) thinks that it may be *populum Romanum*. This seems to me impossible; for the Roman People could not have been said to forget outrages which had only just been committed and of which they therefore knew nothing. Meusel, remarking that in § 2 the subject is *populus Romanus*, insists that if the subject of *vellet* (§ 3) is Caesar, *se* is required before *posse*, and says that it may have been omitted in the MSS. by a copyist's neglect.

§ 4. *Quod*. See the note on 13, § 5.

se . . . tulisse. Schneider argues that, although Sallust (*Jugurtha*, 31, § 2) uses *impune* actively, *se* cannot refer to Caesar, for Caesar had not long (*diu*) put up with the outrages of the Helvetii. Referring to Cicero, *Fam.*, xiii, 77, § 3 (*servus meus . . . cum multos libros surripuisset nec se impune laturum putaret, aufugit*), he says that *impune iniurias tulisse* means 'had committed injuries with impunity'; and similarly Kraner explains *impune aliquid ferre* as meaning 'to escape punishment for something'. Mommsen, however (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 200), deleted *iniurias* (*impune tulisse* would then mean 'had got off scot-free'), remarking that 'nowhere in the speech of the Helvetii [13, §§ 3-7] is there any mention of lasting injury suffered by the Romans at their hands, but it is plainly intimated that the Romans had long refrained from attacking them'. Still, the Helvetii *had* committed outrages; and I see no reason to doubt that Caesar made the remark in question. Prammer's emendation—(iniurias) *intulisse*—seems to me uncalled for.

eodem pertinere may be translated by 'pointed to the same conclusion'.

§§ 5-6. The reader will perhaps have noticed that although in §§ 1-4 past tenses of the subjunctive, as one would have expected, follow the past indicative, *respondit*, in the next two sentences Caesar preferred the present,—*doleant*, *velint*, *sint*, &c.

interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere.
6 Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat, et si Haeduis de iniuriis quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satis faciant, sese cum
7 iis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint; eius rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

but reject his terms.

They march up the valley of the Saône, followed by Caesar.

15 Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Haeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant
2 quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris
3 cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere non numquam et novissimo agmine
4 proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque pro-

This change was made because *consuesse* (§ 5) is virtually a present tense (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 361).

15, § 1. *equitatumque . . . habebat.* See p. lxiii. In the Gallic war Caesar's cavalry consisted entirely of foreigners,—Gauls, Spaniards, and, in the last two campaigns (52 and 51 B.C.) if not before, Germans. They were often commanded by their national chiefs (viii, 12, § 4). See *C. G.*, pp. 579–81.

§ 3. *quod quingentis . . . propulerant.* The explanation of this fact will be found in 18, § 10.

§ 4. Kraner takes *in praesentia* as accusative plural,—'with a view to existing circumstances.' I have little doubt that Meusel is right in regarding it as ablative singular. There is a certain instance of the noun *praesentia* in v, 43, § 4.

Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 69) strikes out *pabulationibus*, because, first, it seems to him to interrupt the connexion between *rapinis* and *populationibus*; and, secondly, Caesar, as the words *suos a proelio continebat* show, did not wish to let large numbers of his troops become engaged in fighting, which he would have been forced to do if he had tried to stop the Helvetii from foraging, since, on account of the scarcity of fodder (16, § 2), they would have sent large numbers of men into the fields. But as foraging was a kind of plundering, the first objection seems rather strained: moreover, Caesar simply desired to postpone

hibere. Ita dies circiter XV iter fecerunt uti inter 5
novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non
amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

The Aedui fail to supply Caesar with grain: he makes a formal complaint to their representatives.

Interim cotidie Caesar Haeduos frumentum, quod **16**
essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter frigora 2
[quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est,
posita est,] non modo frumenta in agris matura non
erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia sup-
petebat; eo autem frumento quod flumine Arari 3
navibus subvexerat propterea uti minus poterat quod
iter ab Arari Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere
nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Haedui: conferri, com- 4
portari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit 5

a pitched battle, and he must anyhow have sent out considerable numbers of troops in order to stop the Helvetii from plundering and ravaging. *Pabulationibus* is perhaps open to some suspicion; but it would be rash to delete it.

§ 5. *Ita dies . . . fecerunt.* In 16, § 3 Caesar says that the Helvetii had struck off from the Saône (*iter ab Arari . . . averterant*); and though he does not tell us when they began to move away, his words seem to imply that for some little time they had marched up the valley. If they had diverged from it at Belleville, they would have found themselves walled in between abrupt hills, on the flanks of which it would have been impossible to deploy. They must, then, have struck westward near Mâcon; and as the scene of the decisive battle (see the note to 24, § 1) was near Toulon-sur-Arroux, Colonel Stoffel was able to determine their route. From the neighbourhood of Mâcon they followed the line of the road which leads to Autun by way of Cluny, Salornay, and Mont St. Vincent, and thence turned westward past Sanvigne to Toulon-sur-Arroux (*C. G.*, pp. 619–21). It may be asked, Why did the Helvetii move up the valley of the Saône at all instead of taking the direct route westward to the country of the Santoni? Because the direct route was far more difficult and indeed would have been impracticable for wagons (*C. G.*, pp. 50, 232).

16, § 1. *essent.* The subjunctive of course shows that *quod . . . polliciti* is not a mere statement of fact. In order to give the sense of such subjunctives in good English one has to think hard. Here I should say '(the grain which,) as he reminded them, (they had promised)', &c.

§ 2. *quod Gallia . . . posita est.* If 1, §§ 5–7, were interpolated, it is obvious that these words were also.

frumenta. The plural always denotes standing corn.

§ 4. *Diem* is an accusative of time, the object of *ducere* being *Caesarem* understood; and *Diem ex die ducere* may be translated by 'From day to day the Aedui kept him on the expectant'. Similarly Cicero writes to Atticus (vii, 26, § 3), *Tibi autem . . . nihil rescripsi quod diem ex die exspectabam*, &c.

et diem instare quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Diviciaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, 6 quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi possit, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit [; multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur].

Liscus, their chief magistrate, lays the blame on Dumnorix.

17 Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus quod antea tacuerat proponit: esse non nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus.

§ 5. *metiri.* It is very doubtful, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 335), whether Caesar ever used *oportere* except with an accusative and infinitive or (which comes to the same thing) with a passive infinitive used impersonally,—for example, *conclamant . . . ad castra iri oportere* (iii, 18, § 5). We may therefore conclude that, although *metior* is a deponent verb, *metiri* is here (and in 23, § 1) used passively.

praeerat. Praeerant is found in all the MSS.; but during the last three centuries editors have almost unanimously substituted for it *praeerat*; and if Caesar wrote the plural, he certainly did so by a slip of the pen. For if he had meant *praeerant*, he would of course have written not *quem vergobretum*, but *quos vergobretos*; and that, at all events among the Aedui, only one Vergobret could legally hold office at a time is proved by a well-known passage in vii, 32, § 3,—*summo esse in periculo rem, quod, cum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus creatum dicat* (*C.G.*, pp. 505–7).

§ 6. Here, as in 14, § 3 (*quod eo invito*, &c.), it would be a mistake to translate *quod* by 'because'. The meaning is that Caesar 'took them seriously to task for not helping him', &c.

possit. The MSS. have *posset*, which Meusel (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 371) corrects for reasons which are obvious.

multo etiam . . . queritur. If these words are genuine, Caesar means that 'what he complained of more seriously still was that they [the Aedui] had played him false',—they had not only failed to supply him with corn, but had also broken their promise. Meusel, however (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 49–50), thinks that *sit destitutus* means substantially the same as the preceding *non sublevetur*, and was added by a reader who needlessly tried to strengthen what Caesar had written. I do not feel sure that the passage is spurious; but it is certainly suspicious.

Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem 2
deterrere, ne frumentum conferant quod debeant:
praestare, si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non 3
possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia perferre,
neque dubitare [debeant] quin, si Helvetios superaverint 4
Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Haeduis libertatem sint
erepturi. Ab isdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris 5
gerantur hostibus enuntiari; hos a se coerceri non
posse. Quin etiam, quod necessariam rem coactus 6
Caesari enuntiarit, intellegere sese quanto id cum
periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit
tacuisse.

Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Diviciaci **18**
fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter concilium
dimittit, Liscum retinet. Quaerit ex solo ea quae in 2
conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius.
Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera:
ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud 3
plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum
novarum. Complures annos portoria reliquaque
omnia Haeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta
habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat
nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et 4

17, §§ 2–4. The MS. reading—*praestare debeant*—is certainly wrong; for *si iam . . . perferre* must depend upon *praestare*. As *debeant*, after *dubitare*, is ungrammatical, it has been conjectured that Caesar wrote *debere*; but it seems more likely that the scribe carelessly repeated the former *debeant* (§ 2).

§ 3. *possint*. The MS. reading, *possent*, if not absolutely impossible, is very unlikely, for every other verb in the speech is in a primary tense. With Meusel therefore I have adopted F. Hotman's emendation (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 370).

§ 6. *quod*. See the note on 13, § 5.

18, § 3. *ipsum esse Dumnorigem*. The sense is unmistakable, —'The individual referred to was Dumnorix': the words are equivalent to *eum quem designari sentiebat esse Dumnorigem, non alium*.

portoria. These tolls were levied on merchandise transported by river (Strabo, iv, 3, § 2). Dumnorix made a low bid for the right of collecting the tolls; and as he was master of a strong force of cavalry (§ 5), nobody dared to bid higher. Dumnorix then levied as high tolls as he could collect, and made a large profit.

5 facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum
numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum
6 se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas
civitates largiter posse, atque huius potentiae causa
matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac
7 potentissimo conlocasse; ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem
habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum
8 in alias civitates conlocasse. Favere et cupere Hel-
vetiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine
Caesarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia
eius deminuta et Diviciacus frater in antiquum locum
9 gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat
Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obti-
nendi venire; imperio populi Romani non modo de
regno, sed etiam de ea quam habeat gratia desperare.
10 Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium
equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum,
initium eius fugae factum a Dumnorige atque eius
equitibus (nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesari Haedui
miserant, Dumnorix praeerat): eorum fuga reliquum
esse equitatum perterritum.

Caesar asks Diviciacus, the brother of Dumnorix, to sanction the punishment of the latter,

19 Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones
certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum
Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos
curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et
civitatis sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod
a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae
arbitrabatur quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret
2 aut civitatem animadvertere iuberet. His omnibus

§ 6. *largiter* is never used by Cicero and nowhere else by Caesar. Prof. J. C. Rolfe (*C. J.*, vii, 1911, p. 126) suggests that Caesar punned upon *largiendum* (§ 4) and meant that Dumnorix 'by giving largess acquired the largest power'.

§ 8. *suo nomine*,—'personally'.

Diviciacus . . . restitutus. See 20, §§ 2–3.

§ 10. *quod proelium . . . fugae.* Dinter takes *quod* to be a conjunction (see 13, § 5). Schneider apparently regards it as a pronoun. Notice that the two adjectives, *equestre adversum*, are rightly used without *et* because *proelium equestre* is virtually one word. Similarly, one can say 'a great and good man', but not 'a great and naval battle'.

rebus unum repugnabat, quod Diviciaci fratris sum-
mum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se
voluntatem, egregiam fidem, iustitiam, temperantiam
cognoverat; nam ne eius supplicio Diviciaci animum
offenderet verebatur. Itaque prius quam quicquam 3
conaretur, Diviciacum ad se vocari iubet et, cotidianis
interpretibus remotis, per C. Valerium Troucillum,
principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui
summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo con-
loquitur; simul commonefacit quae ipso praesente in 4
concilio [Gallorum] de Dumnorige sint dicta, et
ostendit quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit.
Petit atque hortatur ut sine eius offensione animi vel 5
ipse de eo causa cognita statuat vel civitatem statuere
iubeat.

20 but accepts the intercession of Diviciacus, only placing Dumnorix under surveillance.

Diviciacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus **20**
obsecrare coepit ne quid gravius in fratrem statue-
ret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus 2
quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse
gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille
minimum propter adulescentiam posset, per se crevis-
set; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuen- 3
dam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur.
Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi
commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius acci- 4
disset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret,

19, § 3. *Valerium.* Doubtless this interpreter had taken the name of his Roman patron.

principem Galliae provinciae seems to mean simply 'a leading provincial': in other words, *principem* does not denote the holder of a magistracy. See the second note on 3, § 5.

§ 4. *simul* does not refer to the preceding sentence, but connects *commonefacit* with *et ostendit*.

Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 63) brackets *Gallorum*, because the narrative which begins at 16, § 5 shows that the meeting was not attended by any Gauls except Aedui. If, he says, we omit *Gallorum*, the meaning is unmistakable, whereas the insertion of the word might suggest that other Gallic tribes were represented at the meeting. Perhaps Caesar wrote *Gallorum* carelessly; but the word is at least suspicious. Mommsen, however (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 201), defends it on the ground that Caesar wished to make it clear that Dumnorix had been denounced by his own countrymen.

neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum uti totius Galliae animi a se
5 averterentur. Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar eius dextram prendit; consolatus rogat finem orandi faciat; tanti eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum
6 dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur proponit; monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Diviciaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur scire possit.

His abortive attempt to surprise the Helvetii.

21 Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu
2 ascensus qui cognoscerent misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus qui iter cognoverant summum iugum montis ascendere
3 iubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere quo hostes ierant ad eos con-
4 tendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in

20, § 5. *tanti . . . condonet.* Caesar could not yet afford to punish Dumnorix (he found an opportunity of doing so four years later [v, 6–7]) for fear of offending the patriotic party among the Aedui, with whom Dumnorix was popular (3, § 5; 18, § 3). See *C. G.*, p. 52.

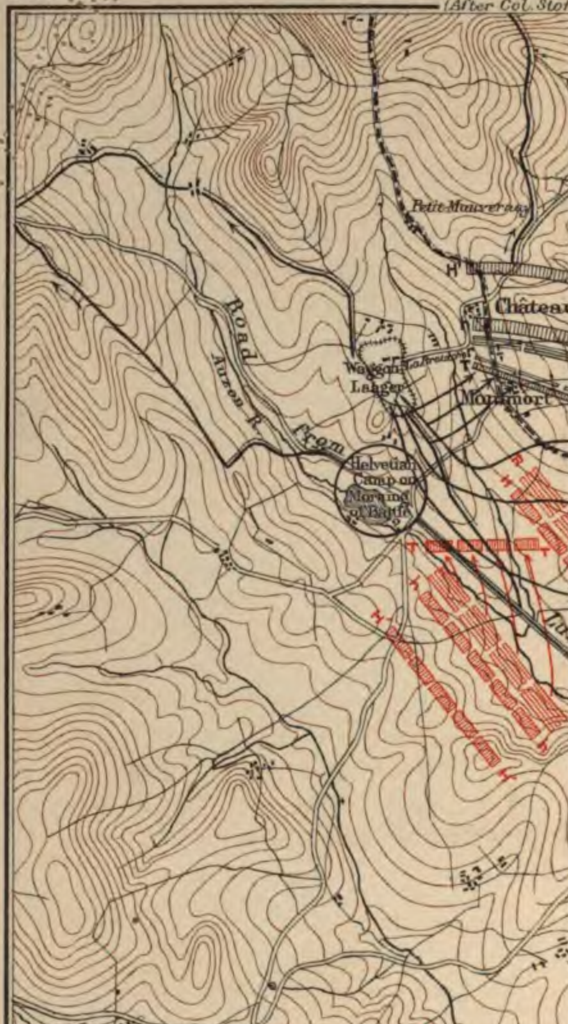
21, § 1. *sub monte.* This hill must be identified with Sanvigne, about 6 miles east of the river Arroux: for, as we shall see in the note on 24, § 1, Caesar's next camp was hard by Toulon-sur-Arroux; the march by which he reached it was very short, as we may infer from the fact that the Helvetii, whom he followed, took a fortnight or more to advance with their unwieldy wagon-train from the point where they crossed the Saône to the neighbourhood of Toulon (15, § 5); and Sanvigne is the only hill east of the Arroux and within a short march of it which answers to the description in 21, § 1 and 22, § 3. See Stoffel's *Hist. de Jules César,—Guerre Civile*, ii, 1887, p. 445.

§ 2. *legatum pro praetore.* Labienus was not only the ablest of Caesar's generals, but the highest in rank. As *legatus pro praetore*, he would be Acting Governor of Gaul and Commander-in-Chief in the winter, when Caesar was in Italy. See 54, § 2.

To face p. 25.

DEFEAT OF THE

(After Col. Stof



REFEREN

S . . . . Summit of hill of A
C . . . . Entrenchment for p
R R . . . 4 legions in line o
H H . . . Helvetii
H'H' . . . Helvetii forced to
T T . . . Boii & Tulingi
r r . . . Roman 3rd line fa
h h . . . Helvetii renewing
------ Roman line of ma
——— Helvetian " "

The contours denote intervals in

Scale 1: 56,00

Kilometres

0 1 2

exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum
exploratoribus praemittitur.

Prima luce, cum summus mons a [Lucio] Labieno 22
teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille
et quingentis passibus abesset neque, ut postea ex
captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni
cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum ac- 2
currit, dicit montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit,
ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque in-
signibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum 3
collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat
ei praeceptum a Caesare ne proelium committeret,
nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent,
ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret,
monte occupato nostros expectabat proelioque absti-
nebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar 4
cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra
movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non
vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiavisse. Eo die quo con- 5
suerat intervallo hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria
ab eorum castris castra ponit.

Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, 23
cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod
a Bibracte, oppido Haeduorum longe maximo et
copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII
aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit;

He marches for Bibracte to secure supplies,

§ 4. L. Sulla was the famous dictator who overthrew Marius. M. Crassus was the millionaire of Rome, who, with Caesar and Pompey, formed the first Triumvirate, and who had defeated Spartacus, the leader of the rebel slaves, in 71 B.C.

22, § 2. *a* (Gallicis armis) in this sense is extraordinary and perhaps was not in the original manuscript. Indeed it is omitted in *L*. If Caesar followed the usage of classical prose, he wrote either *Gallicis armis* or *ex Gallicis armis*. *Insignibus* here means 'crests'.

23, § 1. *cum . . . oporteret*. Even in this passage *cum* does not tell us *only* 'how one action is related to another with regard to the time of its occurrence' (see the note on 4, § 3). It does not tell us only that the rations would be due in 48 hours: it tells us that their distribution would be a consequence of the expiration of 48 hours. The difference is subtle, but real.

metiri. See the note on 16, § 5.

existimavit. If the MS. reading is right, *itaque*, which Meusel

⟨itaque⟩ iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire con-
2 tendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis
3 equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

but is attacked by the Helvetii.

24 Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subduxit equitatumque, qui sus-

inserted in 1894, is evidently required; but he now adopts an old emendation,—*existimans*.

§ 2. *equitum Gallorum*. The adjective of *Gallus* is *Gallicus*, but Caesar never uses it as an epithet of living beings. The phrase *equites Galli* is like *mare Oceanus*.

§ 3. *existimarent . . . confiderent*. See the note on 6, § 3. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 332), remarking that both Caesar and Cicero often use such verbs in the subjunctive where logically the indicative might seem preferable, says that, strictly speaking, the clause should run either *seu quod . . . existimabant* or *seu quod, ut existimabant, Romani discederent*.

24, § 1. *proximum collem*. This hill can be identified. When Caesar struck his camp on the morning of the battle he was not more than 18 Roman miles—and we may safely assume that he was not much less—from Bibracte (23, § 1), which was situated on Mont Beuvray (see p. 411): when he was attacked he was marching towards that town; and the Helvetii, who, on hearing of his movement, had reversed their march (23, §§ 2–3), were trying to intercept him. Evidently, therefore, the battle-field was close to a point where a road leading to Mont Beuvray diverged from the route by which the Helvetii had been marching to Saintonge (10, § 1). It was also somewhere south-east, south, or south-west of Mont Beuvray, because the Helvetii could have had no motive for passing by the east and north of Bibracte in order to reach the Loire, which they would be obliged to cross on their way to Saintonge. It is now generally agreed that the only site which fulfils all the conditions is about 3 miles north-west of Toulon-sur-Arroux, and that the hill on the lower slopes of which Caesar formed his army was the hill of Armecy. The site was first pointed out in 1867; and some years later Stoffel discovered by excavation an entrenchment on the plateau. This entrenchment could only have been intended to serve a temporary purpose, for its shape was that of a crescent, the width from horn to horn being only about 300 yards; and there are irregularities in it which seem to show that it was constructed in a hurry. I am inclined to think that the men who erected it may have stopped work when they saw that the battle was going in favour of their comrades: this supposition would

tineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle 2
medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor

account for its not having been completed and made into an enclosure.

But although the battle-field is certain, opinions differ about details. Stoffel believed that the hill to which the Helvetii fell back after the failure of their first attack (25, § 5) was just north of the village of Montmort; but, as the plan (facing p. 25) will show, in order to maintain this view, he was obliged to argue that the Boi and Tulingi attacked the Romans on their left flank, whereas Caesar says that they attacked them on the right (see the note on 25, § 6). Besides, according to Stoffel, in the first stage of the battle, while the fighting was going on on the hill of Armecy, the extremity of the Roman right wing was posted on a steep declivity, whereas the Romans preferred a gentle slope. Colonel Bircher therefore modified Stoffel's theory. He concluded that the four veteran Roman legions (24, § 2) were posted on the lower slopes of Armecy, facing west-south-west, and that the hill to which the Helvetii retreated was on the further side of the valley through which runs the road from Toulon-sur-Arroux to Luzy. This was the road by which the Boi and Tulingi would have marched to reinforce the Helvetii. Both Stoffel's theory and Bircher's are illustrated in the plan; but Captain G. Veith and M. Jullian agree with me in following Bircher (*C. G.*, pp. 624–7).

§ 2. *in colle medio*,—'half-way up the hill'.

triplicem aciem instruxit. This was the normal formation, though Crassus in Aquitania formed his army for battle in two lines (iii, 24, § 1), probably because his troops were comparatively few; while Caesar in Africa once deployed only a single line (*Bell. Afr.*, 13, § 2), and in the battle of Pharsalia, for a special reason, improvised a fourth (*B. C.*, iii, 89, § 3). In that battle, according to Frontinus (ii, 3, § 22), each line in Pompey's army was ten men deep. Frontinus seems to mention this as exceptional; and accordingly it has been conjectured that the normal depth of a cohort was eight men (*C. G.*, pp. 587–8).

The thoughtful reader will probably ask himself certain questions, which are suggested by Caesar's account of the battle with the Helvetii, but which he does not answer, I suppose because he wrote for his contemporaries, most of whom perhaps knew enough about warfare to understand his book. The soldiers in the front rank of the fighting line must have become tired after, say, twenty minutes of hand-to-hand fighting. How were they relieved? When and how did the second line come into action? What was the use of the third line? The first question and the last can be answered easily. When the foremost ranks became tired, or thinned by the loss of individual soldiers, the rear ranks advanced between the files of those in front, and relieved them. Superintendent Froest tells me that this method would be adopted by the police in street fighting; and indeed no other method appears practicable. The third line served as a reserve: how it was used in this battle will be seen in 25, § 7; generally, when its services were required, as, for instance, in the battle with Ariovistus (52, § 7), the cohorts

veteranarum; in summo iugo duas legiones quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat et omnia auxilia
3 conlocavit, ita ut supra se totum montem hominibus compleret; impedimenta sarcinasque in unum locum

that composed it may have been directed against one or both of the enemy's flanks or on his rear. It is the second question that has most perplexed the commentators. Rudolf Schneider has tried to prove that as soon as the light-armed auxiliaries had done their work and hand-to-hand fighting had begun, the second line was regularly incorporated with the first. But in the battle with the Helvetii the auxiliaries were far removed from the fighting line: if, then, the second line was from the commencement of the battle incorporated with the first, why was it formed at all, and what was the sense of the expression *triplicem aciem*? It is clear from Caesar's narrative (25, § 7) that even after the first stage of close fighting was over the first two lines still remained distinct. My own belief is that the second line as well as the third acted as a reserve; that if and when the first line needed support, the second was incorporated with it, and occasionally perhaps the third also. In the first stage of the battle each cohort of the first line probably formed a separate group: it would have been dangerous for the enemy to attempt to penetrate the spaces between the groups, for they would have been liable to be attacked and cut off by the fresh cohorts in reserve; and, on the other hand, these could advance when they were wanted into the spaces and reinforce the first line. It is not my business to give reasons for this opinion here; for in doing so I should have to discuss many passages which are not in Caesar's text: but the whole problem, which is interesting, is thoroughly worked out in *C. G.*, pp. 588-99.

§§ 2-3. *in summo iugo . . . sarcinasque.* The MS. reading, which is untranslatable, is (ipse interim . . . veteranorum) *ita uti supra se* [v. l. *sed*] *in summo iugo . . . auxilia conlocari, ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea sarcinas* (in unum locum . . . iussit). An attempt has been made to amend this by changing *conlocari* and *compleri* into *conlocaret* and *compleret*. Meusel deletes *ita uti supra se* and brackets *ac totum . . . interea*, which, as Klotz remarks (*C. S.*, p. 239), is a desperate remedy. I have adopted Klotz's conjecture, which is at all events ingenious. Fortunately the general sense of the passage is in any case clear.

§ 3. *sarcinas* means the bundles (analogous to knapsacks) which the soldiers carried (see p. lxv). Accordingly Stoffel supposes that the heavy baggage (*impedimenta*), which, as the reader will have gathered from the preceding note, is not mentioned in the MSS., had been sent on under a small escort to Bibracte. But we should have expected Caesar to tell us this. Moreover, as his army remained on or near the battle-field for three days after the victory (26, §§ 5-6), it seems reasonable to suppose that they must have wanted some of their heavy baggage. On the other hand, as only two days' rations were left (23, § 1), the baggage-cattle may have been sent to Bibracte to fetch corn. The entrenchment on the hill of Armecy

conferri et eum ab iis qui in superiore acie constiterant
muniri iussit. Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti 4
impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi con- 5
fertissima acie, reiecto nostro equitatu, phalange facta
sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu **25**
remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae
tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites 2
e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem
perfregerunt. Ea disiecta gladiis destrictis in eos
impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat 3
impedimento quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu
pilorum transfixis et conligatis, cum ferrum se in-
flexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis
commode pugnare poterant, multi ut diu iactato 4
bracchio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo
corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et 5
pedem referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille
passuum ⟨spatio⟩, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto 6
monte et succedentibus nostris, Boi et Tulingi, qui
hominum milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claude-
bant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros

was not large enough to protect the entire baggage-train (*C. G.*, p. 628).

§ 5. *phalange.* The men in the front rank held their shields, which overlapped, before their bodies, while those behind bore theirs horizontally over their heads. Cf. Livy, x, 29, § 6.

25, § 1. *omnium* evidently means only the mounted officers of the legions, not the cavalry.

§ 2. *pilis.* See p. lxiv and *C. G.*, p. 599.

§ 3. *cum ... inflexisset.* See p. lxiv. When *cum* is used in describing repeated action, it is generally coupled with an indicative. The subjunctive, as Meusel observes (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 371), is here not only iterative but causal. Caesar does, however, occasionally use the subjunctive in a purely iterative sense, e.g. in *B. C.*, iii, 47, § 7.

§ 5. *spatio*, which is evidently required, was supplied by B. Dinter. Schneider's attempt to defend the MS. text fails.

§ 6. *novissimis praesidio erant.* These words have generally been taken to mean that, after the emigrants retraced their steps (23, § 3), the Boi and Tulingi served as the rearguard of the whole column, including the wagon-train, which they marched past in order to come into action. But it is very doubtful whether the first stage of the battle lasted long

⟨ab⟩ latere aperto adgressi circumvenire, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus
7 instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani [conversa] signa bipertito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

Defeat of the Helvetii: their retreat: after three days Caesar marches in pursuit.

26 Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri
2 ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit.
3 Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum

enough to enable them to do this. M. Jullian understands the Latin in the sense that the Helvetii had left the Boi and Tulingi on the road to guard the wagons, in front of which they had been marching. I believe that he is right; but if so, the wagons must surely have been protected in their rear by another force, which took no part in the battle (*C. G.*, pp. 629–30).

ex itinere shows that the attack began immediately after the march ended. I translate thus:—'marched up, immediately attacked,' &c.

⟨*ab*⟩ *latere aperto*. The insertion of *ab*, as Meusel shows (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 299, with which cf. *L. C.*, i, 36-9), is necessary. The words mean 'on the right flank', which was exposed (*aperto*) because the shield was worn on the left arm. This was denied by Stoffel, who maintained that the words simply meant 'on the exposed flank',—left or right, as the case might be; but there are at least three passages in Caesar—iv, 26, § 3; v, 35, § 2; and vii, 82, § 2—which prove that *ab latere aperto* is a technical military phrase, and means what I have said. For the troops which are mentioned in each of these passages were exposed, as far as their *position* was concerned, on their left as well as on their right; and therefore either *ab latere aperto* signified 'on the right and unshielded flank' or it signified nothing. The passage on which this note is written is fully discussed in *C. G.*, pp. 621-3, the arguments in which have been accepted on the Continent as conclusive.

§ 7. Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 201) gives a sufficient reason for regarding *conversa* as an interpolation:—'the first two lines did *not* change front.'

26, § 2. *ab hora septima*. The Romans divided the period between sunrise and sunset into 12 hours, which of course were only equal to our hours at the equinox.

pugnatum sit. If Caesar had written *pugnaretur*, he would, so to speak, have been placing the reader at the standpoint of a spectator of the battle; whereas the perfect merely states that the battle lasted seven hours without calling upon the reader to form a mental picture of it. See *J. B.*, 1894, p. 357.

est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e
loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coiciebant et
non nulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas
subiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset 4
pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt.
Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est.
Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX super- 5
fuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt [nullam
partem noctis itinere intermisso]; in fines Lingonum
die quarto pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera
militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri
[triduum morati] eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar 6
ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento
neve alia re iuvarent: qui si iuvissent, se eodem loco
quo Helvetios habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum
omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

Surrender of the Helvetii.

Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de **27**
deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere 2
convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent supplici-

§ 3. *rotas* seems at first sight superfluous; and some editors adopt Meiser's emendation, *raedas* (cf. 51, § 2). Perhaps, however, (inter carros) *rotas*(que) may be defended on the analogy of *inter carros impedimentaque* (iv, 14, § 4), if we may suppose that in the latter case the baggage was *in* the carts; and, moreover, the wheels may have played a part in the defence. See p. 436.

§ 5. *Ex eo proelio . . . pervenerunt.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 39) rightly brackets *nullam partem . . . intermisso.* The words are absolutely superfluous if *noctis* denotes the same night as *ea tota nocte*; and if Caesar had meant to describe a succession of night marches and to imply that the Helvetii rested by day, which is more than improbable, he would have written not *noctis* but *noctium* (*C. G.*, pp. 632–3). Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 55) also regards the words *triduum morati* as interpolated, because, being followed in the next sentence by *triduo intermisso*, they are unnecessary. Suspicious they certainly are; but I can conceive that, after writing them, Caesar wrote *triduo intermisso*, and forgot that he was repeating himself.

In translating *die quarto* we must remember that the Romans as a rule reckoned inclusively. Thus if the battle was fought on a Sunday, the Helvetii reached the country of the Lingones on Wednesday; but it is impossible to tell what point in that country they had reached when Caesar overtook them. They may have retreated to Dijon, the place which they would naturally have made for if, as is probable, they already intended to return to Switzerland. See the note on 30, § 5, and *C. G.*, pp. 631–4.

terque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo
loco quo tum essent suum adventum expectare ius-
3 sisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, ob-
sides, arma, servos qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit.
4 Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, [nocte inter-
missa] circiter hominum milia VI eius pagi qui Ver-
bigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis
traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti,
quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam
aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent,
prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum
finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

Punishment of the Verbigeni: the rest of the Helvetii sent back to their own country: the Boi settle in the land of the Aedui.

28 Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant
his uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse
vellent, imperavit; reductos in hostium numero habuit;
2 reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in
3 deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos
in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit, et,
quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat quo
famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit ut iis fru-
menti copiam facerent; ipsos oppida vicosque, quos
4 incenderant, restituere iussit. Id ea maxime ratione
fecit, quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii disces-
serant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani,
qui trans Rhenum incolunt, ⟨ex⟩ suis finibus in
Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae pro-
5 vinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios petentibus
Haeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in

27, § 4. *ea.* See the note on 29, § 2.

conquiruntur refers to *obsides* and *servos*, *conferuntur* to *arma*. Schneider tries to reconcile *nocte intermissa* with *prima nocte* by explaining the former as meaning 'after night began to intervene'; but, as Meusel points out (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 56–7), it can only mean 'after a night had passed'.

in tanta multitudine is virtually equivalent to *cum tanta multitudo esset.*

existimarent. See the note on 23, § 3.

28, § 1. *in hostium numero habuit.* Probably the 6,000 fugitives were put to death. Cf. Cicero, *Verr.*, ii, 5, 25, § 64; 28, § 73; *Cat.*, iii, 10, § 25.

§ 5. *petentibus Haeduis* is not dative, but ablative absolute. Cf. ii, 12, § 5.

finibus suis conlocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros
dederunt quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque
condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt lit- 29
teris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus
in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus
domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item
separatim, ⟨quot⟩ pueri, senes mulieresque. [Quarum 2
omnium rerum] summa erat capitum Helvetiorum
milium CCLXIII, Tulingorum milium XXXVI, Lato-
brigorum XIIII, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII;
ex his qui arma ferre possent ad milia nonaginta
duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. 3

Numbers of the Helvetii and their allies.

29, § 1. *litteris Graecis.* Greek characters were also used by Druids (vi, 14, § 3). Some Gallic inscribed coins have a jumble of Greek and Roman characters (*C. G.*, pp. 730–1).

§ 2. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 51) doubts whether *Quarum omnium rerum* is an interpolation or a corruption. The words seem superfluous. If they are genuine, they are used as the genitive of *quae omnia*, just as *ea* is used in 27, § 4.

milium . . . milium. The reading of *X* is *milia*; but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 275) asks whether Caesar would have been guilty of such a solecism as *equitum numerus fuit V milia*. He refers to iv, 15, § 3—*cum hostium numerus capitum CCCCXXX milium fuisset*—and many similar passages.

§ 3. *Summa . . . CCCLXVIII.* A German writer thinks it suspicious that the original number of the whole host, according to Caesar, was exactly four times the number of the fighting men; and he concludes that Caesar merely made a rough estimate, based upon the ascertained number of the men, whose individual names were recorded (§ 1). Even so, however, the whole number could hardly have been less than 300,000; and some critics have argued that Caesar was guilty of exaggeration. Napoleon III, who accepted his figures, gave reasons for believing that the Helvetii had 8,500 wagons; and if so, the length of the column would have been nearly 80 miles, *if the wagons moved in single file.* But after the defeat of the Tigurini (12, §§ 2-3) the length would have been reduced to 60 miles; and of course the wagons did not move in single file except when they were crossing a bridge or passing through a narrow defile (6, § 1). Wagons in South Africa have often moved four, or even five, abreast; and if the reader will think for a minute he will see that crossing a bridge would simply have caused delay: it would not have increased the length of the column by one yard more than the length of the bridge. Besides, it has been suggested by Captain G. Veith that the Helvetii, having eaten up the greater part of their three months' supply of corn (5, § 3) before the battle, and having, moreover, been disheartened by the defeat of the Tigurini, had abandoned many of their wagons.

Eorum qui domum redierunt censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

Envoys from Gallic tribes congratulate Caesar and, with his sanction, convene a Gallic council.

30 Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae
legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum
2 convenerunt: intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus
Helvetiorum iniuriis populi Romani ab his poenas
bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu
3 [terrae] Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse, pro-
pterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas
Helvetii reliquissent uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent
imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio ex magna
copia deligerent quem ex omni Gallia oportunissimum
ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquasque civitates
4 stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt uti sibi concilium
totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris
facere voluntate liceret: sese habere quasdam res
5 quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea
re permissa diem concilio constituerunt et iure iurando

Anyhow, good judges are now almost all agreed that there is no reason for disbelieving Caesar when he says that, according to the Helvetian schedule, the original strength of the allied army was 92,000 (*C. G.*, pp. 237-41). See, however, p. 436.

fuerunt. Both the number and the tense are noticeable. In § 2 Caesar wrote *summa erat*; the plural here is due to the influence of the predicate. In § 2 Caesar probably used the imperfect because he was emphasizing the process of computation, which was gradual; whereas in *fuerunt* we have the final result.

ad. See the first note on 4, § 2.

30, § 1. *totius fere Galliae* does not mean the whole of Gaul in the wider sense,—the sense in which the word is used in 1, § 1; for the Belgae made war upon Caesar in the following year, and, moreover, it may be doubted whether the representatives of the more distant tribes would have had time to reach him: indeed for the same reason the words can hardly mean the whole of that part of Gaul which was inhabited by the Celtae. Probably, then, Mommsen is right in supposing that Caesar was loosely referring to Central Gaul. We must remember that he said *fere* (*C. G.*, p. 634).

§ 2. *populi Romani.* The Aldine edition, which Meusel now follows, has *populus Romanus*; but I do not see any sufficient reason for rejecting the authority of the MSS. In *B. C.*, i, 7, § 7 *iniurias* takes an objective genitive: the men of the 13th legion declared *sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere.*

terrae is rightly bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 72).

§ 5. *concilio.* M. Jullian may be right in supposing that this

ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio
mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

Diviciacus, on behalf of the envoys, solicits Caesar's aid against Ariovistus.

Eo concilio dimisso, idem principes civitatum qui **31**
ante fuerant ad Caesarem reverterunt petieruntque
uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute
cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata sese omnes 2
flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt: non minus se
id contendere et laborare ne ea quae dixissent enun-
tiarentur quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent, pro-
pterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum
se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Diviciacus 3
Haeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum
alterius principatum tenere Haeduos, alterius Arver-
nos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos 4
annos contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis
Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum 5
primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse; postea
quam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines
feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures; nunc
esse in Gallia ad C et XX milium numerum. Cum 6

council was held at Bibracte; for, although Caesar's narrative suggests that the place of meeting was in the country of the Lingones, he does not say so, and political reasons may have influenced him to go to the capital of his subservient allies, the Aedui, and to emphasize by his presence there at the head of his victorious army the fact that he was now the master of Gaul. Indeed, if the Helvetii retreated to Dijon (see the note on 26, § 5), we may be almost sure that the council was held at Bibracte; for the distance from Dijon to Besançon (Vesontio) is much too short to correspond with Caesar's account of his march (37, § 5; 38).

31, § 1. Meusel brackets *in occulto*, which is omitted in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*. No doubt the words are open to suspicion; but Schneider's defence seems to me reasonable. He thinks that Caesar intended to show how anxious the chiefs were for secrecy, *secreto* implying that they wished inquisitive persons to be excluded from the proposed interview, *in occulto* that they wished it to be held in a hidden spot.

§ 3. *Galliae totius . . . Arvernos.* See p. lix, and cf. vi, 12, § 1, where Caesar says that, *when he arrived in Gaul*, 'one faction was headed by the Aedui, the other by the Sequani.' There is no inconsistency between the two passages. Probably the Sequani, after they were reinforced by Ariovistus, usurped the supremacy which had been exercised by the Arverni.

§ 5. *ad.* See the first note on 4, § 2.

his Haeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem
7 equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis et iure iurando civitatem obstringere sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos quo minus perpetuo
8 sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent. Unum

§ 6. *clientes* here means dependent tribes. A state which had 'clients' exercised over them whatever power it could; and some clients were less dependent upon the same state than others. Thus the Cadurci, the Gabali, and the Vellavii were under the *imperium* of the Arverni, and therefore had to render military service when required to do so (vii, 75, § 2) and probably also to pay tribute, as the Eburones did to the Atuatuci (v, 27, § 2); but the Carnutes, although they were clients of the Remi, were evidently not under their *imperium*, for they rebelled against Caesar when the Remi remained loyal (vi, 4, § 5). Client tribes certainly managed their own internal affairs, and, as we learn from vi, 12, §§ 6–8, occasionally transferred their allegiance from one powerful state to another (*C. G.*, pp. 517–19).

nobilitatem does not mean 'the nobility' or 'the nobles', but simply 'men of rank': in other words, it does not denote a definite class, like our peerage, but merely the most prominent members of the class which Caesar (vi, 13, § 3) calls *equites*, or knights. For in vi, 13, immediately after saying that in Gaul there were only two classes which were held in any esteem, and immediately before saying that 'one of the two classes consists of the Druids, the other of the knights', he makes this remark:— 'Generally, when crushed by debt or heavy taxation or ill-treated by powerful individuals, they [the common people] bind themselves to serve *men of rank*' (*plerique cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus*). If the *nobiles* had formed a definite class, superior to the *equites*, Caesar would have said that there were only *three* classes which were held in any esteem.

equitatum. I am not quite sure whether *equitatum* here means 'cavalry' or 'knighthood',—i.e. 'knights' (see p. lv and vi, 15). Of course the Aedui had *not* lost all their cavalry, as 15, § 1 proves; but doubtless Diviciacus exaggerated.

§ 7. *hospitio*. The *hospitium* between the Romans and the Aedui (see p. xli) was an example of what was called *hospitium publicum*,—a friendly agreement concluded between the Roman People and a foreigner or a foreign state. The articles of the agreement were regularly engraved on stone or bronze and preserved in the Roman archives (*D. S.*, iii, 300–1).

se esse ex omni civitate Haeduorum qui adduci non
potuerit ut iuraret aut liberos suos obsides daret.
Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad 9
senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus
neque iure iurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed 10
peius victoribus Sequanis quam Haeduis victis acci-
disse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum,
in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri
Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset
et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere
iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Ha-
rudum milia hominum XXIIII ad eum venissent,
quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse 11
paucis annis uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur
atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent; neque
enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum
agro neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa com-
parandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum 12
copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad

§ 8. *potuerit.* A beginner who had just made the acquaintance of Oratio Obliqua might expect to find *potuisset* here; but in relative clauses of this kind Caesar often uses the perfect conjunctive even when secondary tenses precede and follow. Perhaps in this case the primary tense is used under the influence of the present infinitive *esse* (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 362–3). In Oratio Recta the verb would be *potui*.

§ 10. *tertiamque partem . . . occupavisset.* This region was evidently in the plain of Alsace (43, § 1; *C. G.*, p. 637).

pararentur means not 'were being prepared', but 'had to be prepared'.

§ 11. *ex Galliae finibus.* J. Lange (*N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 809) conjectures that Caesar wrote (omnes) *Galli e finibus* (pellerentur) symmetrically with *omnes Germani Rhenum transirent*, but that a copyist mistook *Galli e* for *Galliae*. Perhaps; but it seems to me more than rash to disregard the MS. tradition for such a reason.

§ 12. *semel* is apparently opposed to *semel atque iterum* and *Gallorum* to *Haeduos eorumque clientes* in § 6; so we may conclude that the Sequani, finding that they had gained nothing by their victories (§ 10), had joined the Aedui and made a desperate effort to get rid of Ariovistus. See 40, § 8 and *C. G.*, pp. 554–5.

quod proelium . . . Magetobrigam. This battle was probably fought in 60 B.C.; for it appears from a letter of Cicero (*Att.*, i, 19, § 2), written on the 1st of March in that year, that the Aedui had recently suffered a defeat (*C. G.*, p. 554).

Magetobrigam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides
nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia
exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum
13 aut ad voluntatem eius facta sit. Hominem esse
barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse eius
14 imperia diutius sustineri. Nisi quid in Caesare
populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem
esse faciendum quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo
emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a
Germanis, petant fortunamque, quaecumque accidat,
15 experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non
dubitare quin de omnibus obsidibus qui apud eum
16 sint gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel
auctoritate sua atque exercitus vel recenti victoria
vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse ne maior
multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuria posse defendere.

32 Hac oratione ab Diviciaco habita omnes qui aderant
magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt.
2 Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil
earum rerum facere quas ceteri facerent sed tristes
capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa
3 esset miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere.
Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino

omnia exempla cruciatusque is not a hendiadys; but, *exempla* being a general word, *cruciatus* is added, to make it clear what kind of *exempla* Ariovistus inflicted. *Exempla* means such punishments as would be a warning to others: so we speak of 'exemplary punishment'.

§§ 12–16. The secondary tenses of the subjunctive, which occur, according to rule, in §§ 3–11 (except in § 8), are followed in these last five sentences by primary tenses of the subjunctive, which are due to the present infinitives, *imperare*, *poscere*, &c. Diviciacus was here speaking of what had *recently* happened and of what was actually going on. See the note on 14, §§ 5–6.

§ 12. *obsides . . . facta sit* explains *superbe . . . imperare*, and should be translated by a participial clause:—'Ariovistus . . . was exercising his authority with arrogance and cruelty, demanding from every man of rank his children as hostages,' &c.

§ 14. *ut*. See the note on 5, § 1.

vocem exprimere posset, idem Diviciacus Haeduus
respondit: hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam 4
Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto
quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent
absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram
adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen 5
fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines
suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia
in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis **33**
confirmavit pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae
futuram; magnam se habere spem et beneficio suo
et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis
facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit.
Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur. quare 2
sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret,
in primis quod Haeduos, fratres consanguineosque
saepe numero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque [in]
dicione videbat Germanorum teneri eorumque obsides
esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod
in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et
rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Ger- 3
manos consuescere Rhenum transire et in Galliam
magnam eorum multitudinem venire populo Romano
periculosum videbat, neque sibi homines feros ac 4
barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, cum omnem

Caesar's reasons for espousing their cause.

32, § 5. *tamen* is here used in what is called a concessive sense, and the meaning of *reliquis . . . daretur* might be expressed by 'the others had at any rate a chance of escape'.

quorum oppida . . . essent, as 38, § 1 shows, was an exaggeration.

33, § 1. *beneficio suo* is explained by 35, § 2.

§ 2. *Et* is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 59), on the ground that Caesar could not have used it in the sense of 'also'. This makes me wonder why he inserts *Et* at the beginning of 52, § 3. He also deletes *in* (dicione), which, I may remark, is omitted in *L*, because of about 170 passages in Caesar this is the only one in which a preposition is repeated before the second of two synonymous or nearly related concepts connected by a copulative conjunction.

fratres . . . appellatos. See p. xli, the first note on 3, § 4, and *C. G.*, p. 519.

Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent [, praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret]; quibus rebus quam ma-
5 turrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

Ariovistus rejects his proposal for a conference.

34 Quam ob rem placuit ei ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent uti aliquem locum medium utrisque conloquio deligeret: velle sese de
2 re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid
3 ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum
4 locum contrahere posse. Sibi autem mirum videri quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.

Caesar's ultimatum.

35 His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum
2 Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: quoniam

§ 4. *ut ante . . . fecissent* is evidently to be taken not with the preceding, but with the following clause, although in fact it relates to the former as well.

Cimbri Teutonique. See pp. lviii–lix.

praesertim . . . divideret. Schneider observes that Ariovistus and his followers, who were settled in the country of the Sequani, would have been able to cross the Rhône easily, whereas mountains would have been to some extent a barrier; but in reality mountains are weak defences, and to cross a river in the face of a resolute enemy is difficult. Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 34) argues that Caesar would have written *Rhodanus solus* (or *unus*) and that after *Sequanos* he would have added *in quorum finibus Germani considerant.* These reasons are hardly conclusive; but they justify Meusel in bracketing *praesertim . . . divideret.*

34, § 1. *utrisque* is a correction, made by Ciacconius, of *utriusque.* The genitive would not be admissible except in poetry; and, as Meusel says (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 285), even if it were, Caesar would have written (medium) *ipsius et Caesaris.*

§ 2. *velit.* Perhaps Caesar used the present in order to show that the supposition was probable. In Oratio Recta (opus) *esset* would remain *esset*; but *velit* would become *vis.*

tanto suo populique Romani beneficio adfectus, cum
in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus
esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret
ut in conloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque
de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum pu-
taret, haec esse quae ab eo postularet: primum ne 3
quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum
in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides quos haberet
ab Haeduis redderet Sequanisque permitteret ut quos
illi haberent voluntate eius reddere illis liceret; neve
Haeduos iniuria lacesseret neve his sociisque eorum
bellum inferret. Si [id] ita fecisset, sibi populoque 4
Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo
futuram; si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messala,

35, § 2. *in consulatu . . . appellatus esset.* Cf. 43, § 4. I believe that Caesar (and the Senate) had conferred upon Ariovistus the titles of King and of Friend of the Roman People in order to secure his neutrality in view of the threatened Helvetian invasion. Caesar foresaw that when he went to Gaul he would have to deal both with the Helvetii and with Ariovistus; and to dispose of two formidable hosts separately would be quite as much as he could manage. Guglielmo Ferrero, the well-known Italian historian, does not agree with me: he has argued that Caesar made an 'alliance' with Ariovistus in order to purchase his aid against the Helvetii. I need only say here that if Caesar conferred titles upon Ariovistus in order to obtain his aid against the Helvetii, it is impossible to explain why he never availed himself of it. It was as much as he could do, unaided, to defeat the Helvetii: why, then, did he not call upon Ariovistus to join him? Obviously because he had never contemplated a proceeding which would paralyse his policy. If he had accepted the aid of Ariovistus against the Helvetii, it would have been impossible for him to turn round afterwards and expel Ariovistus from Gaul. And that was what he meant to do (*C. G.*, pp. 218–24).

Generally in Caesar when Oratio Obliqua depends, as it does here, upon a historic present, the tenses of the subjunctive are primary: here, however, secondary tenses—*appellatus esset*, *referret*, &c.—are used under the influence of the past participle *adfectus* (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 362).

§ 4. *id* is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 59), who remarks that Caesar writes *si ita fecisse(n)t* or *si id fecisset*, but not *si id ita fecisset*. Probably the *id* was due to dittography,—the careless repetition of a word by a copyist in the same or nearly the same form. Schneider, however, defends *id*, on the ground that Caesar had to define his requirements as precisely as possible.

quoniam . . . defenderet. See pp. lix–lx. Messala and Piso were consuls in 61 B.C. *Quod* is not a conjunction but a relative pronoun, equivalent to *quantum*; and the clause *quod . . . posset*

M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset uti quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo rei publicae facere posset, Haeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum.

Ariovistus's reply.

36 Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: ius esse belli ut qui
vicissent iis quos vicissent quem ad modum vellent
imperarent. Item populum Romanum victis non ad
alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium im-
2 perare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romano non prae-
scriberet quem ad modum suo iure uteretur, non
oportere se a populo Romano in suo iure impediri.
3 Haeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et
armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse
4 factos. Magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere, qui suo
5 adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Haeduis
se obsides redditurum non esse neque his neque eorum
sociis iniuria bellum inlaturum, si in eo manerent
quod convenisset stipendiumque quotannis penderent;
si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi
6 Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se
Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum
7 sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congre-
deretur: intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exerci-
tatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIIII tectum non
subissent, virtute possent.

might be translated by 'so far as the public interest would permit'. *Commodo* is ablative, not dative.

36, § 4. *vectigalia . . . faceret.* We may infer that the Aedui, relying upon Caesar's aid, had withheld, or threatened to withhold, part of the tribute. The subjunctive would be used even if the speech were in Oratio Recta, for the clause *qui . . . faceret* is causal.

§ 5. *longe . . . afuturum.* These words are easy to understand, but hard to translate. Perhaps this will do,—(if not,) 'much good would the title of "Brethren of the Roman People" do them!'

§ 7. *qui inter . . . subissent.* It may be gathered from this boast that Ariovistus arrived in Gaul in 71 B.C.; for he affirmed (44, § 2) that he 'had not left home and kinsmen without great expectations and great inducements'; and these words are hardly consistent with the supposition that his wanderings had begun in Germany (*C. G.*, pp. 553-4).

Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur 37
et legati ab Haeduis et a Treveris veniebant: Haedui 2
questum quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam trans-
portati essent, fines eorum popularentur: sese ne
obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere
potuisse; Treveri autem, pagos centum Sueborum ad 3
ripas Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire cona-
rentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres.
Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturan- 4
dum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Sueborum
cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese coniunxisset,
minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria 5
quam celerrime potuit comparata magnis itineribus
ad Ariovistum contendit.

Caesar march agains Ario-vistus,

Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei 38
Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum
Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequa-
norum, contendere [triduique viam a suis finibus
processisse]. Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi prae- 2
cavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium re- 3
rum quae ad bellum usui erant summa erat in eo
oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic muniebatur ut 4

and fo stalls l by sei Veson (Besan çon).

37, § 2. *eorum*. See the first note on 5, § 4.

§ 4. *Sueborum*. According to Tacitus (*Germania*, 38), *Suebi* was a general name, denoting a people whose several tribes had particular names. The hundred *pagi* are noticed again in iv, 1, § 4.

§ 5. *re frumentaria . . . comparata*. These words, as one might infer from 39, § 6 and 40, § 11, are not identical in meaning with *frumento . . . comparato*. The sense is 'he arranged as quickly as possible for a supply of corn'. The corn was to be sent after him.

38, § 1. *triduique viam . . . processisse*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 44) is, I think, right in bracketing these words, although I do not accept all his arguments. Following (cum) *tridui viam processisset*, the clause is suspicious. Moreover, it would seem to imply that Ariovistus had already completed the three days' journey 'from his own territory'—that is, from the territory which he had wrested from the Sequani (31, § 10)—when Caesar's informant started on his errand. If so, Ariovistus would nearly have reached Vesontio (Besançon) when the messenger reached Caesar; and the suspected words would be inexplicable. Therefore, although I can frame no theory to account for the supposed interpolation, I tentatively follow Meusel (*C. G.*, pp. 637–8).

§ 3. *idque*. W. Paul (*B. ph. W.*, 1884, col. 1209–10), who thinks

magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, pro-
pterea quod flumen [alduas] Dubis ut circino circum-
5 ductum paene totum oppidum cingit, reliquum spa-
tium, quod est non amplius pedum MDC, qua flumen
intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut
radices eius montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis
6 contingant, hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et
7 cum oppido coniungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis
diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque oppido ibi
praesidium conlocat.

Panic in Caesar's army.

39 Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae
commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione no-
strorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui
ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili
virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant
(saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum
quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse),
tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit ut
non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque pertur-
2 baret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum,

that *id* here is weak and pointless, may be right in proposing *idemque*.

§ 4. *ad ducendum bellum*. I am inclined to think that Stoffel (*G. C.*, ii, 370–3, 378) is right in taking these words to mean 'for prolonging the campaign',—with the object of postponing a decisive battle till a convenient day. In ancient warfare an army in a strongly fortified position was generally secure so long as its supplies lasted, while one pitched battle generally decided the issue of a campaign, because the beaten army, when once its formation had been destroyed, was pursued and routed, almost always with enormous loss. Cf. *L. C.*, i, 404. Anyhow, Caesar was thinking of the advantage which possession of Vesontio would confer upon Ariovistus.

§ 5. *non amplius . . . MDC*. Caesar, like the other writers of the Golden Age of Latin literature, invariably omits *quam* with *amplius*; and the literal meaning is (which is of) '1,600 feet,—no more'.

MDC, which represents the actual distance, is an emendation, due to Napoleon III, for the MS. reading, *DC*.

39, § 1. Kraner says that *congressos* can only be used of *hostile* encounters, and therefore can only refer to *Gallorum*, not to *mercatorum*. But in vi, 5, § 5 *cum Transrhenanis congredi* obviously means 'to join the peoples beyond the Rhine'.

mentes animosque may be rendered by 'judgement and nerve'.

§ 2. *tribunis militum*. See p. lxiii. Although Caesar, in order

praefectis, reliquisque qui ex urbe amicitiae causa
Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum
habebant: quorum alius alia causa inlata, quam sibi 3
ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat
ut eius voluntate discedere liceret; non nulli pudore
adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant.
Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas 4
tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum
fatum querebantur aut cum familiaribus suis com-
mune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris
testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore 5
paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habe-
bant, milites centurionesque quique equitatui prae-
erant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos 6
existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias
itineris et magnitudinem silvarum quae intercederent
inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam,

to oblige politicians who might be useful to him, occasionally granted sinecure tribuneships to men who had no experience of war (Cicero, *Fam.*, vii, 8, § 1), numerous passages in the *Bellum Gallicum* (ii, 26, § 1; iii, 14, §§ 3-4; iv, 23, § 5; v, 52, § 4; vi, 39, § 2; vii, 47, § 2; 62, § 6) prove that the duties of tribunes in general were most important (*C. G.*, pp. 565-7).

praefectis. These were the officers of the auxiliary corps,—the archers and slingers (see p. lxiii). The cavalry officers were called *praefecti equitum.* They are not referred to here, as one may gather from § 5.

qui refers only to *reliquis.* The men to whom Caesar alludes may have included *contubernales,*—youths who accompanied a general in the field without being attached to any particular corps, in order to gain experience and to profit by his advice; but probably these friends were 'fashionable idlers and disappointed professional men, who . . . simply wanted to mend their fortunes by looting' (*C. G.*, pp. 60, 101; *A. B.*, pp. 327-8) or to ingratiate themselves with Caesar.

§ 3. *diceret.* Schneider remarks that the mood is due to a kind of attraction, *quam . . . diceret* being equivalent to *quae sibi, ut dicebat . . . necessaria esset.* Cf. the note on 23, § 3.

§ 4. *Vulgo . . . obsignabantur.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 44-5) argues that these words are an interpolation. The reasons which he gives—that they break the context and, in their existing position, can only refer to *non nulli* in § 3, with which they are inconsistent—appear to me inadequate. Any one who reads the chapter in my translation of the *Gallic War* will, I think, admit that the suspected words fit naturally into their place; and I find it impossible to believe that they were invented.

ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. 7 Non nulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.

Caesar assembles his officers and reprimands them.

40 Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: primum, quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi
2 quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam adpetisse; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio
3 discessurum iudicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi co-

§ 7. *signa ferri* simply means 'to advance'. The standards played so important a part as rallying-points for the men that Caesar constantly uses the word *signa* in phrases in which it cannot be translated literally.

40, § 1. *omniumque ordinum . . . centurionibus.* Councils of war were not attended by centurions except those of 'the first rank',—the six centurions of the first cohort of each legion. All the centurions were summoned to this council, which was not a council of war, because all were, more or less, concerned.

adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit. This construction frequently recurs in Caesar, often apparently, as here, for the sake of emphasis, sometimes perhaps as a mere mannerism. *Adhibitos centuriones incusavit* would be much less forcible than the expression which Caesar used.

putarent. The learner should not pass on to the next sentence until he is sure that he understands why Caesar wrote *putarent*, not *putabant*. When he really understands he will never be puzzled again. If Caesar had used the indicative, the meaning would have been, 'Caesar accused them because they thought'; in other words, 'Caesar's motive for accusing them was that they thought,' &c. But this is not exactly what he meant. His meaning was, 'Caesar accused them, and gave as his reason for accusing them the fact that they thought,' &c. To bring out the meaning of such subjunctives in idiomatic English requires hard thinking. This translation, I think, will serve:—'Observing the state of affairs, Caesar called a meeting, to which the centurions of all grades were summoned, and rated them severely for presuming to suppose,' &c.

§ 2. *iudicaret.* According to one of the rules formulated by grammarians, we should expect *iudicare*: for the question is what they call rhetorical,—that is to say, no answer is expected; and in Oratio Recta *iudicaret* would become *iudicat*. But I have noticed that Caesar often violates [illegible]lled rules of Oratio Obliqua; and since he was cer[illegible] master of his own language, one may be allow[illegible] that the rules need revision. I find that M[illegible], pp. 988–9) agree with me.

gnitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum
perspecta eum neque suam neque populi Romani
gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia 4
impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur?
Aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia despe-
rarent? Factum eius hostis periculum patrum no- 5
strorum memoria Cimbris et Teutonis a C. Mario
pulsis [cum non minorem laudem exercitus quam
ipse imperator meritus videbatur]; factum etiam
nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid
usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, suble-
varint. Ex quo iudicari posse quantum haberet in 6
se boni constantia, propterea quod quos aliquamdiu
inermes sine causa timuissent hos postea armatos ac
victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem Ger- 7
manos quibuscum saepe numero Helvetii congressi
non solum in suis sed etiam in illorum finibus
plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro

§ 4. *Quod si.* See the first note on 14, § 3. Here, however, *quod* must be translated: its English equivalent is 'But' (supposing, &c.).

§ 5. *Cimbris . . . pulsis.* See p. lix.

cum non minorem . . . videbatur. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 42) rightly brackets these words, because *videbatur* is ungrammatical. In the MSS. *cum* precedes *Cimbris*; but as *Factum . . . memoria* without the addition of *Cimbris . . . pulsis* would hardly have been intelligible to ignorant centurions, *Cimbris . . . pulsis* must have been written by Caesar, and accordingly I follow Meusel in transposing *cum*. Beware of translating *videbatur* by 'seemed': the meaning is that the army, *as all could see* (or *as was evident*), had earned, &c. One might translate by 'the army confessedly earned'.

servili tumultu. This insurrection, the leader of which was the famous Spartacus, occurred in 73–71 B. C.

sublevarint is an emendation, proposed by Morus, for *sublevarent*, the reading of all the MSS. except *f*, which has *sublevaret*. The imperfect is evidently wrong, for in Oratio Recta the verb would be *sublevaverunt*.

§ 7. *superarint* is the reading of *α*, which Meusel follows, apparently against his own inclination (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 366): *β* has *superassent*. Meusel thinks that the contracted form of *superaverint* is somewhat suspicious, and that if Caesar had written *superarint*, followed immediately by *potuerint*, he would most probably have used present tenses (*commoveat* and *quaerant*) in § 8. Moreover, he adds, the relative clause *quibuscum . . . superassent* is closely connected with what precedes

8 exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium
et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent,
reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis
Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludi-
bus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes
iam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis
9 ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi
contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset,
hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi
10 posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simu-
lationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere ar-
roganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut
11 praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae; fru-
mentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare,
iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere
12 ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto
audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re
commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto
audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam de-
fuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse
13 convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felici-

and corresponds with the other relative clauses (§§ 5–6) in which we find the pluperfects *accepissent* and *timuissent*, and it is more likely that the writer of β would have altered *superassent* into *superarint* than vice versa. I may remark that Meusel himself reads *perequitarit* in vii, 66, § 7; and I agree with Prof. Postgate, who observes (*C. R.*, 1903, p. 444) that Caesar used 'one tense [*superarint*] for the recent victory of the Helvetii and another [*superassent*] for the remote defeat' of the slaves.

§ 8. *adversum . . . Gallorum* refers to the battle of Magetobriga (31, § 12).

§ 9. *barbaros* does not here mean 'barbarian', though it implies some contempt, such as an average Englishman feels when he calls Indians 'the natives'. *Homines . . . imperitos* may be translated by 'the simple natives'.

§ 10. The position of *suum* shows that it is emphasized.

desperare . . . viderentur is the reading of α: β has *desperare aut praescribere auderent*, which evidently will not do. I was once tempted to adopt an ingenious emendation, proposed by Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 201),—*desperare viderentur aut praescribere auderent*; but it seems to me that although the notion of 'daring' is implied in *praescribere*, *viderentur* is required with both verbs.

§ 12. *dicantur.* See the note on 31, §§ 12–16.

tatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque 14
se quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset repraesentaturum
et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra
moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset utrum
apud eos pudor atque officium an timor plus valeret.
Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola 15
decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitet, sibique
eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni
Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem
confidebat maxime.

The troops repent: Caesar resumes his march, and encamps twenty-four miles from Ariovistus.

41 Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae
sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas et cupiditas
belli gerendi innata est, principesque X. legio per tri- 2
bunos militum ei gratias egit quod de se optimum
iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum
paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones 3
cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus
egerunt uti Caesari satis facerent: se neque

§ 14. *in longiorem diem.* See the first note on 7, § 6.

§ 15. *sequatur.* See the note on 34, § 2, and *J. B.*, 1894, pp. 363–4.

dubitet is a correction, made by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 364). The MSS. have *dubitaret*, which, after *sequatur*, is out of order.

praetoriam cohortem. The praetorian cohort, or general's bodyguard, was composed of the bravest men in the army. The first general who formed a praetorian cohort was Scipio Aemilianus in the siege of Numantia (133 B.C.).

41, § 1. *innata.* I retain the MS. reading, which seems to me justified by Cicero (*Off.*, i, 19, § 64,—*in hac elatione animi cupiditas principatus innascitur*), instead of J. Lange's emendation, *inlata*, which is, however, supported by ii, 25, § 3 and vi, 43, § 5.

§ 3. *primorum ordinum centurionibus.* Who were the 'centurions of the first rank'? No less than eight theories have been devised about them; but it is, I believe, now generally admitted that they were the six centurions of the 1st cohort in each legion. For the ten cohorts in each legion were numbered; the 1st ranked above the rest (v, 15, § 4); and it may therefore be presumed that all took rank according to their numbers. That this was the case under the Empire is certain; for the 10th cohort was the lowest. Moreover, a centurion was promoted in the civil war 'from the 8th class to the rank of *primipilus*', or chief centurion of the legion; and Modestus, a centurion who had served for eighteen years in four grades of rank, held the position of *hastatus posterior* in the 3rd cohort,

umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summa
belli suum iudicium sed imperatoris esse existima-
4 visse. Eorum satisfactione accepta et itinere exquisito
per Diviciacum, quod ex Gallis ei maximam fidem
habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu
locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut
5 dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non
intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est
Ariovisti copias a nostris milia passuum IIII et XX
abesse.

Ariovistus offers to confer with Caesar.

42 Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad
eum mittit: quod antea de conloquio postulasset, id
per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset seque
2 id sine periculo facere posse existimaret. Non respuit

which accords with the supposition that the 3rd cohort ranked below the first two, but above all the rest. A passage in Tacitus (*Hist.*, iii, 22) shows that in the time of the Emperor Galba there were not less than six *primorum ordinum centuriones* in the 7th legion. Lastly, it is proved by inscriptions that the centurions of the 1st cohort known as *primus pilus prior*, *primus princeps prior*, and *primus hastatus prior* were the first three centurions of the legion; and the natural conclusion is that the 4th, 5th, and 6th centurions of the 1st cohort also ranked above all the centurions of the other cohorts.

I am, however, inclined to believe that besides the six centurions of the 1st cohort there were occasionally others who ranked as *primorum ordinum centuriones*. Caesar mentions three centurions (v, 35, § 6; vi, 38, § 1; *B.C.*, iii, 91, § 1) who had been the chief centurions of their respective legions; and he mentions them in a way which shows that they were still respected by the men just as much as if they had still been chief centurions. Perhaps they were *evocati*, that is to say, men who had completed their term of service, and were serving again as volunteers: anyhow it seems not improbable that they would have ranked with the *primorum ordinum centuriones* (*C. G.*, pp. 567–79).

§ 4. *ut milium amplius . . . duceret* can only mean that the circuitous part of the march was 50 Roman miles long; and this is just what it would have been if Diviciacus had conducted Caesar by the natural route which Stoffel indicated, namely, the road that leads past Voray, Rioz, Filain, and Vallerois-le-Bois, to Villersexel, and thence to Belfort. In regard to *amplius* see the note on 38, § 5.

§ 5. *cum iter non intermitteret.* As these words imply, it was usual to give troops a day's rest occasionally; but evidently Caesar wished to lose no time before encountering Ariovistus.

42, § 1. *quod antea . . . existimaret.* See the note on 35, § 2. I cannot explain why Caesar wrote *postularet, accessisset*, and

condicionem Caesar iamque eum ad sanitatem reverti
arbitrabatur, cum id quod antea petenti denegasset
ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat pro 3
suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis cognitis
suis postulatis fore uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies
conloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe 4
cum legati ultro citroque inter eos mitterentur, Ario-
vistus postulavit ne quem peditem ad conloquium
Caesar adduceret: vereri se ne per insidias ab eo cir-
cumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu veniret: alia
ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque 5
conloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque
salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat,
commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis
equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis X.,
cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium
quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet.
Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus 6
X. legionis dixit: plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem
facere; pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco X.
legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere.

existimaret instead of *postulaverit*, *accesserit*, and *existimet*; but perhaps, as Meusel suggests (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 362), *mittit* found its way into the text owing to a copyist's blunder, and should be replaced by *misit*.

§ 5. Notice that *omnibus equis* is ablative, and *Gallis equitibus* dative. Caesar says *omnibus* (equis) because the Gallic cavalry had of course spare horses.

legionarios is used emphatically in contradistinction to *equitibus* and also to the auxiliaries, who were brigaded with the legions.

Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 54) regards *cui . . . confidebat* as a marginal addition because in 40, § 15 Caesar has already expressed his confidence in the 10th legion. Perhaps the words are open to suspicion; but Caesar may have forgotten what he had said or may have desired to emphasize it.

§ 6. *ad equum rescribere* means 'enter in the list of *equites*'. In Caesar's time the Roman *equites* were the class engaged in business—banking, money-lending, &c.—which senators were forbidden to take part in (though they found ways of evading the law), and comprising all whose property exceeded in value 400,000 sesterces (about £3,333); but originally the *equites* were the cavalry, who were selected from the wealthiest citizens. I suggest this as a translation of *plus quam . . . rescribere*:—'Caesar is better than his word: he promised to make the 10th his bodyguard; and now he 's knighting us.'

The conference takes place in the plain of Alsace.

43 Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequum fere spatium a castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat
2 dictum, ad conloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus CC ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo
3 constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut conloquerentur et praeter se denos ad conloquium adducerent postu-
4 lavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui
5 docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua
6 ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis
7 ipsis cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatus consulta quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Haedui

43, § 1. *Planities erat magna.* This was evidently the plain of Alsace. See 53, § 1.

tumulus terrenus. It is generally taken for granted that this was a natural feature,—a knoll. But if so, why did Caesar describe it as *terrenus* (earthen)? He mentions four other *tumuli* (vi, 8, § 3; 40, § 1; *B. C.*, i, 43, § 1; iii, 51, § 8); but to none of them does he apply the epithet *terrenus*. It is true that Livy (xxxviii, 20, § 4) speaks of *colles terrenos*: but he is contrasting them with rocky heights; and if the *tumulus* in question was a knoll, it mattered nothing for the purpose of Caesar's narrative whether it was rocky or grassy. It is certainly possible that it was simply an artificial earthen mound or barrow, which has disappeared. If it was a knoll, there is only one with which it can be identified,—the 'tertre de Plettig'. See the note on 48, § 1 and *C. G.*, pp. 639-40, 642, 648-9.

§ 4. *amplissime* is the reading of *a*. J. H. Schmalz (*B.ph. W.*, 1912, col. 891-6) shows by many quotations that the Romans often preferred an adverb where we should use an adjective.

§ 7. Beware of translating *ut* by 'that'.

omni tempore. This was a diplomatic exaggeration on the part of Caesar. Towards the end of the second century B.C. Bituitus, King of the Arverni, and not long before Caesar's time another Arvernian, Celtillus, the father of the great Vercingetorix (vii, 4, § 1), had exercised a loose supremacy over Gaul.

tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam adpetissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, 8
ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse; quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem quae 9
legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Haeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret, obsides redderet, si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, **44**
de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: transisse Rhenum 2
sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint. Non sese Gallis sed Gallos 3
sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum 4
esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de

§ 8. *velit.* Meusel (*J.B.* 1894, p. 370) changes this into *vellet*, on the ground that if Caesar had once adopted a primary tense after the preceding secondary tenses, he would in the next sentence have written *possit.* But, as Prof. Postgate remarks (*C. R.*, 1903, p. 443), 'a recognized use of the Primary Tenses is the one in General Maxims or Universal Statements.'

posset? See the note on 40, § 2.

§ 9. *in mandatis* does not mean '*among* his instructions', for the instructions referred to were the only ones which Caesar gave, but is equivalent to *mandatorum loco* (or *nomine*).

44, § 2. Notice that *sua sponte* does not mean the same here as in 9, § 2.

consuerint instead of *consuessent* after *praedicavit* is perhaps to be explained by the fact that a present infinitive, *capere*, precedes (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 362, with which cf. p. 360); or the primary tense may have been used because the statement is general. See the notes on 31, § 8 and 43, § 8 (*velit*).

§ 3. *uno proelio*,—the battle of Magetobriga. Cf. 31, § 12.

§ 4. *decertare.* Caesar often uses *paratus* with an infinitive; but, as in 5, § 3 and 41, § 2, he also uses it with *ad* and the gerundive.

stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus
5 pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi orna-
mento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere,
atque se hac spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum
stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non
minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani ami-
6 citiam quam adpetierit. Quod multitudinem Ger-
manorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi,
non Galliae oppugnandae causa facere; eius rei testi-
monium esse quod nisi rogatus non venerit et quod
7 bellum non intulerit sed defenderit. Se prius in
Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Num-
quam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani
8 Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet?
Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam
hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi
concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum
faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure
9 se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a senatu Haeduos

§ 5. *atque* is an emendation, proposed by R. Menge, instead of the MS. reading, *idque*. Schneider explains *id* as equivalent to *ut populi Romani amicus esset*.

§ 7. *finibus egressum* is the reading of α: Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 242) prefers that of β,—*fines ingressum*. He says that it is not certain that a Roman army had never before crossed the northern frontier of the Province, and that if one had, Ariovistus would not have cared; for all that mattered to him was that Caesar should not invade *his* province,—the territory which he had won from the Sequani. Klotz accordingly deletes *provinciae*, which, he supposes, crept into the text under the influence of the following *provinciam suam*; and he remarks that when once *provinciae* had found its way into the MSS. it became necessary to alter *fines ingressum* into *finibus egressum*. The argument is ingenious; but I should not feel justified in following Klotz. It is practically certain that no Roman army had ever before marched beyond the Roman Province; and it seems natural that Ariovistus should have complained that Caesar had done so. Besides, Caesar would hardly have used *Galliae* in this context in the sense of Gaul *minus* the Province.

§ 8. *Quid . . . veniret?* Schneider punctuates thus,—*Quid sibi vellet, cur . . . veniret?* ('What did Caesar mean by invading his dominions?').

§ 9. The reading of α is *quod fratres Haeduos appellatos diceret*; while π has *quod a se Haeduos amicos appellatos diceret*, and ρ has *quod a se Haeduos appellatos amicos diceret*. All

appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam
imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret neque bello Allo-
brogum proximo Haeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse
neque ipsos in iis contentionibus quas Haedui secum
et cum Sequanis habuissent auxilio populi Romani
usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem 10
amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui oppri-
mendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exer- 11
citum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro
amico sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum inter- 12
fecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi
Romani gratum esse facturum (id se ab ipsis per
eorum nuntios compertum habere), quorum omnium
gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset.
Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae 13
sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneratu-
rum et quaecumque bella geri vellet sine ullo eius
labore et periculo confecturum.

Multa a Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt **45**
quare negotio desistere non posset: neque suam neque
populi Romani consuetudinem pati ut optime meritos
socios desereret, neque se iudicare Galliam potius esse

editors are agreed that *a se*, which is here meaningless, is a relic of *a senatu*; and the different positions of *amicos* in the two families of β suggest that it is a gloss. Klotz (*C.S.*, pp. 242–3) supposes that in the archetype the text was *quod a se Haeduos appellatos diceret*, something having dropped out after *se*. He proposes to fill up the gap thus,—*quod a se ⟨natu fratres populi Romani⟩ Haeduos appellatos diceret*; for, as he says, *fratres* alone was not the official title. But is it likely that Ariovistus would have troubled himself about the official title?

(tam) *barbarum* might here be translated by (such) 'a dolt'.

bello Allobrogum proximo. See 6, § 3, and p. lx.

§ 10. *quod.* A. S. Wesenberg suggested *quem*, an emendation which Meusel adopts. Nothing, so far as I can see, is gained by rejecting the MS. reading. Ariovistus meant that in keeping an army at all in Gaul, outside the Province, Caesar was doing wrong. See § 7.

§ 13. *decessisset*, compared with *interfecerit* (§ 12), is noticeable. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 360–1) thinks that the change of tense is due to *compertum habere* (§ 12). I doubt this. Prof. Postgate (*C. R.*, 1903, p. 443) points out that 'when Ariovistus is threatening Caesar . . . he uses the Primary tenses [which are more vivid], when promising him rewards the Secondary'.

2 Ariovisti quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos a Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam 3 redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani iustissimum esse in Gallia imperium; si iudicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

Ariovistus's horsemen attack Caesar's: the conference broken off.

46 Dum haec in conloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros coicere. 2 Caesar loquendi finem fecit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit ne quod omnino telum in hostes 3 reicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat ut, pulsis hostibus, dici posset eos ab se per fidem in conloquio circumventos. 4 Postea quam in vulgus militum elatum est qua arrogantia in conloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res conloquium ut diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pugnandi maius exercitui iniectum est.

Ariovistus pro-

47 Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos misit:

45, § 2. *Bello . . . Fabio Maximo.* This war occurred in 121 B.C. See p. xli.

46, § 1. H. J. Müller (*W. kl. Ph.*, 1894, col. 566) is perhaps right in inserting *et* after *adequitare*.

§ 3. *per fidem*,—namely, *a Caesare datam*. The meaning is that they had been surrounded 'through'—that is, through their trust in—'Caesar's pledged word'. We might translate thus,—'that he had pledged his word and then surrounded them.'

§ 4. *fecissent.* Meusel adopts H. Kleist's emendation, *fecisse. ut.* See the first note on 43, § 7.

47, § 1. Professor J. C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania has suggested to me that *Biduo post* means 'On the next day', and I believe that he is right. For *triduo post* certainly means *post tertium diem*; it is admitted that *post tertium diem* (iv, 9, § 1) is equivalent to *tertio die*, reckoning inclusively; and therefore *biduo post* is surely equivalent to *altero die*, which is substantially the same as *postero die*.

velle se de iis rebus quae inter eos agi coeptae neque
perfectae essent agere cum eo; uti aut iterum con-
loquio diem constitueret aut, si id minus vellet, ex
suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Conloquendi 2
Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis quod pridie
eius diei Germani retineri non potuerant quin tela
in nostros coicerent. Legatum ex suis sese magno 3
cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris
obiecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est 4
C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valerii Caburi filium, summa
virtute et humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a
C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem
et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa iam
Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in
eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere,
et una M. Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur.

poses to resume it: Caesar sends Procillus and Metius to confer with Ariovistus, who imprisons them.

eos. See the first note on 5, § 4.

neque is evidently equivalent to *neque tamen*,—'but not'.

uti . . . mitteret. I do not know any other instance in which Caesar uses *uti* or *ut* to introduce an imperative or admonitory clause.

§ 2. *pridie eius diei* is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 45) on the ground that it contradicts *Biduo post* in the preceding sentence; but (supposing that the common translation of *biduo post* is right) is it not as likely that Caesar was careless as that a reader wrote a misleading note in the margin? Cf. *Ph.*, 1863, p. 499.

§ 3. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 55–6) deletes *ex suis*, on the ground that, following *ex suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret* in § 1, *legatum ex suis* could only mean *legatum ex suis legatis*, which, he says, is impossible. I think, however, that Caesar wrote *ex suis* in contrast to *C. Valerium Procillum* (who was not a Roman, but a provincial) in § 4; and I find that Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 238, n. 1) agrees with me, though he would alter *legatis* in § 1 into *legatum*.

§ 4. *C. Valerium.* See the note on i, 19, § 3 (*Valerium*).

esset. The subjunctive is used because Caesar was not stating a fact, but expressing a thought which had passed through his mind. Thus *quod . . . causa non esset* is equivalent to *quod, ut Caesari videbatur . . . causa non erat.*

hospitio. By the Roman institution called *hospitium privatum* agreements were concluded between individual Roman citizens and individual foreigners, under which the former were entitled to receive hospitality from the latter. It has been remarked that this practice must have been very useful in places where the accommodation of inns was not available (*D. S.*, iii, 298–9). Provincials upon whom the members of a governor's

5 His mandavit ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognosce-
6 rent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris
Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente concla-
mavit: quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa?
Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit.

Ariovistus cuts Caesar's

48 Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum VI
2 a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie eius

staff were billeted were also called *hospites* (Cicero, *Att.*, v, 10, § 2).

C. Valerius Flaccus was Governor of the Province in 83 B.C. Towards the end of the Roman Republic, after Roman citizenship had been conferred, as a result of the Social war, upon all the free population of Italy, eminent men had been authorized to confer the *civitas* upon deserving foreigners; and Caesar exercised this privilege on his own responsibility. See Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 10, § 26; *Pro Balbo*, 21, § 48; *Fam.*, xiii, 36, § 1; and Dion Cassius, xli, 24, § 1.

48, § 1. *sub monte consedit.* These words are very important, for, if they do not enable us to identify the site of the battle between Caesar and Ariovistus (51–2), they greatly narrow the choice and condemn nearly all the attempts that have been made to determine the topography of the campaign. The great majority of these guesses are irreconcilable either with Caesar's statement (41, § 4) that the circuitous part of his march from Besançon was more than fifty Roman miles long, or with the statement that his interview with Ariovistus took place in a great plain (43, § 1), or with the statement, on which this note is written, that Ariovistus halted, on the night before he marched past Caesar's camp, at the foot of a mountain. The only theories which we need examine are those of Colonel Stoffel and M. Jullian.

The words *sub monte consedit*, as Stoffel remarks, show why Caesar did not attack Ariovistus while he was making the flank march which is described in 48, § 2. They prove that he marched along high ground, where the Romans could not attack him without heavy loss: for Caesar, who was economical of words, would not have told us that Ariovistus encamped at the foot of a mountain unless the statement had been essential to his narrative; nor would it have been essential unless it had implied that Ariovistus, after encamping there, ascended the slopes in order to execute his march without the risk of being attacked.

According to Stoffel, Caesar marched from Vesontio (Besançon) at the rate of about sixteen miles a day, and encamped at the end of his seven days' march (41, § 5) on the left bank of the Fecht, between Ostheim and Gemar: the *tumulus terrenus satis grandis* (43, § 1) was the 'tertre de Plettig'; Ariovistus made his flank march on the lower slopes of the Vosges between the defiles of the Weiss and the Strengbach; and Caesar made the smaller camp which he mentions in 49, §§ 1–2 on a spur of the Vosges between Bebelnheim and Mittelweier. The 'tertre de Plettig' is the only knoll which answers to Caesar's description; therefore, unless the *tumulus* was artificial (see the note on 43, § 1), this fact settles the question in favour of

line of communication: cavalry skirmishes.

diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit eo consilio uti frumento commeatuque qui ex Sequanis et Haeduis supportaretur Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos V Caesar pro castris suas 3
copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum 4
castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant: equitum milia erant VI, totidem numero pedites 5

Stoffel. Stoffel also affirms that the only part of the Vosges along which the flank march of Ariovistus would have been practicable is the part between the two defiles which I have mentioned; but I am not sure that it would not have been equally practicable further southward, between Cernay and Roderen, where M. Jullian places it. M. Jullian thinks that Caesar originally encamped about a mile and a half south-west of Cernay; that Ariovistus encamped, in order to cut Caesar's communication, at Roderen, near the 'benchmark' fixed by the engineers who mapped the country; and that Caesar pitched his smaller camp on the plateau between Michelbach and Guerwenheim. He objects that Stoffel places the battle-field too far north; but Caesar's words (41, § 5) show that he marched rapidly from Vesontio and therefore probably pushed as far northward as Stoffel thinks, and, moreover, it seems not unlikely that Ariovistus, after he had failed to seize Vesontio (38, §§ 1–2, 7), may have thought it wise to lure Caesar as far as possible from his base. Between Stoffel and Jullian excavation alone could decide; but Stoffel could not excavate, as the site was covered by vineyards (*C. G.*, pp. 636–52).

frumento . . . supportaretur. Cf. 37, § 5; 39, § 1; and 40, § 11. Notice that Caesar does not say that Ariovistus expected to cut his communication with the convoys which he expected from the Leuci and the Lingones (see 40, § 11).

§ 3. *pro castris . . . habuit.* Caesar did this in order to restore the nerve of his soldiers, who had perhaps not quite shaken off the effect of their recent panic (see 39–40). We may infer from *B. C.*, iii, 55, § 1, 84, § 2 that artillery (see p. lxiv), of which Ariovistus had none, were mounted, ready to protect them. Ariovistus might attack if he liked: but if he attacked, it would be at his peril; if he declined the challenge, the legionaries would be assured that the Germans were not invincible.

ut . . . non deesset. Though *ut* here expresses a purpose, and the learner knows that in final sentences he must not write *ut non*, but *ne*, he will not suppose that Caesar wrote bad Latin. *Ne* here would be very weak; and *ut . . . non deesset* is justifiable, because *non deesset* is virtually equivalent to *adesset*. Meusel, indeed (*L. C.*, iii, 2410), and other editors take *ut* as consecutive; but Schneider agrees with me.

velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli
6 singulos suae salutis causa delegerant: cum his in
proeliis versabantur, ad eos se equites recipiebant;
hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant, si qui graviore
7 vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant; si
quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum,
tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas ut iubis sub-
levati equorum cursum adaequarent.

Caesar re-opens his communications and constructs a smaller camp.

49 Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne
diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo
in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus DC ab
his, castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici
2 instructa ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam
aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire iussit.
3 [Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus DC, uti dictum est,
aberat.] Eo circiter hominum XVI milia expedita
cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae
4 nostros terrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo
setius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem
5 propulsare, tertiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis
castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum,
quattuor reliquas legiones in castra maiora reduxit.

The Germans from superstition delay to fight a pitched battle.

50 Proximo die instituto suo Caesar ex castris utrisque
copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris
progressus aciem instruxit hostibusque pugnandi
2 potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire
intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra re-
duxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum co-

49, § 1. *castris . . . delegit.* See the note on 48, § 1.

§ 3. *Hic locus . . . aberat.* Meusel brackets these words on the ground that it is incredible that Caesar would have repeated the clear statement which he had made three lines before.

§ 5. *auxiliorum.* These auxiliaries were archers and slingers. See p. lxiii.

50, § 2. *meridiem.* H. J. Müller proposed *meridie*, an emendation which Meusel adopts (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 289), on the ground that in Caesar and all careful writers *circiter* is invariably an adverb. The emendation may be right, for in MSS. *m* is frequently added by mistake at the end of a word; but Cicero several times used *circiter* as a preposition. See *Att.*, ii, 17, § 1 (*circiter Id. Maias*), *Fam.*, iii, 5, § 4, xv, 3, § 2 (*circiter Idus Sextiles*), and for other instances *Th. l. L*, iii, 1100.

piarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter 3
utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis
occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et inlatis et
acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Cum ex cap- 4
tivis quaereret Caesar quam ob rem Ariovistus
proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod
apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset ut matres familiae
eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent utrum
proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere:
non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam 5
proelio contendissent.

51 Caesar attacks them.

Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris
quod satis esse visum est reliquit, alarios omnes in
conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit,
quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro
hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur;
ipse triplici instructa acie usque ad castra hostium
accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias 2
castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus
intervallis, Harudes, Marcomanos, Tribocos, Vangiones,
Nemetes, Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam
raedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga
relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae ad 3
proelium proficiscentes milites passis manibus flentes
implorabant ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52

Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quae-
storem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis

§ 4. *matres familiae.* Cicero, in connexion with *pater*, *mater*, and *filius*, uses the form *familias*. See H. Merguet, *Handlexikon zu Cicero*, 1905, pp. 500–1.

§ 5. *non esse fas,*—'it was not fated'. *Fas est* is here equivalent to εἵμαρται (μείρομαι).

novam lunam. This, as we may infer from 40, § 11 (*iamque esse in agris frumenta matura*), was the new moon of September 18, 58 B.C.

51, § 1. *alarios* is another word for *auxilia*. They were so called because they were commonly posted on the wings of the regular army.

52, § 1. *quaestorem.* The provincial quaestor, as distinguished from the quaestors who served at Rome, acted as Paymaster-General, managed the details of the commissariat, and was responsible for all financial business. Caesar, however, employed

haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem
minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium
3 commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato
impetum fecerunt itaque hostes repente celeriterque
procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coiciendi non
4 daretur. Relictis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum
est. At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua pha-
5 lange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti
sunt complures nostri qui in phalanga insilirent et
scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent.
6 Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in
fugam coniecta esset, a dextro cornu vehementer
7 multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id
cum animadvertisset P. Crassus adulescens, qui equi-

quaestors, like *legati*, as commanders of legions (iv, 22, § 3; v, 24, § 3; 25, § 5; 46, § 1; 53, § 6; vi, 6, § 1). In 58 B.C. he had only one quaestor; but in 54 at all events (v, 25, § 5) he had two or more.

uti . . . haberet. Several passages in the *Gallic War*, e.g. ii. 25, § 3, iii, 14, § 8, and vi, 8, § 4, show that the men fought better when they knew that an officer of high rank would give them credit for proved courage.

§ 4. *Relictis* is the reading of β: α has *reiectis*, which has been condemned on the ground that it is equivalent to *post tergum iactis*, and that the men could not have got rid of their javelins in this way without the risk of killing their comrades. But might not *reiectis* be equivalent to *depositis*, as in Cicero, *Pis.*, 23, § 55,—(lictores) *sagula reiecerunt*? H. J. Müller proposed *proiectis*, which Meusel adopts; but it will not do, for in three of the four passages (vii, 40, § 6; 89, § 4; *B. C.*, iii, 98, § 1) in which Caesar uses *proicere* with *arma* it means 'to ground arms' in token of surrender; and in the other (*B. C.*, iii, 13, § 2) it means 'to throw away'.

phalange facta only means that Ariovistus adopted the phalanx formation (see the note on 24, § 5), not that the phalanx was one and undivided; for what would have been the use of forming up the tribal groups 'at equal intervals' (51, § 2) if the intervals were immediately afterwards to be suppressed? Moreover, as M. Jullian observes, it may be inferred from Tacitus (*Ann.*, ii, 45; *Hist.*, iv, 20) that the Germans fought in divisions; and the Macedonian phalanx originally did the same (*C. G.*, p. 654).

§ 5. *complures nostri* does not mean exactly the same as *complures nostrorum*, but is equivalent to *complures, qui erant nostri.* The sense is '*on our side* many', &c.

manibus is ablative.

§ 7. *adulescens* is generally understood in the sense of 'the younger'; and if this is the meaning, the word was intended to

tatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes **53** terga verterunt nec prius fugere destiterunt quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter L pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi 2

They are defeated and expelled from Gaul.

distinguish P. Crassus from his father (21, § 4), who, with Caesar and Pompey, formed the first triumvirate, and from his elder brother (v, 24, § 3), who was one of Caesar's quaestors in 54 B.C. But would not Caesar's contemporary readers have already been aware of the distinction? M. Jullian remarks that Caesar does not apply the word to certain other [well-known] officers whose fathers were still living; and accordingly he argues that Crassus was called *adulescens* because he had not attained the age of 30,—the lowest at which a man was eligible for the post of quaestor. M. Jullian may be right: but *adulescens* was a word of elastic meaning, and Cicero (*Phil.*, ii, 46, § 118) spoke of himself as having been an *adulescens* when he was 43. Cicero generally expresses 'the younger' by *minor*; but in *Att.*, ii, 18, § 1 *adulescens Curio* probably means 'the younger Curio'.

53, § 1. *omnes . . . verterunt.* We have seen (51, § 2) that, before the battle, the Germans closed their rear with a semi-circle of wagons, 'to do away with all hope of escape.' Yet they now fled. Frontinus (ii, 3, § 6) explains this apparent inconsistency, but we cannot tell on what authority. 'As the Germans,' he says, 'being hemmed in, were fighting with the courage of despair, Caesar ordered that they should be allowed an exit, and fell upon them when they were fleeing' (*Caesar Germanos inclusos, ex desperatione fortius pugnantes, emitti iussit fugientesque aggressus est*).

L. The MS. readings are *quinque* and *V*; but Plutarch (*Caesar*, 19) writes σταδίους τετρακοσίους (50 Roman miles), and Orosius (vi, 7, § 10) and Eutropius (vi, 17) *quinquaginta milia passuum.* We may infer that MSS. of Caesar, several centuries older than any which are now extant, had the reading *L*; and as the battle-field was certainly much more than five miles from the Rhine, I adopt that reading,—very doubtfully. Doubtfully, because it is hardly credible that the Germans, after a desperate battle, fled 50 miles in one heat (even the exhausting retreat from Waterloo to Charleroi was not more than 25 miles), still less that some of them then swam the Rhine; and, moreover, I cannot see why they should have fled 50 miles when the Rhine was not more than 12 to 15 miles away. I have suggested elsewhere (*C. G.*, p. 657) that Caesar may have written *XV*; and Meusel (*J.B.*, 1912, p. 88) thinks that this emendation is admissible. It has also been suggested that the Ill was then regarded as an arm of the Rhine; but this is unlikely, for when Caesar spoke of the *Rhenus* in 54, § 1 he certainly meant the main stream of the Rhine. May we suppose that some of

Procillus and Metius saved.

tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi
3 salutem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui
naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit;
reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt.
4 Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione,
quam domo secum eduxerat, altera Norica, regis
Voccionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre
missam: utraque in ea fuga periit; duae filiae: harum
5 altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Procillus,
cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus tra-
heretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu inse-
6 quentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesari non mino-
rem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod
hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum
familiarem et hospitem, ereptum ex manibus hostium
sibi restitutum videbat neque eius calamitate de tanta
voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna demi-
7 nuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum
dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud
tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse in-
8 columem. Item M. Metius repertus et ad eum re-
ductus est.

Results of Caesar's victory: he quarters his army for the winter in the land of the Sequani.

54 Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato, Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos ubi qui proximi Rhenum incolunt perterritos senserunt, insecuti magnum ex iis numerum occiderunt.
2 Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis
maturius paulo quam tempus anni postulabat in
hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis

the Germans fled across the Ill to the nearest point of the Rhine, and others, who escaped pursuit, towards Strasburg? If all fled 50 miles, fugitives and pursuers must both have rested in the night, of which Caesar says nothing (*C. G.*, pp. 655–7).

§ 5. *trinis.* The distributive is necessary, because Caesar only uses *catenae* in the plural.

§ 6. *hospitem.* See the note on 47, § 4 (*hospitio*).

§ 7. *ter.* Three, as students of folk-lore know, has among all peoples been regarded as a sacred number.

54, § 2. *in hiberna . . . deduxit.* The battle-field, from which Caesar led his army *in Sequanos*, was itself in territory which had belonged to the Sequani, but which Ariovistus had wrested

Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad 3
conventus agendos profectus est.

from them (31, § 10). Presumably Caesar now restored it to the Sequani. By quartering his legions in the country of the Sequani instead of withdrawing them into the Province he made it evident that his purpose was nothing less than to conquer Gaul.

§ 3. *ad conventus agendos.* The word *conventus* is used by Caesar in the sense of an assembly or meeting (18, § 2), of the community of Roman citizens living in a provincial town (*B. C.*, iii, 29, § 1, &c.), and, as in this passage, v, 1, § 5, 2, § 1, vi, 44, § 3, and vii, 1, § 1, of judicial or administrative business performed by himself, as Governor, in an assembly of Roman citizens or provincials. As he went on circuit, like a judge, through Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum to discharge these duties, we may translate *ad conventus agendos* by 'to hold the assizes'. He used to go to North Italy for the winter, partly with this object, partly to keep in touch with Italian politics, and to look after his own interests.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS SECUNDUS

The Belgae conspire against the Romans.

1 Cum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia [in hibernis],
ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores
adferebantur litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat
omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem
dixeramus, contra populum Romanum coniurare ob-
2 sidesque inter se dare. Coniurandi has esse causas:
primum quod vererentur ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad
3 eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde quod ab non
nullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos
diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani
exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia mo-
leste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi
4 novis imperiis studebant; ab non nullis etiam quod

1, § 1. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 56) brackets *in hibernis*, first because the expression *in hibernis esse* is not elsewhere used of an individual, but only of armies, and secondly, because the winter-quarters of the army (i, 54, § 2) were in the country of the Sequani. Klotz, however (*C. S.*, pp. 163–4), suggests that what Caesar wrote was (Cum . . . Gallia) *legionesque essent conlocatae* (in hibernis), &c.

dixeramus. Probably a beginner would be surprised that Caesar did not write *diximus*, just as he wrote *demonstravimus* earlier in the sentence. He used the pluperfect as an English writer might have done if he had said, 'the Belgae, whose territory, as I had remarked before I reached this part of the narrative, forms a third part of Gaul,' &c. But if he had chosen to use the perfect, as in iii, 20, § 1, he would have written equally good Latin.

§ 2. *omni pacata Gallia.* The position of these words in the sentence shows that they cannot mean 'as the whole of Gaul was [already] subdued', but must mean 'if the whole of Gaul [namely, the country of the Celtae] were to be subdued'. Cf. Meusel's *L. C.*, ii, 717–29.

eos (see the first note on i, 5, § 4) is used instead of *se*,—probably because Caesar is describing the situation as it appeared to Labienus rather than to the Belgae.

§ 3. *partim . . . studebant.* Probably Caesar means that some of the Celtae who had virtually submitted to the Romans (i, 30)

in Gallia a potentioribus atque iis qui ad conducendos
homines facultates habebant vulgo regna occupa-
bantur; qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro
consequi poterant.

His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas le- **2**
giones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit et inita 57 B.C.
aestate in ulteriorem Galliam qui deduceret Q. Pedium
legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse 2
inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat negotium Senoni- 3
bus reliquisque Gallis qui finitimi Belgis erant uti ea
quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant seque de his rebus
certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt 4
manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum 5
vero dubitandum non existimavit quin ad eos profici-
sceretur. Re frumentaria provisa castra movet die- 6
busque circiter XV ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omnium opinione **3** The Remi join him,
venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt,
ad eum legatos Iccium et Andebrogium, primos civi-
tatis, miserunt, qui dicerent se suaque omnia in fidem 2
atque potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque
se cum reliquis Belgis consensisse neque contra popu-
lum Romanum coniurasse, paratosque esse et obsides 3
dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento
ceterisque rebus iuvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in 4
armis esse, Germanosque qui cis Rhenum incolant

were tired of their supremacy and wished to exchange it for that of the Belgae; for in i, 17, § 3 the followers of Dumnorix are said to have argued that 'it was better . . . to have Gauls for their masters than Romans'. Or perhaps he may only mean that these Gauls, being tired of Roman supremacy, were bent on making a revolution, no matter what.

§ 4. *in Gallia . . . occupabantur.* See pp. liv–lv.

2, § 1. *duas . . . conscripsit.* After Caesar had raised these legions, which were known as the 13th and 14th, he had altogether eight. See i, 7, § 2; 10, § 3.

3, § 2. *in fidem. Fides* here has virtually the sense of *tutela.* The Remi entrusted themselves to the good faith of the Roman People, i.e. placed themselves under their protection.

§ 3. *paratosque esse . . . iuvare.* See the note on i, 44, § 4.

§ 4. *Germanosque . . . incolant.* See 4, § 10.

§§ 4–5. *incolant . . . utantur . . . habeant . . . potuerint.* See the note on i, 44, § 10.

5 sese cum his coniunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem iure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint quin cum iis consentirent.

and inform him about the belligerent tribes.

4 Cum ab iis quaereret quae civitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse,
2 solosque esse qui, patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos Cimbrosque intra suos fines
3 ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus
4 in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus adfinitatibusque coniuncti quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad
5 id bellum pollicitus sit cognoverint. Plurimum inter

§ 5. *fratres . . . suos.* See *C. G.*, p. 519. Caesar uses the same words (i, 33, § 2) to denote the relation into which the Aedui had entered in the second century B. C. with the Roman People. See p. xli.

qui . . . habeant. As the Suessiones and the Remi formed one political community, we may infer that Galba, the king of the Suessiones, had been overlord of the Remi. Mommsen, then, is doubtless right in saying (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 50) that the Remi 'discerned in this [Roman] invasion . . . an opportunity to shake off the rule' of the Suessiones.

4, § 1. *plerosque Belgas . . . Germanis.* See pp. xxx–xxxi.

§ 2. *Teutonos . . . prohibuerint.* See p. lviii. *Suos* is emphasized: otherwise it would follow *fines*. The primary tense (*prohibuerint*), instead of which one might have expected *prohibuissent*, was perhaps used under the influence of the present infinitive, *esse*. Moreover, the event described in this sentence was more recent than the events described in § 1. See the note on i, 31, § 8.

§ 3. *magnosque spiritus . . . sumerent.* It is always difficult to translate Caesar into good English; and this is one of the passages which cannot be rendered without very hard thinking or, so to speak, a happy inspiration. I should say, 'assumed the air of a great military power.'

§ 4. *cognoverint*, following *dicebant*, is, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 368), surprising: one might have expected *cogno-*

eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum
numero valere: hos posse conficere armata milia
centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa milia LX to-
tiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones 6
suos esse finitimos; fines latissimos feracissimosque
agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam 7
memoria Diviciacum, totius Galliae potentissimum,
qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam
Britanniae imperium obtinuerit; nunc esse regem
Galbam: ad hunc propter iustitiam prudentiamque
summam totius belli omnium voluntate deferri;
oppida habere numero XII, polliceri milia armata L;
totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur 8
longissimeque absint; XV milia Atrebates, Ambianos 9
X milia, Morinos XXV milia, Menapios VII milia,
Caletos X milia, Veliocasses et Viromanduos totidem,
Atuatucos XVIIII milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caero- 10

vissent, though if Caesar had written that, he would also have written *pollicitus esset*. Perhaps, as in § 2, primary tenses were used because the event described was recent.

Most editors say that *quisque* stands for *quaeque civitas* or *quaeque pars Belgarum*: but although the several contingents were of course provided by the tribes, the tribes evidently could not make a promise 'in the general council of the Belgae'; and Caesar wrote *quisque* because he was thinking of the individual delegates who attended the council.

§ 7. *Apud eos . . . obtinuerit*. This Diviciacus must not be confused with the Aeduan Druid of the same name, who is mentioned in this Commentary (5, § 2; 10, § 5; 14, § 1; 15, § 1) as well as in the first. *Britanniae* is a loose expression: it can only mean South-Eastern Britain,—the part which Caesar invaded in 55 and in 54 B.C.; for it is plainly incredible that the power of Diviciacus should have extended beyond that part of the country which had been conquered by the Belgae (v, 12, § 2). What was the nature of his *imperium*? One cannot suppose that he had invaded Britain with an armada and conquered his Belgic kinsmen. When Caesar came to Gaul the tribes of South-Eastern Britain were divided into antagonistic groups, headed respectively by the Catuvellauni—the subjects of Cassivellaunus—and the Trinovantes (*A. B.*, pp. 299–300); and I am inclined to believe that after Diviciacus had made himself overlord of a 'large part of the Belgic territory' in Gaul (*magnae partis harum regionum*), some of the British tribes had sought his aid against their rivals, and had purchased it by recognizing his supremacy and perhaps also by paying tribute.

obtinuerit. See the note on i, 31, § 8.

sos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.

He orders the Aedui to ravage the land of the Bellovaci.

5 Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci iussit. Quae
2 omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Diviciacum Haeduum magnopere cohortatus docet quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit

§ 10. *qui . . . appellantur.* See pp. xxxi–xxxii.

The subject of *arbitrari* is of course *se*, supplied from § 4, and *XL milia* is governed by *posse conficere*, supplied from § 5, not by *polliceri*; for in the latter case the Remi would not have been doubtful about the number. But the omission of *se* and *posse conficere* is so extremely harsh that there is perhaps a gap in the MSS. (*J.B.*, 1894, pp. 337–8). Mommsen infers from *arbitrari* that the so-called *Germani* took no part in the council (§ 4) of the Belgae.

According to the estimate with which the Remi supplied Caesar, the sum of the contingents which the various tribes had promised to furnish amounted to 296,000 men. Caesar does not guarantee the accuracy of this number; but neither does he question it. Various critics have insisted that it is grossly exaggerated; and there is some ground for their scepticism. For, supposing that the proportion of fighting men to women and children was about the same as in the Helvetian host (i, 29, §§ 2–3), the hundred thousand men whom the Bellovaci are said to have been able to muster would have represented a population almost as great as that which now inhabits their country; and, moreover, the contingents of the Bellovaci, Suessiones, and Nervii are said to have amounted to considerably more than half of the entire force, whereas their territories were only about one-fourth of the whole. Allowance must, however, be made for the greater fertility of their country. I am inclined to believe that none of the tribes sent into the field as many men as they had promised; and I doubt whether the Nervii and their allies (16, §§ 1–2) took any part in the first stage of the campaign, and whether the more distant tribes fought at all (*C. G.*, pp. 241–2).

Caesar's eight legions, with his auxiliaries and cavalry, probably did not number much more than 40,000 men. See the note on i, 7, § 2.

ad. See the first note on i, 4, § 2.

5, § 1. *Caesar . . . prosecutus* may be translated by 'Caesar addressed the Remi in encouraging and gracious terms'. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 69, § 1.

principum seems to mean simply 'leading men'; it does not, as for instance in vii, 65, § 2 and 88, § 4, denote magistrates. Some of the *principes*, whom Caesar frequently mentions, were certainly magistrates, and perhaps these were; but the word, *as such*, rarely bears that meaning. Cf. the second note on i, 3, § 5.

manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine
uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas 3
copias Haedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint et
eorum agros populari coeperint. His ⟨datis⟩ mandatis 4
eum a se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias
in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit neque iam
longe abesse ab iis quos miserat exploratoribus et ab
Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis
Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit atque
ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum 5
ripis fluminis muniebat et post eum quae erant tuta
ab hostibus reddebat et commeatus ab Remis reli-

§ 4. *in unum locum coactas.* Where did the Belgae concentrate ? It is not certain whether they marched against Caesar up the valley of the Aisne—the *Axona* which Caesar mentions in this sentence—or towards the Aisne from north to south. M. Jullian decides for the former, because it was the natural route for the Bellovaci and the Suessiones, who furnished the strongest contingents to the confederate army. But if they had taken this route, it is unlikely that they would have marched on the north of the Aisne, as the narrative (5–7) proves that they did, to attack Caesar, who was still on the south : for if they had marched on the south, they would have compelled him either to fall back or to march westward against them, for fear his communications should be cut; and M. Jullian himself admits that if they had concentrated on the Aisne, their natural line of march would have been the road from Soissons to Reims. Besides, it is impossible to find a satisfactory site for Bibrax, the stronghold which they attacked when they were marching against Caesar (6, § 1), at any point on or near the road leading from Soissons to the place where he crossed the Aisne: indeed, unless that place was Berry-au-Bac—and this, as I shall show in the note on 8, §§ 3–5, is very doubtful—Bibrax was certainly not in the valley of the Aisne (see p. 411). It is probable, therefore, that the point where the Belgae concentrated was not in the valley, but somewhere north of the Aisne—perhaps near La Fère on the Oise—and at a considerable distance from it (*C. G.*, pp. 658–9).

vidit is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 67) on the ground that, coupled with *cognovit*, it can only mean 'saw with his own eyes'. Schneider, on the other hand, maintains that it means 'realized' and that, if it were omitted, there would be nothing to show that Caesar acted from careful consideration and from conviction as well as from mere information. I cannot understand what motive an interpolator could have had for inserting *vidit*.

ibi castra posuit. The question of the site of this camp is discussed in the note on 8, §§ 3–5.

quisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari
6 possent efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi prae-
sidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Q. Titurium
Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit; castra
in altitudinem pedum XII vallo fossaque duodevi-
ginti pedum muniri iubet.

The Belgae attack Bibrax.

6 Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax
aberat milia passuum VIII. Id ex itinere magno
impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die
2 sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum
oppugnatio est haec: ubi circumiecta multitudine
hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides
iaci coepti sunt murusque defensoribus nudatus est,
testudine facta portas succedunt murumque subruunt.
3 Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo
lapides ac tela † coicerent †, in muro consistendi pote-
4 stas erat nulli. Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset,

§ 5. *portari.* W. Nitsche is very likely right in proposing *supportari*. See the passages collected in *L. C.*, i, 606, 1340.

§ 6. *in altitudinem pedum XII.* When Caesar mentions the height of a *vallum* he means the combined height of the rampart and the palisade which surmounted it. See *B. C.*, iii, 63, § 1.

duodeviginti pedum denotes the breadth of the ditch, which was doubtless V-shaped. Caesar once (vii, 72, § 1) mentions a trench which, as only a small force was available for its defence, he constructed with vertical sides; but the labour of digging such trenches was of course very great.

6, § 2. *testudine.* See the note on i, 24, § 5.

§§ 2–3. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 40–1), who follows the MS. reading, *succendunt*, instead of *succedunt*, and adopts the reading *namque tanta multitudo lapides ac tela coiciebant ut in muro consistendi potestas esset nulli*, which is found in β, condemns the whole passage as an interpolation. He remarks (1) that Caesar could not have used the plural, *coicerent* or *coiciebant*, after the singular, *multitudo*; (2) that he would not have written *Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum*, but *Belgarum eadem atque Gallorum*; (3) that he would not have used the words *moenia* and *murus* in the same sentence; (4) that *succendunt* is obviously impossible; (5) that Caesar would not have written *circumiecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus*, but *multitudine hominum totis moenibus circumiecta*; and (6) that the passage breaks the connexion of the narrative, for if Caesar had written it, he would have done better to put the sentence *Aegre eo die sustentatum est* (§ 1) immediately before *Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset* (§ 4). He remarks, further, that the reading of β—*namque . . . nulli*—at all events yields sense and is consistent with *fiebat*, the meaning being that *whenever* this method

Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praeerat, unus ex iis qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit, nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

Caesar sends a detachment to relieve it: the Belgae march on and encamp over against him.

Eo de media nocte Caesar isdem ducibus usus qui **7**
nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit;
quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium 2
propugnandi accessit et hostibus eadem de causa spes
potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque paulisper apud oppi- 3
dum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis aedificiisque quo adire potuerant incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et a milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt;

of attack was adopted the defenders were unable to remain upon the wall; whereas the reading of *a* (which I have adopted) involves the supposition that *tum* means 'on this occasion', though, if it did, *fiebat* would have to be altered into *factum est.* But might not *Quod . . . fiebat* mean 'in this case the operation was being easily performed'? Schneider defends the order of the words *Gallorum . . . Belgarum*, arguing that Caesar wished to emphasize the fact that the mode of attack which he described was common to all the Gallic tribes; but it must, I think, be admitted that the passage, as it stands, is unsatisfactory. If we adopt the conjecture *succedunt*, which is probable enough, we are confronted with the difficulty that Caesar nowhere else uses *succedo*, governing an accusative, without a preposition. Accordingly Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 243–4) substitutes *propius* for *portas*.

§ 4. *nuntium.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 250), following the Aldine edition, reads *nuntios*, because in 7, § 1 Caesar writes *isdem ducibus usus qui n u n t i i ab Iccio venerant.* But what if *nuntium* means, as it often does, 'a message'? Schneider says that it cannot, for 'Caesar only says *nuntium* and *nuntios mittere* and *dimittere* of men, whereas of things he says [nuntium] *accipere, afferre*, and *perferre*'. This is a weak argument. Caesar nowhere else has occasion to speak of *sending* a message, and he only uses *accipere, adferre*, and *perferre* in this connexion twelve times in all. Cicero (*Att.*, i, 13, § 3) writes *uxori Caesarem n u n t i u m remisisse.*

7, § 1. *de media nocte* is generally explained as meaning 'in the middle of the night' or 'about midnight' (*Th. l. L.*, v, 64, with which cf. *Cl. Ph.*, 1913, pp. 7–13), though Caesar sometimes writes *media nocte* without *de.* I am not quite sure that *de* does not mean 'just after' (midnight); for Censorinus (24, § 2) says *tempus quod huic* [mediae nocti] *proximum est vocatur de m e d i a n o c t e.* Cf. the third note on i, 12, § 2.

4 quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum VIII in latitudinem patebant.

Cavalry skirmishes: description of Caesar's position: he fortifies it against

8 Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio super-
2 sedere statuit; cotidie tamen equestribus proeliis quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent pericli-
3 tabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura oportuno

8, §§ 3–5. We cannot tell where Caesar pitched his camp until we know where he had crossed the Aisne (5, § 4); and four points of passage have been proposed, namely, Berry-au-Bac, for which most commentators have decided, Condé-sur-Suippe, which is about 3 miles higher up the river, and Pontavert and Pontarcy, which are respectively about 4 and 11 miles, as the crow flies, lower down. The claims of Condé-sur-Suippe and Pontarcy have been disproved.

The reason why Berry-au-Bac is generally accepted is that about a mile and a half north-east of it, near Mauchamp, Colonel Stoffel discovered by excavation a camp, which he identified with the camp of Caesar. If the reader will look at the illustration of this camp, which is substantially identical with Pl. 8 of the Atlas of Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules César*, he will see that it does not correspond with Caesar's description. According to Caesar, the hill on which the camp stood rose gradually from level ground on the right bank of the Aisne: it descended gradually to level ground in front: its flanks, on the right and left, descended to the plain with a strongly marked slope; and its length, or extension from right to left, was just sufficient to allow six legions to be drawn up on it in line of battle in front of the camp. Between the hill and the enemy's camp, which was in front of it, was a small marsh. In order to prevent the enemy from outflanking him, Caesar drew a trench crosswise—that is, at right angles with the extension of the hill—past either flank of it; and at each end of each trench he constructed a redoubt. Before Stoffel began to excavate he understood Caesar's description in this sense, and tried in vain to find the two trenches on the right and the left of the hill; when he had found them in the places where they are marked in the illustration, and his discovery had been accepted by Napoleon as conclusive, commentators tried to force Caesar's words into agreement with Napoleon's Plan. 'The key of this description', said Dr. Rutherford (*Gallic War, II and III*, Preface and pp. 55–6), 'is *pro castris*, which proves that Caesar was looking westward . . . along the axis of the hill.' But Rutherford himself supplied disproof; for in his Vocabulary (p. 124) he rightly translated *pro castris* by 'in front of the camp': the front of the camp was evidently that side of it which faced the enemy; and if the camp near Mauchamp was made by Caesar, the side which faced the enemy was, as both Napoleon and Rutherford admit, the north. In every other passage in which

que idoneo, quod is collis ubi castra posita erant ululum ex planitie editus tantum adversus in latidinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare terat, atque ex utraque parte lateris deiectus habe- a flank attack.

aesar writes *pro castris*, he means 'on the side of the camp hich faced the enemy'. Rutherford's 'key' only opened the oor to fresh mistakes. Having mistranslated *pro castris*, he as obliged to mistranslate *in fronte*, which, he said, 'refers to at end of the hill's ridge furthest removed from the camp'; hereas any one who looks at the illustration will see that the front' of the hill can only be that side of it which faced the nemy. Again, Rutherford forgot that, according to Caesar, he hill was just wide enough to enable the Roman line of attle to be formed along it; whereas, according to his interpretation of Caesar and according to Napoleon's Plan, the hill was wide enough to allow the line of battle to be formed upon it *alongside of the camp*; that is to say, wider, by the length of one side of the camp, than Caesar says. It is clear that, according to Caesar, the line of battle was formed in front of, not alongside of, the camp. Finally, Caesar says that his object in constructing the two trenches was to prevent the enemy from attacking his troops on their flanks (*ab lateribus*). Would he have used the plural if he had only meant the right flank?

The camp at Mauchamp is open to two other objections. The western slope of the hill is so extremely gentle that it could not rightly be described by the words *lateris deiectus* (§ 3); for *deiectus* denotes a sharp, fairly steep gradient. Rutherford, indeed, perversely identifies the *lateris deiectus* with the northern and southern sides of the hill; but the northern and southern slopes are hardly less gentle than the others. Also the trench which, according to Napoleon's Plan, touched the Aisne is only 400 metres long, whereas, according to Caesar, each trench measured about 400 *passus*, or nearly 592 metres; and it shows no trace of a redoubt. Napoleon strove to meet this objection by asserting that the Aisne had changed its course since 57 B.C. and thereby obliterated all traces of the end of the trench and of the redoubt. But there is no evidence that the course of the Aisne has changed.

Now for Pontavert. If Caesar crossed the Aisne there, the hill on which he encamped must have been the plateau of Chaudardes, which is shown in my plan. When I examined this ground I noted one or two objections. The western end of the plateau, where the flank companies of Caesar's left wing would have been posted, does not 'gradually merge in the plain by a gentle slope' (*in fronte leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitiem redibat* [§ 3]), but is actually rather lower than the ground immediately in front of it which would have been occupied by the Belgae; while the northward slope of the central and eastern parts of the plateau is perhaps rather too marked.

On the whole, the topography of Mauchamp, with the very important exception of (lateris) *deiectus*, conforms perhaps somewhat more closely to Caesar's description; but the results

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The Belgae attempt to ford the Aisne, in order to strike at Caesar's communications.

Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium **9**
exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent hostes expecta-
bant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi
fieret, ut impeditos adgrederentur parati in armis
erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies con- 2
tendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt,
secundiore equitum proelio nostris Caesar suos in
castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen 3
Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra
demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis partem suarum 4
copiarum traducere conati sunt eo consilio ut, si
possent, castellum, cui praeerat Q. Titurius legatus,
expugnarent pontemque interscinderent, si minus po- 5
tuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno
nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque
nostros prohiberent.

Caesar repulses them.

⟨Caesar⟩ certior factus ab Titurio omnem equita- **10**
tum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagit-
tariosque pontem traducit atque ad eos contendit.
Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos 2

is in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 351) points out that in the preceding sentence we find *constituit*, and that *item* requires that the next verb should be in the same tense.

9, § 1. *ut impeditos . . . erant.* Kraner and other editors affirm that *parati* is used absolutely, as in vii, 59, § 5, and that *ut adgrederentur* does not depend upon it, but upon *parati . . . erant*. I believe that they are right, although in vii, 19, §§ 2 and 5 *sic paratus* is used with *ut*. The sense of course is 'our men, weapons in hand, were ready to attack them', &c.

10, § 1. *pontem.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 282) rejects the MS. reading in favour of R. Schneider's emendation, *ponte*, on the ground that 'one can say *flumen*, *mare*, *fossam*, *paludem*, *vallem traducere*, but not *pontem*. The *pons* is the means of crossing', &c. J. H. Schmalz (*N. J.*, clv, 1897, p. 211) is not convinced by this argument. Remarking that Caesar nowhere else in the *Bellum Gallicum* uses the instrumental ablative, *ponte*, he insists that a bridge has an extension equal to the breadth of the stream, and that Meusel is therefore wrong in comparing it, as a means of crossing, with *naves*. Why, then, should not one say that a general transported an army across a bridge? Certainly one can say so in English, though one would not say 'he transported his army across the ships', but 'across the sea in ships'. I agree with Schmalz that there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the authority of the MSS.

nostri in flumine adgressi magnum eorum numerum
3 occiderunt; per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime
transire conantes multitudine telorum reppulerunt
primosque, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos
4 interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido
et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexe-
runt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi
pugnandi causa viderunt atque ipsos res frumentaria
deficere coepit, concilio convocato constituerunt opti-
mum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et quorum
in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent,
ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius
in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesti-
5 cis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sen-
tentiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos
deduxit, quod Diviciacum atque Haeduos finibus Bel-
lovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant. His persua-
deri ut diutius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent
non poterat.

Their several contingents retreat in disorder: Caesar's cavalry, supported by three legions, pursue them.

11 Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum
strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine
neque imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris
locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt
2 ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim
Caesar per speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod
qua de causa discederent nondum perspexerat, exer-
3 citum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce,
confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum,
qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His
Q. Pedium et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos prae-

§ 4. *convenirent*. Stephanus, whom Meusel follows, proposed, as an emendation, *convenire*; but I am inclined to think that Caesar may have written *convenirent* (perhaps under the influence of *introduxissent*) just as in vii, 78, § 1 he wrote *constituunt ut ii . . . excedant*.

11, § 2. *speculatores* (scouts) were not the same as *exploratores* (patrols), who were generally cavalry. *Speculatores* were often employed singly; and under the Empire there were ten in each legion. Similarly in our own army there are trained scouts in each company of infantry (*Tr.*, p. 58, n. 1; *Z. G.*, 1911, pp. 711–12, 715).

fecit; T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus
subsequi iussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia 4
passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium
conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine, ad
quos ventum erat, consisterent fortiterque impetum
nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse 5
a periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque
imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis
ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent.
Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem 6
nostri interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium; sub
occasum solis sequi destiterunt seque in castra, ut erat
imperatum, receperunt.

Postridie eius diei Caesar, prius quam se hostes ex **12**
terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui
proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere
[confecto] ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex 2

He marches on and receives the submission of the

§ 4. *Hi . . . conciderunt.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 45–6) brackets these words, arguing that they are contradicted by the following clause, *cum . . . sustinerent.* He also asks whether the *novissimi* were different from the *extremum agmen*, and whether the *priores* of § 5 were the vanguard and indeed the greater part of the fugitive column or only the leading division of the rear-guard (*novissimi*). If, however, *Hi . . . conciderunt* was not written by Caesar, *ponerent* (§ 5) is plainly wrong; and accordingly Meusel alters it into *ponebant*: but he is obliged to admit that in this case (priores) *quod* ought to be followed by the indicative. In fact all the attempts that have been made to amend the passage fail. As far as I can see, no alteration is needed: for *extremo agmine* denotes the same men as *novissimos*; *priores* denotes all the rest; *cum* is causal and introduces two reasons for the slaughter which is described by *magnam multitudinem . . . conciderunt*; and the words which Meusel brackets are justified by § 6.

§ 5. *viderentur . . . continerentur.* See the note on i, 6, § 3. *Viderentur* is equivalent to *sibi viderentur.*

exaudito . . . ordinibus. In translating one should try to make it clear that the second ablative absolute is the result of the first. I should say 'broke their ranks when they heard the distant cries'.

12, § 1. *Postridie . . . contendit. Confecto*, as Nipperdey first saw, is certainly spurious; for, as no place is indicated as the terminus of the *magnum iter*, it has no meaning; and, moreover, *postridie* proves that Caesar reached Noviodunum on the same day on which he made the *magnum iter*,—in other words, the terminus of the *magnum iter* was Noviodunum. An editor who wished to retain *confecto* might, indeed, put this question:—'Supposing

Suessiones at Noviodunum,

itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non
3 potuit. Castris munitis vineas agere quaeque ad

that Caesar had wished to say that he made a forced march which did not take him the whole way to Noviodunum, and that on the following day he pushed on for Noviodunum, would not the words *magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit* have expressed his meaning?' No; for in the case supposed he would have written (magno itinere confecto) *proximo* (or *altero* or *postero*) *die* (ad oppidum, &c.).

It is generally assumed that the starting-point of this forced march was Caesar's camp on the Aisne (5, § 4): if so, the length of the march was about 28 miles if he encamped on the hill of Mauchamp; about 24 miles if he encamped on the plateau of Chaudardes (see the article on Noviodunum [pp. 426–7]). The assumption, however, seems to me doubtful. The force which Caesar had detached in pursuit of the Belgae 'returned, in obedience to orders, to camp' (11, § 6). Consider what is involved in the supposition that they returned to the camp mentioned in 5, § 4. If their pursuit had been directed down the valley of the Aisne, they were obliged, after an extraordinarily long day's work and immediately before another prodigious march, to return the whole distance which they had covered between dawn and sunset; while Caesar, although he was anxious to reach Noviodunum as soon as possible, needlessly imposed this heavy labour upon them, and imposed upon them and the rest of the army a march of nearly twice the ordinary length on the next day. Is it not more likely that, instead of sitting idle in camp, he marched down the valley to within a short distance of the frontier of the Suessiones?

But why did he order the detachment to *return* at all? If the pursuit was directed down the valley, along which he was himself about to march, this question cannot be answered; but if, on the other hand, the Suessiones fled northward down the road towards Laon, to fetch baggage which they may have left at the place where the Belgae had concentrated (5, § 4), the answer is obvious. While Caesar moved a few miles down the valley, and thus shortened the inevitable *magnum iter*, the detachment rejoined him (by a road leading to Beaurieux?). It has, indeed, been suggested that the various Belgic contingents dispersed at the very beginning of their flight, the Bellovaci and Suessiones moving down the valley on the heights parallel with the right bank of the river, and all the others towards Laon. But if so, how could the Suessiones have failed to detect that Caesar in the valley below was overtaking and outstripping them (12, §§ 2–4), and why should they have allowed him to do so (*C. G.*, p. 670)?

§ 3. *vineas agere*. *Vineae* were sheds used to protect soldiers who were engaged in constructing earthworks, &c., or, as on this occasion, in filling up a moat. The *vinea*, as described by Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 15), was a movable hut, 16 feet long,

oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit. Interim 4
omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum
proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum 5
actis, aggere iacto turribusque constitutis, magnitudine
operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audie-
rant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Cae-
sarem de deditione mittunt et petentibus Remis ut
conservarentur impetrant.

Caesar, obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis atque **13** of the Bellovaci at Bratuspantium,
ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis armisque omnibus ex
oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones accipit exer-
citumque in Bellovacos ducit. Qui cum se suaque 2
omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent atque
ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia
passuum V abesset, omnes maiores natu ex oppido
egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare
coeperunt sese in eius fidem ac potestatem venire
neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere.
Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, 3

8 feet high, and 7 feet wide, the sides of which were defended by wicker-work, while the roof was protected against fire by raw hides; but of course the dimensions and the strength of the materials would vary according to circumstances. Caesar's *vineae* were evidently placed end to end: therefore, in order to enable men to move from one to another, they must have been open at the ends (*C. G.*, p. 608).

§ 4. *Interim . . . proxima nocte.* The last two words fix the meaning of *interim*: the Suessiones entered the town in the night that intervened between the preparations for the siege and the operations of the next day. Do not translate *interim* by 'meanwhile': it will not bring out the meaning. Try whether you can improve upon this:—'On the following night, before he could resume operations, the whole host,' &c.

§ 5. *aggere* here does not mean 'an *agger*', or terrace, though it does in 30, § 3. *Agger* primarily means material—earth or what not—piled up in order to form a rampart, a terrace, or some other military structure, or, as in this passage, shot into a moat with the object of filling it up. Caesar uses the word in various kindred senses, which can always be distinguished, without a dictionary, by a little thought.

turribus,—wooden towers, from the stories of which archers, slingers, and artillery showered missiles among the defenders of a besieged town. They were moved on rollers. Occasionally they were very high, containing as many as ten stories (viii, 41, § 5).

pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more
pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14 Pro his Diviciacus (nam post discessum Belgarum
dimissis Haeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat) facit
2 verba: Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia
3 civitatis Haeduae fuisse; impulsos ab suis principibus,
qui dicerent Haeduos a Caesare in servitutem redactos
omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab
Haeduis defecisse et populo Romano bellum intulisse.
4 Qui eius consilii principes fuissent, quod intellegerent
quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britan-
5 niam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed
etiam pro his Haeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansue-
6 tudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Haeduorum
auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum,
quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint,
sustentare consuerint.

15 Caesar honoris Diviciaci atque Haeduorum causa
sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit,
et quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate
atque hominum multitudine praestabat, DC obsides
and of the Ambiani. 2 poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido
conlatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit;
3 qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum
fines Nervii attingebant. Quorum de natura mori-
4 busque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: nullum
esse aditum ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati vini
reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium in-
ferri, quod his rebus relanguescere animos eorum

14, § 5. *sua* is evidently emphatic; but to render it by 'his' would be very weak. One might translate *ut . . . utatur* by 'to treat them with the forbearance and humanity for which he was distinguished'.

15, § 4. *eorum* is suspicious. Schneider remarks that if it is deleted, *his rebus . . . virtutem* must be taken as applying to mankind in general, not to the Nervii in particular; but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 64), who holds that this is precisely the sense in which the words were intended, remarks that if they applied only to the Nervii, Caesar would have written not (animos) *eorum* but (animos) *suos*. Rutherford, however, says (*Gallic War, II and III*, p. 61), 'we are to understand that the pre-

et remitti virtutem existimarent; esse homines feros 5 magnaeque virtutis; increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem proiecissent; confirmare sese 6 neque legatos missuros neque ullam condicionem pacis accepturos.

The Nervii resolve to fight.

Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen a castris suis non amplius milibus passuum X abesse; trans id flumen 2 omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum expectare una cum Atrebatibus et Viromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant 3 uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur); expectari 4 etiam ab iis Atuatucorum copias atque esse in itinere; mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles 5 viderentur in eum locum coniecisse quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset. **16**

Caesar marches into Nervian territory.

His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemittit qui locum castris idoneum deligant. Cum ex 2 dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa 3 **17**

The Nervian plan of attack.

cautions were taken by the chieftains to protect the people.' In other words, he believes that the implied subject of *existimarent* is *duces*, and that *eorum* means the Nervii in general. I may add that Caesar *does* occasionally use *eorum*, *iis*, &c., instead of a reflexive pronoun. See 1, § 2; i, 5, § 4; 6, § 3.

§ 5. *dedidissent . . . proiecissent.* See the note on i, 36, § 4.

16, § 1. *inveniebat.* The learner should ask himself why Caesar used the imperfect.

milibus. The MSS. have *milia*: but if it was not written by mistake, this is the only passage in the *Bellum Gallicum* in which *non amplius abesse* is not used with the ablative; and the archetype probably had the abbreviation *mil.* (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 282).

17, § 2. *hanc . . . adoriri.* If the legion were to be attacked on the march when the men were carrying their heavy packs

impedimentisque direptis, futurum ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. 4 Adiuvabat etiam eorum consilium qui rem deferebant quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis crebrisque in latitudinem ramis enatis [et] rubis sentibusque interiectis effecerant ut instar muri hae saepes munimentum praeberent, quo non modo non intrari sed ne perspici quidem posset. 5 His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

Description of the position

18 Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad

(which included their entrenching tools), it would be at a serious disadvantage. Cf. i, 24, § 3.

§ 4. *teneris . . . enatis* is the accepted reading: *α* has *teneris . . . atque in latitudinem ramis enatis*; *β teneris . . . atque inflexis crebrisque in latitudinem ramis*. Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 48, n. 1) objects—captiously, I think—that in *β crebris* simply means *multis*. Accordingly he regards *inflexis crebrisque* as an interpolation. On the other hand, he condemns *enatis* in *α*, because it does not harmonize with *effecerant*. Thus, he says, the genuine part of the text is *teneris arboribus incisis atque in latitudinem ramis*, which he completes by adding *inflexis*. But if, as he supposes, *incisis* means 'pollarded', *inflexis* is objectionable, for branches would naturally have shot out sideways; and Meusel has pointed out that if we omit *et*, *enatis* is unobjectionable. If *incisis* means 'cut into', the accepted reading describes the operation of 'plashing' (*Ency. Brit.*, xiii, 1910, p. 101).

18, § 1. *Loci natura . . . delegerant.* It is now generally agreed that only one of the numerous sites that have been proposed for Caesar's famous battle with the Nervii corresponds with his description, and that it corresponds exactly. The battle was fought on the left bank of the upper Sambre, on the heights of Neuf-Mesnil opposite Hautmont. These heights slope, as Caesar says (18, § 1), evenly and gently down to the bank; but at Boussières, a little higher up the stream, heights which are connected with those of Neuf-Mesnil terminate at the river in steep escarpments, which, as Long says (*D. R. R.*, iv, 59), 'are not accessible at Boussières, but may be scaled lower down' (see the plan facing p. 83). These are the 'high banks' (*altissimas ripas*) which Caesar mentions (27, § 5). Evidently the battle was fought at a place where Caesar was obliged to cross the Sambre, for the Nervii were awaiting him; and at Maubeuge,

flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat.
Ab eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebatur ad- 2
versus huic et contrarius, passus circiter CC infimus
apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile
introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in 3
occulto sese continebant; in aperto loco secundum
flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis
erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

on the Sambre selected for Caesar's camp.

19 Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus
copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat
ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod hostibus 2
adpropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar VI legiones
expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedi- 3
menta conlocarat; inde duae legiones quae proxime
conscriptae erant totum agmen claudebant praesidio-

His order of march: the Nervii attack his troops while they are entrenching the camp.

which has always been the strategical point of the river, the valley is crossed by the Roman road from Bavay to Reims. No objection worth considering has been brought against the site, except that, according to Caesar (18, § 3), the Sambre opposite the battle-field was only 3 feet deep, whereas the depth opposite Hautmont is much more. But the depth has increased since Caesar's time, because the river has been canalized (*C. G.*, pp. 671-5).

§ 2. *adversus . . . contrarius*,—'opposite the other and directly facing it'. If this hill had been opposite the other, but had not directly faced it—if, that is to say, its axis had not been parallel with the axis of the other—it would have been *contrarius*, but not *adversus*. The reader will notice that in my translation I have deliberately inverted the order,—for a good reason.

infimus. Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 244-5) objects to the MS. reading on the ground that Caesar regularly places *infimus* and *inferior* before the substantive; and accordingly, referring to 18, § 1 and vii, 73, § 6 (*ab summo*), iii, 19, § 1 and iv, 17, § 3 (*ab imo*), vii, 19, § 1 and 73, § 3 (*ab infimo*), he suggests that we should read *ab infimo* here. The conjecture may be right; but I follow the MSS., for in v, 44, § 12 and vii, 35, § 4 *inferior* follows its noun.

§ 3. *stationes* here means 'piquets'.

19, § 2. *expeditas.* When this word is used of troops it does not always mean the same thing. When troops who were just going into action are called *expediti* (vii, 11, § 8; 40, § 1; *B. C.*, iii, 85, § 4, &c.), we are to infer that they were free from every burden that would have interfered with their fighting. But these six legions were at all events carrying their entrenching tools (§ 8), if not also their packs. *Expeditas* therefore probably means that they were not hampered by the presence of the heavy baggage. It may be translated by 'in light marching order'. See *G. K.*, ii, 232-3.

4 que impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum fundi-
toribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium
5 equitatu proelium commiserunt. Cum se illi identidem
in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in
nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius quam
quem ad finem porrecta [ac] loca aperta pertinebant
cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones VI quae
primae venerant, opere dimenso, castra munire coe-
6 perunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab
iis qui in silvis abditi latebant visa sunt, quod tempus
inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ut intra
silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese
confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt
7 impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile
pulsis ac proturbatis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen
decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et
in flumine [et iam in manibus nostris] hostes vide-
8 rentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad
nostra castra atque eos qui in opere occupati erant
contenderunt.

Battle on the Sambre.

20 Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret; signum tuba dandum; ab opere

§ 6. *ut . . . confirmaverant* denotes both the formation in which the Nervii darted forth (*provolaverunt*) and the immediate cause of their doing so, and *ut* includes the senses of *quandoquidem*, 'inasmuch as', and *quem ad modum*. Its force might be expressed by the following translation:—'suddenly, in the exact order in which, with mutual exhortations, they had formed their line within, the whole force darted forth,' &c.

§ 7. *et iam . . . nostris.* If these words are genuine, *in manibus nostris* means 'close to our men' or 'in our immediate neighbourhood', and one might translate them by 'and now at sword's point with our men'. But I know no similar phrase, except in Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 57, § 4, where the text is uncertain. See *J. B.*, 1910, p. 49.

20, § 1. *quod . . . dandum.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 41–2) regards this as an interpolation: for, he says, every Roman reader knew why the *vexillum* was displayed; the words *quod . . . oporteret* needlessly interrupt the narrative; Caesar would have written *oportebat*, not *oporteret*, and *signum*, not *insigne*; and *signum dandum* is already in its proper place at the end of the sentence. If any one will refer to i, 23, § 1 and vi, 24, § 1, he will, I think, doubt whether Caesar would have written

revocandi milites; qui paulo longius aggeris petendi
causa processerant arcessendi; acies instruenda; mi-
lites cohortandi; signum dandum. Quarum rerum 2
magnam partem temporis brevitas et incursus hostium
impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant sub- 3
sidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus
proeliis exercitati quid fieri oporteret non minus
commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri
poterant, et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus
singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris
vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem et celeritatem 4
hostium nihil iam Caesaris imperium expectabant, sed
per se quae videbantur administrabant.

Caesar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos **21**
milites, quam [in] partem fors obtulit, decucurrit et
ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore 2
oratione cohortatus quam uti suae pristinae virtutis
memoriam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo ho-
stiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non 3
longius hostes aberant quam quo telum adigi posset,
proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram 4
partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus

oportebat; and Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 245–6) defends the words *quod . . . oporteret*. He maintains that Caesar was not writing only for soldiers, but also for readers who were ignorant of military matters. At the same time he points out that *signum tuba dandum*, where it stands in the MSS., is out of place, because the troops who were recalled from the trenches (*ab opere revocandi milites*) saw the *vexillum*, and because the sound of the trumpet would have been inaudible to the men who had gone further afield and who therefore had to be fetched by gallopers (*qui paulo longius . . . arcessendi*). Accordingly he proposes to remove *signum tuba dandum* from its MS. position and to substitute it for *signum dandum*.

aggeris (see the note on 12, § 5,—*aggere iacto*) evidently means 'wood'.

21, § 1. *quam* [*in*] *partem fors obtulit*. An attempt has been made to explain these words as equivalent to *in eam partem* (decucurrit) *quam fors obtulit*; but, as Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 59) says, this is impossible. They can only mean *in eam partem in quam fors obtulit*, which is nonsense; and, moreover, Caesar would have written *ad*, not *in*. Meusel, therefore, deletes *in*.

§ 4. Remember that *alteram* means '*the* other'—in other words, the right wing—not 'another'.

qui cum impedimentis veniebant clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur.
4 Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa a civitate missi ad Caesarem venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra [nostra] compleri, legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus do-
5 mum contenderunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

25 Caesar ab X. legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum conlatis XII. legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut iam se sustinere

§ 4. *castra* [*nostra*]. The reading of *α* is *castra compleri, nostras*; of *β*, *castra nostra compleri*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 65) infers that *nostra*(*s*), which, following *nostris castris* (§ 2), is superfluous, was a marginal addition.

25, § 1. *signiferoque interfecto*. In *β que* is omitted. I agree with Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 240, n. 1) that it is required; for it was not the death of the standard-bearer, whose position was always exposed, that Caesar wished to emphasize, but the loss of the standard. By coupling *signifero interfecto* with *signo amisso* he showed that the standard-bearer was not to blame.

primipilo,—the first centurion of the 1st cohort and therefore the chief centurion of the legion. The origin of the word is interesting. *Pilus* is equivalent to *triariorum manipulus*, the *triarii* having, under the earlier Roman military organization, formed the third and most important line of the army in battle array (*triplex acies*). The chief centurion of the *triarii* was called *primi pili*, *centurio* being understood. Afterwards the word *primipilus* was formed, denoting an officer of the same rank. When the cohort became the tactical unit of the legion (see p. lxiii), each cohort contained three maniples, the first of which consisted of *triarii*, and each maniple contained two centuries. The first of the two centurions of the first maniple of the 1st cohort, who was, as such, the chief centurion of the legion, was called *primipilus*.

non posset, reliquos esse tardiores et non nullos ab
novissimis deserto ⟨loco⟩ proelio excedere ac tela
vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco sub-
euntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare et
rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium
quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis [uni] militi 2
detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam
aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis
reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos
laxare iussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cuius 3
adventu spe inlata militibus ac redintegrato animo,
cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam
in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum
hostium impetus tardatus est.

Caesar, cum VII. legionem, quae iuxta constiterat, **26**
item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit
ut paulatim sese legiones coniungerent et conversa
signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto cum aliis alii 2
subsidium ferrent neque timerent ne aversi ab hoste

ab novissimis here and in § 2 does not mean '*from* the rear ranks', but '*in* the rear ranks': in other words, *ab* has the same force as in *a fronte* ('in front') and *ab utroque latere* ('on either flank').

subeuntes and *intermittere* are closely connected in sense.

§ 2. *manipulos laxare.* In regard to the maniples see p. lxiii. The three maniples of each cohort probably always stood side by side, not one behind another (*C. G.*, p. 588). As the cohorts were huddled together (§ 1), the only way, as far as I can see, of opening out the ranks would have been to make every other man in the front rank step forward.

26, § 1. *et conversa signa . . . inferrent.* The exact meaning of these words is uncertain. In 24, § 4 Caesar says that the 7th and 12th legions were almost surrounded, and in 25, § 1 that the Nervii were attacking the 12th in front and on either flank. It seems clear, then, that the object of the formation which he describes was to enable the two legions to face the enemy on all sides. They certainly had to repel attacks in front and on either flank; and Caesar says (26, § 2) that when they had effected the movement which he ordered, they no longer feared an attack in the rear. F. Giesing remarks that it was only necessary for the rear companies of the two legions to turn round and for the wing companies to make a quarter-turn, thus forming a closed parallelogram. Probably he is right; but it is enough to get a clear general idea of Caesar's meaning (*C. G.*, pp. 676–7).

circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pu-
3 gnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum
quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis
fuerant, proelio nuntiato, cursu incitato in summo
4 colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur, et T. Labienus
castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore quae res
in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus X. legionem
5 subsidio nostris misit. Qui cum ex equitum et
calonum fuga quo in loco res esset quantoque in
periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versa-
retur cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui
fecerunt.

27 Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta
ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent,
scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent, calones perter-
ritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occur-
2 rerent, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute
delerent, omnibus in locis pugnae se legionariis
3 militibus praeferrent. At hostes, etiam in extrema

§ 5. *Qui.* The antecedent is *milites*, implied in *X. legionem.* Cf. i, 15, § 1, and see *J. B.*, 1894, pp. 263–4.

nihil . . . fecerunt is equivalent to *nihil ad celeritatem reliquerunt*—'they left nothing undone that could conduce to speed'—and might be translated by 'they put forth their utmost speed'.

27, § 1. *nostri* is equivalent to *nostrorum*, but is used, as in i, 52, § 5, because the men who are designated as *nostri* were not a part of those who renewed the fight, but the whole. I should translate thus:—('Their arrival wrought such a complete change that,) on our side (, even men who,' &c.).

procubuissent. The force of this subjunctive and of *superessent* (§ 4) has been explained thus:—if Caesar had written *procubuerant*, he would have meant certain men who were known to have lain down—one would then translate by 'even *those* men who', &c.,—whereas *etiam qui procubuissent* means 'even those, whoever they were, who had lain down'. I am inclined to think, however, that Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 1506; *J. B.*, 1894, p. 379) is right in attributing both subjunctives to Attraction of Mood,—in other words, to the influence of *redintegrarent* and of *coicerent* respectively.

§ 2. *pugnae* is the reading of β: *a* has *pugnant quo.* Meusel, who now accepts H. Kleist's conjecture—*pugnandi studio*—formerly (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 386) agreed with Schneider in defending β. *Pugnae* does not mean 'the battle-field', but 'the battle'; but Meusel thought that *locis* might be used loosely with *pugnae*.

spe salutis, tantam virtutem praestiterunt ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi iacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent, his deiectis 4 et coacervatis cadaveribus qui superessent ut ex tumulo tela in nostros coicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis ho- 5 mines iudicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28 *Caesar treats the survivors with clemency.*

Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, maiores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes coniectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium qui supererant consensu legatos ad 2 Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt; et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex DC ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad D, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, 3 ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit et finitimis imperavit ut ab iniuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29 *The Atuatuci take refuge*

Atuatuci, de quibus supra diximus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata

28, § 1. *prope . . . redacto.* This, though Caesar may not have known it when he reported his victory to the Senate, was an exaggeration. See pp. ix–x.

aestuaria. This word, which is connected with *aestus* ('tidal stream'), cannot be used of marshes formed by a river which does not flow into the sea; so we must conclude that the marshes in question bordered on the estuary of the Scheldt (*C. G.*, pp. 674–5).

dixeramus. See the note on 1, § 1 (*dixeramus*).

§ 2. *ex DC . . . dixerunt.* See the first note on § 1.

vix ad D. Caesar may have intended to emphasize *vix* (as in i, 6, § 1), but anyhow he could not have written *ad vix D. Ad reliqui temporis pacem* (vii, 66, § 4) is good Latin, and so is *ad bene vivendum*, but except in such phrases a word cannot be placed between *ad* and its object.

§ 3. *ut . . . videretur* (see the second note on i, 40, § 5) may be translated by 'wishing to establish his character for', &c.

in their strongest fortress.

2 ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castel-
lisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie
3 natura munitum contulerunt. Quod cum ex omnibus
in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes deiectusque ha-
beret, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus in latitu-
dinem non amplius pedum CC relinquebatur; quem
locum duplici altissimo muro munierant; tum magni
ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro conlo-
4 cabant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati,
qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam
facerent, iis impedimentis quae secum agere ac portare
non poterant citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiae
[ex suis] ac praesidio VI milia hominum una reli-
5 querant. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a fini-
timis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias
inlatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace
facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerant.

Caesar besieges it.

30 Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex op-
pido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum
2 nostris contendebant; postea vallo pedum XII in

29, § 2. *castellis*, as distinguished from *oppidis*, probably means strongholds which, in time of peace, were uninhabited or only sparsely inhabited. Cf. *A. B.*, p. 138.

unum oppidum . . . munitum. See the article on Atuatucorum oppidum (p. 409).

§ 3. *deiectus* is an old emendation. The MS. reading, *despectus*, is pointless: whether the town commanded a wide view or not would have had no interest for Caesar or his readers.

amplius . . . CC. See the note on i, 38, § 5.

duplici . . . muro. M. Saint-Venant, a well-known French archaeologist, has discovered ancient forts in the Maritime Alps, the ramparts of which were formed each of two distinct walls (*C. G.*, p. 80, n. 4).

duplici. See the note on i, 18, § 10.

tum is, I think, equivalent to *tunc*; but I am not quite sure that it has not the sense of *praeterea*. Cf. *L. C.*, ii, 2227, 2234.

§ 4. *impedimentis*, as *agere* shows, does not here mean 'baggage' only, but 'stock'—that is to say, cattle—'and baggage'. Remember the original meaning of the word.

§§ 4–5. *reliquerunt . . . delegerant.* The MSS. have the perfect; but the old emendations which I have adopted seem necessary. See *J. B.*, 1894, p. 351.

30, § 2. *vallo pedum XII.* Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 220–1) oddly thinks that this rampart was the town-wall of the Atuatuci.

circuitu †XV† milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere 3 extructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum

XV milium is certainly wrong; for to construct a contravallation 15 Roman miles in extent round either Namur or Mont Falhize, with one or the other of which the *oppidum* must be identified, would have been sheer folly. The reading of *a*—*vallo pedum in circuitu XV milium*—will not do either; for Caesar never reckoned miles in terms of feet. Possibly he wrote *V* (*C. G.*, pp. 390-1).

castellis. See 33, § 3 and the note on i, 8, § 2.

circummuniti means 'shut in'. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 81, § 5; 84, § 4.

§ 3. *aggere extructo.* The word *agger* is here used in the sense of an oblong mound or terrace, such as was commonly constructed by Greeks, Romans, and Asiatics in besieging fortified towns. We shall see presently what purpose it was intended to serve. Before the construction of such a mound could be begun, the ground upon which it was to be erected had generally to be levelled, or, if it was too steep or broken to be reduced to one plane surface, it was perhaps levelled in step-like sections; and this was done by men working under the cover of a sapper's hut (*B. C.*, ii, 2, § 4). The *agger* was made largely, if not mainly, of wood,—the lightest suitable material; while earth and rubble were used to fill up interstices and to make the structure compact. The woodwork consisted of logs, piled in layers, the logs in each layer being laid at right angles with those in the layer below. When, as at Avaricum (vii, 24, § 1), the *agger* was very large, this elaborately constructed woodwork probably served only as a wall on either side, to prevent the more loosely heaped interior from scattering. The workmen were protected from the enemy's missiles by sheds called *vineae* (see the note on 12, § 3). The evidence for this description will be found in *B. C.*, ii, 2, § 4; Thucydides, ii, 75; Lucan, iii, 394-8, 455; Appian, *Mithr.*, 30; and Silius Italicus, xiii, 109-10.

In vii, 22, § 5 Caesar says that during the siege of Avaricum the Gauls endeavoured to prevent the Romans from bringing their *cuniculi* up to the walls (*apertos cuniculos... morabantur moenibusque adpropinquare prohibebant*); and accordingly some writers believe that there were galleries in the *agger*. The passage will be considered in the right place, but *cuniculos* can only mean subterranean galleries, or mines. The *agger* was certainly solid; for there is direct evidence that some *aggeres* were (Thucydides, ii, 75, § 2; Lucan, iii, 394-8); the only use of making galleries would have been to save material; and the gain would have been more than counterbalanced by the enormous increase of labour that would have been entailed by making such an *agger* strong enough to carry the host of soldiers, the sappers' huts, and the huge towers that stood upon it. Indeed, without bricks it could not have been built.

Aggeres were always in danger of being set on fire by the enemy (vii, 22, § 4; 24, § 2); but the great difficulty began when they were getting quite close to the enemy's wall. It could hardly have been possible then to continue rearing a

inridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta 4 machinatio a tanto spatio institueretur: quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro sese ⟨posse⟩ conlocare confiderent?

The Atuatuci surrender,

31 Ubi vero moveri et adpropinquare muris viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Cae-

compact and uniform structure, for the enemy could pitch down heavy stones and other missiles, although the artillerymen in the towers which stood upon the *agger* (see the second note on 12, § 5) doubtless did their best to keep them at a distance. Sappers' huts of extraordinary strength, the sloping roofs of which were protected against fire by bricks, clay, and raw hides soaked in water (see the last note on v, 42, § 5), would therefore be placed on the *agger*, near its edge; and, screened by them, the men could shoot earth, timber, and fascines into the vacant space until the mass reached the necessary height.

The width of an *agger* must have depended upon its object. At Avaricum the object was to take the town by escalade (vii, 27), and therefore the *agger* was necessarily very broad (24, § 1); but when, as in the siege of the stronghold of the Atuataci (ii, 32, § 1), at Uxellodunum (viii, 41, § 2), or at Massilia (*B. C.*, ii, 10–11), the object was simply to breach the wall, to attack one definite point, or to batter down a bastion, a vast embankment would have been superfluous.

How the *vineae* were used in constructing an *agger* is a difficult question. The men who brought up the material for the original *aggeres* at Massilia passed it, like bricklayers, from hand to hand under the protection of *vineae* (*B. C.*, ii, 2, § 3); but whether *vineae* were used by the men who actually reared the fabric, we are not told. As they were still nearer to the enemy, they must have been protected somehow; but inside *vineae* they could not have worked. We must suppose that they were screened by the defences, called *plutei*, which Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 15) describes,—high convex wooden shields running on rollers (see the first note on vii, 25, § 1). See *C. G.*, pp. 599–607.

quod . . . instituerelur. If Caesar had intended merely to give the reason why the Atuatuci jeered, he would have written *instituebatur*; but he means that they jeered 'because, *as they said*, such a huge machine', &c. See the notes on i, 6, § 3 and 23, § 3. Translate by 'at the idea of such a huge machine being erected'.

§ 4. *plerumque . . . contemptui est.* A modern Italian, travelling for the first time in France, would not be impressed by the stature of the inhabitants, except here and there in certain departments, especially of the north-east. I have tried to account for this in the article on the Ethnology of Gaul (pp. xxvi–xxvii).

sarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti,
non se existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum 2
gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta
celeritate promovere possent, se suaque omnia eorum 3
potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac depre- 4
cari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine,
quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Atuatucos esse
conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes 5
fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere;
a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent.
Sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis 6
fortunam a populo Romano pati quam ab his per cru-
ciatum interfici inter quos dominari consuessent.

Ad haec Caesar respondit: se magis consuetudine **32**
sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si
prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidissent;
sed deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi armis 2
traditis. Se id quod in Nerviis fecisset facturum
finitimisque imperaturum ne quam dediticiis populi
Romani iniuriam inferrent. Re renuntiata ad suos 3
illi se quae imperarentur facere dixerunt. Armorum 4
magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat
ante oppidum, iacta, sic ut prope summam muri
aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent,
et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum
est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis eo
die pace sunt usi.

31, § 4. *deprecari* is not distinct in sense from *petere*, but defines it: one might translate *unum . . . deprecari* by 'One thing only they would beg him not to do'.

sua. Cf. the note on 14, § 5.

32, § 1. *aries*. The battering-ram was a long beam, armed with a head of iron or bronze. It was suspended from the roof of a sappers' hut, so that both the engine itself and the men who worked it were screened from attack; and the momentum was obtained by pulling the beam backwards, and then letting it swing forwards.

§ 2. *in Nerviis* means 'in the case of the Nervii'. Cf. i, 47, § 4.

§ 3. *facere* is stronger than *facturos esse*: the meaning of *illi . . . dixerunt* is 'they professed themselves ready to obey his commands'. So one says 'I'm coming', meaning 'I'll come at once'.

but afterwards treacherously attack the Romans.

33 Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex
oppido exire iussit, ne quam noctu oppidani a mili-
2 tibus iniuriam acciperent. Illi ante inito, ut intel-
lectum est, consilio, quod deditione facta nostros
praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius serva-
turos crediderant, partim cum iis quae retinuerant
et celaverant armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis
aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis
exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigi-
lia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus
videbatur, omnibus copiis repente ex oppido eruptio-
3 nem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperave-
rat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis
4 eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter
est ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo
loco contra eos qui ex vallo turribusque tela iacerent
pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes con-
5 sisteret. Occisis ad hominum milibus IIII reliqui
6 in oppidum reiecti sunt. Postridie eius diei refractis
portis, cum iam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis
militibus nostris, sectionem eius oppidi universam

How Caesar punished them.

33, § 2. *praesidia.* See the note on i, 8, § 2.

denique here points to that which comes last in thought; and so it means 'at any rate'.

viminibus intextis. Kraner and Meusel take these words not as depending upon *ex*, but as ablative absolute. Schneider makes *intextis* agree with *scutis.* I am inclined to agree with Kraner.

pellibus induxerant. Readers who have begun to feel interested in the story will, I hope, have already inferred from these words that the Atuatuci had plenty of cattle in the fortress. Cf. vii, 71, § 7.

§ 4. *turribus.* This shows that towers were erected not only on the *agger*, but also along the rampart which formed the contravallation. Cf. vii, 72, § 4.

iacerent. The mood is, I think, to be accounted for by supposing that Caesar meant (those who) were in such circumstances that they threw, &c.

§ 5. *ad.* See the first note on i, 4, § 2.

§ 6. *sectionem. Sectio bonorum* was the legal term denoting the public sale of the property of a person condemned on a capital charge or under a proscription, such as that of Sulla. Those who bought such property on speculation were called *sectores.* My translation of *sectionem . . . vendidit* is, 'Caesar sold by auction, in one lot, all the booty of war found in the town.'

Caesar vendidit. Ab iis qui emerant capitum numerus 7
ad eum relatus est milium LIII.

34 Publius Crassus receives the submission of the maritime tribes.

Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una
miserat ad Venetos, Venellos, Osismos, Coriosolitas,
Esuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35 Results of Caesar's operations: thanksgiving service at Rome in honour of his exploits.

His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata, tanta huius
belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est uti ab iis nationibus quae trans Rhenum incolerent legationes ad
Caesarem mitterentur, quae se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, 2
quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima
aestate ad se reverti iussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, 3
Turonos quaeque civitates propinquae iis locis erant
ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis,
in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res ex litteris 4
Caesaris dierum XV supplicatio decreta est, quod ante
id tempus accidit nulli.

§ 7. *iis qui emerant.* See p. lxv.

34. *una.* R. Schneider (*J. B.*, 1887, p. 238) proposes *VII* as an emendation, remarking that in iii, 7, § 2, where Crassus's legion is alluded to, it is called in MSS. *legione VII^a*, and that *VII^a* might easily have been altered by a copyist into *una*. Klotz, however (*C. S.*, p. 162, n. 4), rejects Schneider's conjecture, and it seems to me unnecessary. Cf. i, 7, § 2; vii, 45, § 5; &c.

35, § 1. *pacata.* The pacification did not last long.

incolerent. See the second note on 27, § 1. Meusel, who explains the subjunctive as due to the attraction of *mitterentur*, remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 379) that Caesar habitually uses that mood in relative clauses which are inserted, as this is, in a subjunctive clause, even when one would have expected to find the indicative. Exceptions, however, occur; for instance, in v, 10, § 1,—*ut eos qui fugerant persequerentur.*

legationes. The reading of *a* is *mitterentur legati ad Caesarem*; of β, *legati ad Caesarem mitterentur*; while in B^2L β *mitterentur* is followed by *quae* instead of *qui*, which is found in *a*. G. Sauppe, whom Meusel follows, concludes that Caesar wrote *legationes*. If he wrote *legati*, the use of *se* is extraordinarily strained.

§ 2. *Illyricum.* See p. 419.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS TERTIUS

57 B.C. Caesar sends Galba to subdue the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni. Galba defeats them, receives their submission, and encamps at Octodurus.

1 Cum in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Ser. Galbam
cum legione XII. et parte equitatus in Nantuates,
Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui a finibus Allobrogum
et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes
2 pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit quod iter per Alpes,
quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis
3 mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic
permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis
4 legionem hiemandi causa conlocaret. Galba secundis
aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum
expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibus-
que datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in
Nantuatibus conlocare et ipse cum reliquis eius legio-
nis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur
5 Octodurus hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle non
magna adiecta planitie altissimis montibus undique
6 continetur. Cum hic in duas partes flumine divide-
retur, alteram partem eius vici Gallis [ad hiemandum]
concessit, alteram vacuam ab his relictam cohortibus
attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

1, § 2. *iter per Alpes,*—evidently the route over the Great St. Bernard.

§ 4. *castellis*, 'forts'. See the first note on ii, 29, § 2.

§ 6. *flumine.* The Dranse then flowed in a different channel, through the centre of the valley: it is now close to the western hills.

ad hiemandum. German editors are now generally agreed that these words are either spurious or originally followed *cohortibus.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 56) deletes them, on the ground that Caesar, after writing *cohortibus . . . hiemare* in § 4, would not have superfluously inserted *ad hiemandum.*

alteram . . . attribuit. Galba certainly encamped on the left or western bank of the river, while the Gauls occupied the right; for if he had allowed them to hold the left bank, they would have cut his communications with the two cohorts which he had left among the Nantuates (*C. G.*, pp. 677–8).

Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent fru- **2**
mentumque eo comportari iussisset, subito per explo-
ratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis
concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque qui
impenderent a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et
Veragrorum teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat, 2
ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque oppri-
mendae consilium caperent: primum, quod legionem 3
neque eam plenissimam detractis cohortibus duabus
et compluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi
causa missi erant, absentibus propter paucitatem de-
spiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, 4
cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela
coicerent, ne primum quidem impetum suum posse
sustineri existimabant. Accedebat quod suos ab se 5
liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Ro-
manos non solum itinerum causa sed etiam perpetuae
possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea
loca finitimae provinciae adiungere sibi persuasum
habebant.

Learning that they are about to renew hostilities,

His nuntiis acceptis Galba, cum neque opus hiber- **3**

he calls a council of

2, § 1. *exploratores.* See the note on ii, 11, § 2.

concesserat. As it is impossible in translating to separate *quam . . . concesserat* from *ex . . . vici* (we should say 'he was informed that during the night the Gauls had all quitted the part of the village which he had allotted to them'), it may seem at first sight surprising to a beginner that Caesar did not write *concessisset*; but he used the indicative because the patrols had simply said that the Gauls had quitted their part of the village: he independently reminded the reader that he had allotted it.

§ 2. *Id . . . caperent. Id* refers to § 1; and *ut . . . caperent* is added in order to make it quite clear what is meant by *Id.* In English one would say 'Various reasons had led the Gauls to form the sudden resolution of renewing hostilities', &c. Cf. i, 7, § 1.

§ 3. After *legionem* Meusel, following Jurinius, supplies *unam*, in my opinion unnecessarily.

§ 4. Notice that *decurrerent* does not mean 'were charging down' but 'would charge down': the charge had not yet begun. See the note on *adflictarentur* in 12, § 1.

3, § 1. *opus hibernorum munitionesque. Opus* or its plural is often used as an equivalent of *munitiones*, and therefore at first sight *munitionesque* may appear superfluous. But *opus* may also mean the work of constructing *munitiones* (cf. ii, 20, § 1),

war, and resolves to defend the camp.

norum, munitionesque plene essent perfectae neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter con-
2 vocato sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset ac iam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineri-
3 bus possent, prope iam desperata salute non nullae eius modi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta isdem itineribus quibus eo
4 pervenissent ad salutem contenderent. Maiori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum ⟨casum⟩ consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

The enemy assault the camp.

4 Brevi spatio interiecto, vix ut iis rebus quas constituissent conlocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato de-
2 currere, lapides gaesaque in vallum coicere. Nostri

and *munitionesque* is added here to complete and define *opus hibernorum*. Similarly in i, 8, § 4 Caesar speaks of *operis munitione* even though *operis* plainly means 'entrenchment' and *opere* might have been used alone in the sense of *munitione*. The entrenchment was an entrenchment even before the palisade and *castella* which completed it were made.

plene. H. J. Müller (*W. kl. Ph.*, 1894, col. 566) prefers *plane* (cf. 26, § 3), which is found in one inferior MS.; for he can find no satisfactory analogy to *plene*. Will not these examples do, —*si hoc plene vitare non potes* (Cicero, *Q. fr.*, i, 1, § 38) and *quae ut plene esset . . . perfecta* (*De Div.*, ii, 1, § 3)?

§ 2. *omnia fere . . . conspicerentur*. Probably the natives were posted on both the parallel ranges of mountains which dominate Martigny, in order to cut off the Romans from all possibility of escape (*C. G.*, pp. 677–8).

§ 4. *ad extremum*. W. Paul (*Z. G.*, 1878, p. 194) supplies *casum*, referring to 5, § 1 (*resque esset iam ad extremum perducta casum*) and remarking that Caesar, like Cicero, only uses *extremum* by itself in the sense of 'end' or 'conclusion', never in that of 'extreme peril'.

4, § 1. *constituissent*. See the note on ii, 35, § 1.

conlocandis. If the MS. reading is right, the meaning of *iis rebus . . . conlocandis* is 'for making the dispositions which had been resolved upon'. W. Nitsche suggests that Caesar wrote *comparandis*.

primo integris viribus fortiter propugnare neque
ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, et
quaecumque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus
premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed 3
hoc superari quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi
proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant;
quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil 4
poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed
ne saucio quidem eius loci ubi constiterat relinquendi
ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

Cum iam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, **5**
ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostros deficerent,
atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris
vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque
esset iam ad extremum perducta casum, P. Sextius 2
Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio
compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item
C. Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni
et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt atque unam esse
spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum
auxilium experirentur. Itaque convocatis centurio- 3
nibus celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper in-

§ 2. *quaecumque . . . videbatur.* The explanation is suggested by 2, § 3.

§ 4. *non modo . . . excedendi.* The reader has doubtless noticed that *non* is omitted before *excedendi*, though in a similar clause (ii, 17, § 4) it is expressed. Caesar began the sentence as if he had intended to write *sed etiam saucio . . . facultas non dabatur.* The omission of *non* in such sentences is frequent.

sui recipiendi does not mean 'of retreating', which would be tautological, but 'of recovering himself'.

5, § 1. *pugnaretur.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 389-90) remarks that in expressions of this kind (v, 35, § 5; vii, 80, § 6) Caesar generally uses the imperfect where one would have expected the pluperfect. I do not think that I would have expected it: the imperfect pictures the long-drawn-out battle more vividly. When Caesar does use the pluperfect, as in i, 26, § 4, he wishes to show that the fighting was over.

§ 2. *primi pili centurio.* See the note on ii, 25, § 1.

extremum auxilium may be translated by 'a forlorn hope'.

§ 3. *certiores facit* is followed by a subjunctive (without *ut*) because it implies a command, the meaning being 'he informed them (that his decision was) that they should', &c. My translation is, 'Galba . . . quickly made the men understand that

termitterent proelium ac tantum modo tela missa
exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo
ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in
virtute ponerent.

The Romans make a sortie and rout them with heavy loss.

6 Quod iussi sunt faciunt, ac subito omnibus portis
eruptione facta neque cognoscendi quid fieret neque
2 sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita
commutata fortuna eos qui in spem potiundorum
castrorum venerant undique circumventos intercipiunt,
et ex hominum milibus amplius XXX, quem numerum
barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia
parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam coiciunt
ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur.
3 Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se
4 intra munitiones suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto,
quod saepius fortunam temptare Galba nolebat atque
alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis
occurrisse rebus videbat, maxime frumenti [commea-

they were to leave off fighting', &c.—After the historic present of verbs of asking, commanding, and the like, Caesar almost invariably uses the present subjunctive: here, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 355), the imperfect, *intermitterent*, is justified by the immediately preceding imperfect, *experirentur*.

6, § 1. *portis.* See the note on 19, § 2 (*duabus portis*).

sui colligendi means 'of closing their ranks'. Notice that, although *sui* is plural, the gerundive is singular, because the genitive plural of *se* is identical in form with the genitive singular (*L. C.*, iii, 1968–9). No Italian would have written *sui colligendorum*. Madvig, however (*Lat. Gr.*, §§ 297 b, 417), who denies (§ 85) that the reflexive pronoun has a genitive, takes *sui* as the neuter singular of the possessive (*suus*).

§ 2. *intercipiunt* is an emendation, proposed by J. Lange (*N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 799) instead of the MS. reading, *interficiunt*. He refers to v, 39, § 2, where *interciperentur*, which is certainly right, is found in α and *interficerentur* in β, and to vii, 38, § 9, where *interficit*, the reading of α, is preferable to *intercipit*.

milibus amplius XXX is certainly a gross exaggeration. In 1861 the entire population of the country occupied by the Nantuates, Veragri, Seduni, and Viberi was only 81,559; and it is therefore unlikely that the Seduni and Veragri (2, § 1) could muster more than 10,000 fighting men. Galba, says Ernest Desjardins, must have misled Caesar. I should say that he was also misled himself (see the note on 26, § 6 and *C. G.*, p. 678).

§ 3. *armis* does not agree with *exutis*. Cf. v, 51, § 5.

§ 4. *atque alio . . . videbat* is easy enough to construe, but extraordinarily hard to translate. The best rendering that I can

tusque] inopia permotus postero die omnibus eius vici
aedificiis incensis in provinciam reverti contendit, ac 5
nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem
legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges perduxit
ibique hiemavit.

Nevertheless Galba returns to the land of the Allobroges.

His rebus gestis cum omnibus de causis Caesar **7**
pacatam Galliam existimaret, [superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis,] atque ita
inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas
quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat,
subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Eius belli 2
haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adulescens cum legione
VII. proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemabat.
Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos 3
tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates
frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero est T. Terra- 4
sidius missus in Esuvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Coriosolites, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

56 B.C. Caesar learns that the maritime tribes have revolted.

Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas **8**
omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves

Naval power of the Veneti:

give is this:—'he reflected that the circumstances with which he had to contend were at variance with the purpose for which he had taken up his quarters'.

commeatusque is bracketed by Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 65) because while Caesar in six other passages has *frumenti inopia*, he nowhere else speaks either of *commeatus inopia* or of *frumenti commeatusque inopia*. As Mommsen remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 203), the omission of *que* in β points to an interpolation.

7, § 1. *superatis . . . Sedunis.* These words are suspicious. Perhaps Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, pp. 35–6) lays too much stress on the facts that the events are mentioned in a wrong order and that the Helvetian campaign is ignored; but why should Caesar have named the Seduni rather than the Veragri, in whose country Galba's operations had taken place?

§ 2. *adulescens.* See the note on i, 52, § 7.

According to Dion Cassius (xxxix, 31, § 2), Crassus was a *legatus*, and Caesar's silence does not prove that he was not: but he was not yet a senator (see the first note on i, 10, § 3); and therefore it is doubtful whether Dion did not jump to the conclusion that he held this rank, because he commanded an army in the field. Still, irregular things were done in those times, and if Crassus was not already a *legatus*, Caesar may have made him one.

§ 3. *praefectos.* See the note on i, 39, § 2 (*praefectis*).

8, § 1. *auctoritas . . . maritimae.* The meaning is clear enough; but if one analyses the sentence, one sees that, like

the insurrection spreads.

habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navi-
gare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu rerum nauti-
carum ceteros antecedunt et in magno impetu maris
atque aperto paucis portibus interiectis, quos tenent
ipsi, omnes fere qui eo mari uti consuerunt habent
2 vectigales. Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque
Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso
3 dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum aucto-
ritate finitimi adducti, ut sunt Gallorum subita et
repentina consilia, eadem de causa Trebium Terra-
sidiumque retinent et celeriter missis legatis per suos

totius Galliae in i, 3, § 7, it is elliptical,—a concise way of expressing *auctoritas auctoritatum omnis orae maritimae civitatum*. Of course no educated Roman would have written anything so clumsy as this.

in magno . . . aperto. The preposition, as in i, 27, § 4 (*in tanta multitudine*), is conditional; and the words, which are thus equivalent to *cum magnus* (or *tantus*) *impetus maris esset*, &c., may be translated by 'the sea being very stormy and open'. But if the text is right, the expression, though it is vivid, is somewhat poetical, for *aperto* would normally belong not to *impetu*, but to *maris*; and I am therefore tempted to adopt the emendation of A. Zucker,—*in magno* impetu maris *vasti atque aperti*. The order of the words *atque aperto* is defended by Schneider.

paucis portibus . . . vectigales. The natural conclusion to be drawn from these words is that the Veneti possessed, or were able, owing to their naval strength, to blockade, harbours in territory which was not theirs; for there would have been no point in saying that they were masters of the harbours in their own country.

§ 2. *Ab his . . . Velanii.* Schneider remarks that Caesar, studying brevity as usual, omitted the word *legatorum*, which belonged to all the officers who were detained; and that the sentence means 'They [the Veneti] were the first who detained [envoys,—namely] Silius and Velanius'. I am inclined, however, to prefer the explanation of Herzog,—'The Veneti made a beginning by detaining Silius,' &c. *Retinendi* would then be a genitive of definition, as in 10, § 2 (*iniuria retentorum equitum*). I would suggest the following translation,—'They took the initiative by detaining Silius and Velanius.' Long objects that this would mean that 'the seizure of these men was the first of their hostile acts'. But so it was.

Besides their natural impatience of Roman rule, the Veneti had a business-like motive for resistance. According to Strabo (iv, 4, § 1), they had heard that Caesar was contemplating an invasion of Britain; and they naturally determined to prevent him from interfering with their trade. See p. 1; *C. G.*, p. 87; and the note on iv, 21, § 4.

principes inter se coniurant nihil nisi communi con-
silio acturos eundemque omnes fortunae exitum esse
laturos, reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea 4
libertate quam a maioribus acceperint permanere
quam Romanorum servitutem perferre malint. Omni 5
ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta
communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, si
velit suos recuperare, obsides sibi remittat.

Quibus de rebus Caesar a Crasso certior factus, **9**
quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedi-
ficari in flumine Ligeri, quod influit in Oceanum,
remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque
comparari iubet. His rebus celeriter administratis 2
ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exer-
citum contendit. Veneti reliquaeque item civitates 3
cognito Caesaris adventu [certiores facti], simul quod
quantum in se facinus admisissent intellegebant,
[legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum
inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in

Caesar prepares for a naval war: counter-preparations of the Veneti and their allies.

§ 3. *principes* here seems to mean simply 'leaders'. Cf. the notes on i, 3, § 5 and ii, 5, § 1.

9, § 1. *naves longas.* 'Long ships', or galleys—to be distinguished from *naves onerariae*, 'merchant ships'—were of various kinds: everybody is familiar with the terms 'bireme', 'trireme', &c. What class these particular *naves longae* belonged to we are not told. *Naves longae* were not always even decked (*B. C.*, i, 56, § 1; iii, 7, § 2).

gubernatores. Nowadays seamen take turns in steering a ship on a prescribed course; but when there were no compasses steering was necessarily entrusted, as this passage shows, to specialists. The *gubernator*, who might be loosely compared to the master in a ship of Nelson's time, had to observe sun, moon, and stars in order to know where he was, fixed the course of the ship, steered her or directed the steersman, and also performed on occasion the duties of a pilot (*D. S.*, ii, 1673-4).

§ 2. *cum primum . . . potuit,*—that is, as soon as forage began to be plentiful (cf. ii, 2, § 2) and the roads were in a fit state for the movement of troops accompanied by a baggage-train (cf. vii, 10, § 1).

Before Caesar started for Gaul he held the famous conference at Luca, the southernmost town of Cisalpine Gaul, where he arranged with his fellow triumvirs, Pompey and M. Licinius Crassus, that his term of office, which would normally expire on March 1, 54 B. C., should be prolonged for five years. See the note on viii, 39, § 3.

§ 3. *legatos . . . coniectos.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 36, with

vincula coniectos,] pro magnitudine periculi bellum
parare et maxime ea quae ad usum navium pertinent
providere instituunt, hoc maiore spe quod multum
4 natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera con-
cisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter in-
scientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant,
5 neque nostros exercitus propter inopiam frumenti
6 diutius apud se morari posse confidebant; ac iam
ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se
plurimum navibus posse, [quam] Romanos neque
ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum loco-
rum ubi bellum gesturi essent vada, portus, insulas
7 novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso
mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano
8 perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt,
9 frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in
Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum bellum gesturum
10 constabat, quam plurimas possunt cogunt. Socios
sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes, Am-
biliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt;
auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita
est, arcessunt.

which cf. *ib.*, 1911, p. 109) gives various reasons for bracketing these words, of which one seems to me weighty: Caesar would not have written *fuisset*, but *fuit*.

§ 5. *diutius.* We should say simply 'long', but there is a reason for the comparative. It implies that the Veneti were confident that the Romans would not be able to remain in their country longer than the time for which their supplies would last. So in English one sometimes says 'at all long'.

§ 6. *iam ut.* Any one can see that *ut* is concessive and means 'supposing that'; but *iam*, which marks a transition in thought, is not superfluous. *Ac iam ut* may be translated by 'and even supposing that'.

§ 7. *concluso mari*—'a land-locked sea'—of course refers to the Mediterranean.

§ 10. *quae . . . posita est.* Caesar appears to have shared the misconception of his contemporaries and of some later geographers, who thought that the coast of Gaul, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, was roughly parallel with Southern Britain. The famous explorer, Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), who was contemporary with Alexander the Great, knew better (*A. B.*, pp. 217-21, 352; *C. G.*, p. 446, n. 3). That the Veneti succeeded in securing the alliance of the Morini and Menapii shows the alarm which Caesar's designs had aroused. These

Caesar's motives for fighting.

Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi quas supra 10
ostendimus, sed tamen multa Caesarem ad id bellum
incitabant: iniuria retentorum equitum Romanorum, 2
rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus,
tot civitatum coniuratio, in primis ne hac parte
neglecta reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur.
Itaque cum intellegeret omnes fere Gallos 3
novis rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque
excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere
et condicionem servitutis odisse, prius quam plures
civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

He sends divisions to deal with the Treveri, the Aqui-

Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui proxi- 11
mi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic 2
mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat atque in
officio contineat Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis

Belgic tribes were 400 miles from the Veneti; but they commanded the coast from which Caesar would have to embark for Britain.

10, § 2. *equitum Romanorum,*—not 'cavalry', but 'knights', that is to say, members of the equestrian order. See the note on i, 42, § 6.

rebellio does not here mean 'rebellion'. Think of the derivation.

§ 3. *libertati studere* is the reading of α: β has *libertatis studiose incitari*, which is nonsense, but has led Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 246–7) to offer a very ingenious emendation. He remarks that in *libertatis studiose* we may discern an older reading, *libertatis studio*, and he argues that Caesar wrote *condicionem servitutis* instead of *servitutem* for the sake of symmetry. Probably, he suggests, there was a gap in the archetype after *studio*, which was patched up by inserting *incitari* in β and writing *libertati studere* in α. Accordingly he conjectures that what Caesar wrote was *libertatis studio incendi.*

11, § 2. *Belgis.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 292) adopts the reading of β,—*Gallis.* What, he asks, could have induced the Germans, after the Belgae had been beaten in the preceding year, to come to their assistance? Moreover, if Caesar had feared that the Belgae were going to rebel and that the Germans intended to support them, he would have assigned part of his infantry to Labienus rather than to Crassus (§ 3); and probably he would have written not *a Belgis* but *ab his.* Meusel concludes that *Gallis* must mean the Veneti and their allies. He admits that it is surprising that the Veneti should have asked for the aid of the Germans, from whom they were separated by the whole breadth of Gaul; but, as they made an alliance with the Morini and Menapii and sent for reinforcements from Britain, it is not impossible. I am not convinced. The interests of the Morini, the Menapii, and the Britons coincided with those of the

tanians, and the northern allies of the Veneti, and places Brutus in command of his fleet.

arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire 3 conentur, prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis XII et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci iubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur ac tantae nationes coniungantur. 4 Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Venellos, Coriosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam 5 manum distinendam curet. D. Brutum adulescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire iusserat, praeficit et, cum primum possit, in Venetos proficisci iubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

Veneti; but that the Germans could have been induced to march 600 miles in order to help an Atlantic tribe is incredible. The Belgae rebelled in 54–53 B.C., and they might rebel in 56. At all events, Labienus was sent to look after them; and as he only had to prevent the Germans from crossing a broad river, the force which Caesar assigned to him was enough. Whether Caesar wrote *Belgis* or *Gallis*, I am sure that he meant the Belgae.

§ 3. *ne ex his . . . coniungantur.* Mommsen remarks (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 500, note) that Caesar's attempt to justify the invasion of Aquitania 'as a defensive measure which the state of things had rendered inevitable' breaks down. It is generally assumed that the danger which Caesar professed to fear did not exist, because the Aquitani had apparently no political connexion with the Celtae and the Belgae, and were in race distinct from both: but vii, 31, § 5, where we learn that Vercingetorix was reinforced by Aquitanian cavalry, shows that the danger was real; and is it quite certain that it was not lessened by the defeats which Crassus inflicted upon the Aquitani? And if the danger was insignificant, is it certain that Caesar knew it to be so? If Mommsen is right, why did Caesar make no excuse for having sent Crassus to reduce the maritime tribes, who had offered him no provocation, to submission? Surely because it never occurred to him that his conduct required an apology.

§ 5. *D. Brutum adulescentem.* See the note on 7, § 2. Although Brutus was entrusted with the command of the fleet, it is doubtful whether he had at this time the rank of *legatus*; for, like P. Crassus, he was not yet a senator.

reliquisque pacatis regionibus. What 'the other settled districts' were I cannot conjecture.

possit. The MS. reading is *posset*; but, as Meusel says (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 371), it is extremely improbable that Caesar, having used the present subjunctive seven times in one paragraph after a historic present, should have changed the tense without the slightest reason.

eo. Meusel may be right in believing that Caesar wrote *eodem*. Cf. *L. C.*, ii, 28 with 340–5.

His fruitless operations against the maritime strongholds of the Veneti.

Erant eius modi fere situs oppidorum ut posita **12** in extremis lingulis promunturiisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod [bis] accidit semper horarum XII spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis adflictarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio 2
impediebatur. Ac si quando magnitudine operis forte 3
superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium adpulso, cuius rei summam facultatem habebant, omnia sua deportabant seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus 4

12, § 1. *lingulis promunturiisque.* Here again, as in 3, § 1, Caesar defines the sense in which he uses one word by adding another. By adding *promunturiisque* he showed what the relation of the 'spits' (*lingulae*) was to the mainland; and if he had written *promunturiis* alone, his meaning would not have been completely expressed, for a headland may be of any shape. 'Spits, or headlands' would, I think, be an adequate translation.

cum . . . incitavisset. As we have seen in the note on i, 25, § 3, when Caesar uses *cum* in describing repeated action, he generally couples it with the indicative, as in 15, § 1 (*circumsteterant*). The subjunctive, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 371), may be explained here and in 13, § 9 by Attraction of Mood; for the *cum*-clause is dependent upon an *ut*-clause.

bis is, I need hardly say, contrary to fact. May we suppose that Caesar wrote *hic*? I find that this conjecture has been made already (H. Meusel, *L. C.*, iii [Tab. Coniect., p. 12]). Kraner, referring to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii, 97, § 212, gets over the difficulty by adopting an old emendation,—*XXIIII* instead of *XII*. Caesar mentioned the tides because in the Mediterranean they are hardly perceptible.

As any one will see who reads the sentence attentively, *adflictarentur* does not mean 'were injured', but 'would be injured': *quod . . . adflictarentur* is equivalent to *quod timendum fuit ne . . . naves in vadis adflictarentur*.

§ 3. *aggere ac molibus.* It seems to me that *aggere* denotes the material of the structure, which in this case must have been principally stone, and *molibus* the structure itself. In *B. C.*, i, 25, § 5 Caesar calls the mole which he constructed in the harbour of Brundisium in order to bar the exit of Pompey's ships, *moles atque aggerem*: in a letter to Cicero (*Att.*, ix, 14, § 1) he calls it *moles* only.

his . . . adaequatis. Schneider takes *his* as an instrumental ablative and *adaequatis* as agreeing with *moenibus*; but Meusel (*L. C.*, ii, 630) makes *adaequatis* agree with *his*, and takes *moenibus* as dative. Of course the question of fact remains unaffected.

5 isdem oportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus difficultas navigandi.

The Venetian ships.

13 Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum
2 aestus excipere possent; prorae admodum erectae atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempe-
3 statumque accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam;
4 transtra ex pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus, confixa
5 clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; ancorae pro
6 funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, [hae] sive propter inopiam lini atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis veri simile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitra-
7 bantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi eius modi congressus erat ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum
8 illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim iis nostrae rostro nocere poterant (tanta in iis erat firmitudo), neque propter altitudinem facile telum adigebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis

§ 5. *vasto . . . portibus.* All these ablatives are evidently absolute.

13, § 4. *transtra . . . confixa.* In *a ex* is omitted: the meaning would then be, 'the beams were fastened to the timbers [of the side], which were a foot thick, with iron bolts', &c. (*Tr.*, p. 85, n. 1). The *transtra* were the cross-timbers, which supported the deck. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1885, p. 196) successfully defends the reading of β.

§ 7. *pulsu remorum.* The ships of the Veneti had no oars, except perhaps 'sweeps', which may have been used occasionally to help them in tacking (*C. Q.*, 1909, p. 37).

§ 8. *copulis,*—grappling-irons. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 57, § 2, where two kinds of grappling-irons—*manus ferreae* and *harpagones*—are mentioned. *Copulis* is a general term.

continebantur. Accedebat ut, cum [saevire ventus 9
coepisset et] se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cotes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus.

Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi intel- **14** **Sea-fight with the Veneti.**
lexit frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque iis noceri posse, statuit expectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac 2
primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX naves eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel 3
tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant attributae, constabat quid agerent aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim 4
noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adigi possent et missa a Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces 5
praeacutae insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili

§ 9. *cum . . . dedissent.* See the second note on 12, § 1. In *a* we find a meaningless reading,—*cum se saevire ventus coepisset vento dedissent*: *β* has simply *cum se vento dedissent.* I have adopted the accepted reading. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 58–9) brackets *saevire . . . et*, remarking that whereas Caesar uses *coepi* with an infinitive fifty-five times in *B. G.*, he only once separates it from its infinitive; while Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 42, n. 2) brands *saevire ventus coepisset* as a poetical expression, which Caesar would never have used.

14, § 4. *Rostro . . . cognoverant.* They had ascertained this by inquiry or by inspecting Gallic ships in the estuary of the Loire; for, as we may infer from 11, § 5, 12, § 5, and 14, § 1, they had not before encountered the enemy (*C. G.*, pp. 686–7).

turribus should here be translated by 'turrets', not 'towers'. These turrets protected artillerymen (cf. iv, 25, § 1), who discharged bolts from small catapults (vii, 25, §§ 2–3). They could be elevated or lowered at short notice, and were evidently taken to pieces after a battle.

ex barbaris navibus. Meusel (*L. C.*, i, 1193) regards *ex* as partitive: Kraner denies that *puppium* is to be taken with *ex barbaris navibus*, which he translates by 'on the side of the native ships'.

6 forma muralium falcium. His cum funes qui antemnas
ad malos destinabant comprehensi adductique erant,
7 navigio remis incitato praerumpebantur. Quibus
abscisis antemnae necessario concidebant, ut, cum
omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque
consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus navium uno tempore
8 eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in
virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque
eo magis quod in conspectu Caesaris atque omnis
exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius
9 factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca
superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare,
ab exercitu tenebantur.

§ 5. *muralium falcium*. These implements were used for loosening and dragging down the stones and timbers in the walls of a besieged town (vii, 22, § 2), and were worked by men who were safe inside a sappers' hut. Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 14) describes the *falx* as a wooden beam with a piece of iron at the end, wrought into the shape of a hook. A specimen was discovered about fifty years ago in the Gallic wall of Vesontio (Besançon). See *C. G.*, p. 611.

§ 6. *funes . . . destinabant* should be translated by 'the halyards', which, as J. A. Froude, a practical yachtsman, pointed out (*Caesar*, ed. 1886, p. 290), were doubtless 'made fast, not to the mast, but to the gunwale' (*C. G.*, p. 237). They were probably rove through a block at the mast-head.

comprehensi . . . erant. In regard to the mood here and in 15, § 1 (*circumsteterant*) see the second note on 12, § 1.

§ 7. *velis armamentisque*. Kraner, referring to iv, 29, § 3, remarks that the sails were part of the *armamenta*, which included anchors, &c.; and if so, Caesar mentions the sails specifically as the most important part of the *armamenta*. But the only *armamenta* which mattered here were the sails and rigging; and I believe that Caesar used *armamentis* in the limited sense of 'rigging'. 'Rigging' means the tackle of a ship in general and also in particular the ropes by which the sails are manipulated.

§ 9. *omnes enim colles . . . tenebantur*. The theatre of the war with the Veneti was certainly between the river Vilaine and the Pointe du Raz (see the article Veneti on p. 434), not, as some writers have tried to prove, between the Vilaine and the mouth of the Loire, in the peninsula of Guérande or the plain of La Grande-Brière; for these districts did not belong to them. It is now generally agreed that the strongholds which Caesar attacked (12, §§ 2–5) were on the gulf of the Morbihan; but there is a difference of opinion about the naval battle. Napoleon III believed that the Venetian fleet sailed out of the river Auray; that the battle took place in Quiberon Bay off Point St. Jacques; and that the *colles* from which the Roman

Deiectis, ut diximus, antemnis, cum singulas binae 15
ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi
transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod 2
postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis
compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur
auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt. Ac iam 3
conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat,
tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas extitit ut se ex
loco movere non possent. Quae quidem res ad nego- 4

army watched it were the heights of St. Gildas. M. Jullian, on the other hand, who maintains that Caesar penetrated into Venetia not from the south but from the north of the gulf of the Morbihan, thinks that he watched the battle from the peninsula of Locmariaquer; and he suggests that the Venetian fleet may have put out to sea from Port Navalo,—a roadstead off the peninsula of Sarzeau and between St. Gildas and Locmariaquer. It will be seen that M. Jullian's view differs from Napoleon's only in details. No certain decision, as he acknowledges, is attainable; but what leads me to adhere to the common opinion is the belief that Caesar must have wished to keep in touch with Brutus and the fleet, and therefore would not have cut himself off from them by marching far away from the Loire in order to enter Venetia from the north.

Some writers have argued that in Caesar's time the gulf of the Morbihan did not exist, and therefore that the theatre of the war must have been somewhere else. The evidence which they offer is that flint knives have been found in a part of the bed of the gulf which is never exposed even at the lowest tide. Now it is quite true that this coast has undergone subsidence. Any tourist can verify the fact for himself. There are two stone circles on the islet of Er-Lamic, one of which is only visible when the tide is exceptionally low. But this does not prove that the gulf did not exist in 56 B. C. The flint knives and the stone circles were probably 2,000 years old or more, even in Caesar's time. Obviously the facts are consistent with the supposition that some of the islands which now stud the surface of the gulf were then headlands, insulated at high tide. The promontories which Caesar described (12, § 1) have mostly disappeared, partly from subsidence, partly from erosion (*C. G.*, pp. 679–85).

15, § 3. *malacia ac tranquillitas.* Schneider remarks that Caesar explains the unfamiliar Greek word by *tranquillitas*. But why did he not write *tranquillitas* alone? Perhaps, as Long says, because *malacia* seemed to him more expressive. One might, I think, translate *malacia ac tranquillitas* by 'a dead calm'.

§ 4. *ad negotium conficiendum.* Do not rest satisfied with the hideous translation, 'for finishing the business'; never be satisfied with any translation until you are sure that you cannot produce something better, and probably you will be dissatisfied even then. The best translation that I can offer of *Quae* . . .

5 tium conficiendum maximae fuit oportunitati: nam
singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae
ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram per-
venirent, cum ab hora fere IIII. usque ad solis occasum
pugnaretur.

Signal punishment of the Veneti.

16 Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae mari-
2 timae confectum est. Nam cum omnis iuventus,
omnes etiam gravioris aetatis in quibus aliquid consilii
aut dignitatis fuit eo convenerant, tum navium quod
3 ubique fuerat in unum locum coegerant; quibus
amissis reliqui neque quo se reciperent neque quem
4 ad modum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se
suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. In quos eo gravius
Caesar vindicandum statuit quo diligentius in reli-
quum tempus a barbaris ius legatorum conservaretur.
Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona
vendidit.

Sabinus subdues the northern allies of the Veneti.

17 Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus
cum iis copiis quas a Caesare acceperat in fines
2 Venellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac
summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum
quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum [magnasque
3 copias] coegerat; atque his paucis diebus Aulerci

oportunitati is 'This was just what was wanted to make the victory complete'.

maximae . . . oportunitati is the reading of β: that of α is *maxime . . . oportuna*. Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 247) points out that in every instance in which Caesar uses *maxime* with an adjective, the adjective has no superlative.

16, § 4. *ius legatorum*. It has been said repeatedly that the officers whom Caesar had sent to arrange for a supply of corn (7, § 3; 8, §§ 2–3) were not ambassadors, and therefore that Caesar used the word *legatorum* loosely in order to aggravate the offence of the Gauls. If so, his readers could detect his misrepresentation: but the Gauls had submitted before they seized the officers; and therefore they were obviously guilty of an offence against international law.

sub corona vendidit,—'sold into slavery'. Prisoners taken by the Romans in war were decked with wreaths when they were exposed for sale. The practice was connected with religion (*D. S.*, i, 1537).

17, § 2. *magnasque copias* is almost certainly an interpolation (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 49). If the words were genuine, the 'large forces' would evidently have included the *magna multitudo*

Eburovices Lexoviique, senatu suo interfecto quod
auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt seque
cum Viridovice coniunxerunt; magnaque praeterea 4
multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum
latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studium-
que bellandi ab agri cultura et cotidiano labore
revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris 5
sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duorum milium
spatio consedisset cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi
potestatem faceret, ut iam non solum hostibus in
contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum
militum vocibus non nihil carperetur; tantamque 6
opinionem timoris praebuit, ut iam ad vallum castro-
rum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat 7

of § 4, whereas the latter is expressly said to have formed an addition. J. Lange, however (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 359), remarking that Caesar nowhere else uses the expression *exercitum cogere*, conjectures that he wrote *equitatum magnasque copias*.

§ 3. *auctores.* Remember that *auctor* does not always mean 'author' or 'originator', but is sometimes equivalent to *qui probat aliquid*.

§ 4. *revocabat.* Meusel, following W. Paul, inserts *et* before *quos*, and, adopting an emendation of his own, substitutes *sevocabat* for the MS. reading, *revocabat*. Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 247-9) condemns the former alteration on the ground that the *perditi homines* were influenced by *spes praedandi* and the *latrones* by *studium bellandi*; the latter because he regards the word *revocabat* as more applicable than *sevocabat* to casual labourers like these 'desperadoes and brigands'. Klotz's arguments seem to me weak. The first is due to that restless spirit, characteristic of certain German scholars, which insists that Caesar must always have written symmetrically: the second depends upon the assumption that the desperadoes and brigands did occasionally work, whereas Caesar may mean that 'the hope of plunder and love of fighting were [constantly] more attractive [to them] than farming and regular work'. Still, if he does mean this, *et* is superfluous. As for *revocabat*, I suppose that Meusel rejects it because in every other passage in which Caesar uses the word it means either 'to recall' or 'to withdraw from'; but may it not also mean to divert from the thought of doing what has not yet been done?

§ 5. *Sabinus . . . tenebat.* It is impossible to fix the site of this camp; for Caesar tells us nothing about it, except that it was in the country of the Venelli (see p. 434), and on high ground which sloped gently down for the distance of about one Roman mile to the plain. M. Jullian may, however, be right in selecting Vire, a place where several roads meet, about 33 miles east of Granville (*C. G.*, p. 688).

quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut oportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18 Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam
hominem et callidum deligit, Gallum, ex iis quos
2 auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis
pollicitationibusque persuadet uti ad hostes transeat,
3 et quid fieri velit edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad
eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus
4 angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet, neque
longius abesse quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex
castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi
5 causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, concla-
mant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amit-
6 tendam non esse: ad castra iri oportere. Multae res
ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum
dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia
cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat pro-
visum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter
7 homines id quod volunt credunt. His rebus adducti
non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio
dimittunt quam ab iis sit concessum arma uti capiant
8 et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti, ut
explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis,
quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

§ 7. *teneret.* The subjunctive is used because the sentence is virtually in Oratio Obliqua. Supposing that Sabinus explained his reasons for not fighting, he may have said, *Eo absente qui summam imperii tenet . . . non dimicandum est.*

18, § 1. *auxilii causa.* As the man whom Sabinus selected was a Gaul, the auxiliary corps to which he belonged was presumably the cavalry; for the archers were Numidians and Cretans, and the slingers were Balearic islanders (ii, 7, § 1).

§ 7. *non prius . . . contendant.* These words prove that Viridovix and his officers could not restrain their undisciplined followers; but any one who will take the trouble to think will see that they are not necessarily inconsistent with the statement, which Caesar makes in vi, 13, § 1, that everywhere in Gaul 'the masses are regarded almost as slaves, never venture to act on their own initiative, and are not admitted to any council'. Even disciplined troops have been known to mutiny in countries where democracy did not exist (*C. G.*, p. 532).

Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo **19**
acclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu con-
tenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos
armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervene-
runt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. 2
Impeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera
subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri iubet. Factum 3
est oportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatiga-
tione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exer-
citatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum
ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos 4
integris viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum
numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites con-
sectati paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt.
Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de 5
Sabini victoria Caesar est certior factus, civitatesque
omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella 6
suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus,
sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates ferendas
mens eorum est.

19, § 2. *cupientibus*. J. Lange (*N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 208) may be right in supplying *omnibus* and taking the words as ablative absolute. He refers to 24, § 5.

duabus portis. Roman camps were square, or as nearly square as the lie of the ground allowed, and had four gates, or rather openings, one on each side. It seems fair to assume that *duabus portis* means the right and the left gate, as the Romans would thus have fallen upon the flanks of the panting multitude. See Long's *Caesar*, p. 176.

§ 3. *unum*, the MS. reading, was altered by Ciacconius into *primum*; and this conjecture has been generally accepted. I do not feel sure that it is necessary. In the other passages of the *Bellum Gallicum* (ii, 24, § 1; iii, 2, § 4; v, 28, § 4; vi, 37, § 3) in which Caesar speaks of *primus impetus* it is implied or stated that other charges followed or might have followed; but in this case it is obvious that no other charge followed or could have followed.

§ 6. *Nam ut . . . mens eorum est*. If the reader will think, he will discern the difference between *animus* and *mens*, as they are used here, and he will also see that neither means quite the same as in i, 39, § 1. When he has thought the matter out, he may turn to my translation of the two passages and see whether it satisfies him. Schneider observes that in 22, § 1 Caesar uses *animis* in much the same sense as that in which he uses *mentibus* in 26, § 2, and that while he speaks here of the *mens mollis* of

Crassus invades Aquitania,

20 Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus, cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae [pars], ut ante dictum est, [et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum] tertia pars Galliae est [aestimanda], cum intellegeret in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset atque unde L. Manlius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhi-
2 bendam intellegebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris

the Gauls, in vii, 20, § 5 he makes Vercingetorix speak of their *animi mollities* with the same meaning.

20, § 1. After *hominum* the MSS. have *ex tertia parte*, which Lipsius proposed to replace by *est tertia pars*: H. Kleist for an obvious reason altered this into *tertia pars . . . est*. The first *pars*, *et regionum . . . hominum*, and *aestimanda* are bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 32–3) and Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 34–5). Their chief reasons are that Caesar could not have written *quae pars . . . ex tertia parte . . . est*, &c.; that *ex tertia parte* (Galliae est aestimanda) is an unclassical expression; that the statement could only have applied to Aquitania as it was in the time of Augustus, when the province of Aquitania extended beyond the Garonne as far as the Loire; and that in i, 1, § 1 (or § 7), to which the words *ut ante dictum est* evidently refer, the same statement is not to be found. Dr. Rutherford, indeed (*Gallic War, II and III*, p. 91), defends the passage, remarking that '*ex* has the same meaning here as in *haeres ex asse*', and accordingly he translates by 'which district . . . by reason both of its extent and population, ought to be regarded as a third division of Gaul'; but the words seem to me suspicious. Vielhaber brackets the whole passage *quae pars . . . aestimanda*: but if we were to follow his example, we should be confronted with the awkwardness of two successive clauses each beginning with *cum*; and if we accept Meusel's reading, we must admit that the statement *quae, ut ante dictum est, tertia pars Galliae est* is hardly worth making.

L. Valerius Praeconinus and L. Manlius were defeated in 78 B.C. in the war with Sertorius, a famous Roman general, belonging to the party of Marius, who, supported by native allies, held his ground for many years in Spain against Metellus and Pompey. But the reader must not be satisfied with this note, which is only a kind of sign-post. If he wants to make the acquaintance of Sertorius, who is worth knowing, he must read Roman history.

§ 2. *auxiliis . . . comparato.* These troops were, I believe, raised in the country of the Nitiobroges, immediately north of Aquitania, who were very strong in cavalry, and were then ruled either by Ollovico, a king who was on friendly terms with the Roman Senate, or by his son and successor, Teutomatus (vii, 31, § 5).

multis . . . evocatis. Meusel and other editors, who take

fortibus Tolosa et Carcasone et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae, ex his regionibus nominatim evocatis, in Sotiatium fines exercitum introduxit. Cuius adventu cognito Sotiates magnis 3 copiis coactis, equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti primum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde equitatu suo pulso 4 atque insequentibus nostris subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis conlocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disiectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sotiates **21** **defeats the Sotiates,** superioribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent perspici cuperent; tandem confecti vulneribus hostes terga verterunt. Quorum magno numero interfecto Crassus ex itinere 2

Tolosa . . . Narbone as depending upon *evocatis*, delete *ex*, and accordingly place the comma not after *finitimae*, but after *regionibus*. It is, however, quite possible that *viris fortibus* should be taken closely with *Tolosa . . . Narbone*, the meaning being 'excellent soldiers from (or belonging to) Tolosa', &c. Caesar uses similar expressions in the *Civil War*; for instance, *Cn. Magius Cremona* (*B. C.*, i, 24, § 4), where *Cremona* is equivalent to *Cremonensis*.

Tolosa . . Narbone. In β the text stands *Tolosa Carcasone et Narbona*; in α, *Tolosa et Narbonae*. Meusel, following β, formerly supplied *et*, which is required by grammar, before *Carcasone*; but now, influenced by Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 203), who thought that the absence of *et* before *Carcasone* in β proved that *Carcasone* had been interpolated, he omits that name. Klotz, however (*C. S.*, p. 35, n. 3), remarks that χ has *Tolosae* instead of *Tolosa*, which suggests that in α something has dropped out.

nominatim shows that the names of the *viri fortes* were entered on muster-rolls. They were Roman citizens, who had settled in the Province.

§ 3. *equitatuque.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 68) deletes *que*, because *equitatuque* cannot grammatically be taken with *magnis copiis coactis* in the sense of *equitatuque coacto*, and must therefore go with *adorti*. I am not sure that he is right. The words *primum equestre proelium commiserunt*, following immediately after *equitatu quo . . . in itinere agmen nostrum adorti*, would be startling, whereas if *que* is retained one feels that though the battle began with a combat of horse, the *magnae copiae* might afterwards come into action.

§ 4. *Hi.* J. Lange may be right in proposing *His*.

and besieges their chief town.

oppidum Sotiatium oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter 3 resistentibus vineas turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis (cuius rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae secturaeque sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere iussi faciunt.

Fruitless sortie of Adiatunnus.

22 Atque in eam rem omnium nostrorum intentis animis alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC devotis, quos illi soldurios

21, § 2. *oppidum Sotiatium.* See the article on Sotiates (p. 429).
vineas . . . egit. See the note on ii, 12, § 3.

§ 3. *cuniculis . . . actis,*—evidently with the object of dragging away the material of the embankment and so causing it to collapse, or of setting the woodwork on fire. Cf. vii, 22, §§ 2, 4; 24, § 2.

aggerem. See the note on ii, 30, § 3.

aerariae secturaeque. With *aerariae*, which is really an adjective, is understood *fodinae*, just as we say 'an express' when we mean 'an express train'. Schneider remarks that *secturae* was added in order to explain *aerariae* to readers who were ignorant of mining. I doubt whether, if they did not understand *aerariae*, they would have understood *secturae*; and I believe that Caesar added the word because there is a tendency in the human mind to use two kindred words sometimes when one would be enough. We all do it. Traces of one of the mines to which Caesar alludes have been found at Sos, the site of the stronghold of the Sotiates (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, &c., 1911, p. 842).

Before *faciunt* J. Lange (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 361) supplies *imperatum*. He maintains that *faciunt* by itself is not justifiable, and refers to v, 37, § 1. Doberenz-Dinter defend the MSS., referring to iii, 6, § 1, which, however, is hardly analogous. But see *B. C.*, i, 2, § 7.

22, § 1. *Adiatunnus.* The reading of β is *Adcatuannus.* O. Hirschfeld (*S. P. A.*, 1896, p. 431, n. 1) argues that Caesar wrote *Adietuanus*, because that form is found on a coin of the Sotiates. Perhaps he did; but on the same coin we find *Sotiota*, although the accepted name of the tribe (*C. G.*, p. 849) is *Sotiates*.

illi can only signify *Sotiates* or *Aquitani*. But *soldurios* is supposed to be a Celtic word (*A. C. S.*, ii. 1890); and, as Hirschfeld points out (*S. P. A.*, 1896, pp. 450–1), Nicolaus of Damascus (*Fragm. hist. Graec.*, ed. Didot, iii, 418), who evidently copied Caesar, says that these retainers were called *soldurii* 'by the Gauls' (ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν). Hirschfeld concludes that Caesar wrote *Galli*. But it is not certain that *soldurios* is Celtic; and, as Caesar reckoned Aquitania as a part of Gallia, Nicolaus may have regarded the Aquitani as Γαλαταί.

soldurios. The Aquitanian *soldurii* apparently stood in much

appellant, quorum haec est condicio, ut omnibus in 2
vita commodis una cum iis fruantur quorum se
amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut
eundem casum una ferant aut sibi mortem consciscant;
neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam 3
qui, eo interfecto cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mortem
recusaret—cum his Adiatunnus eruptionem facere 4
conatus clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato cum
ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi
pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen uti eadem
deditionis condicione uteretur a Crasso impetravit.

23 Aquitanian and Spanish tribes combine against Crassus.

Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vo-
catium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero bar- 2
bari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu
munitum paucis diebus quibus eo ventum erat ex-
pugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoque versus di-
mittere, coniurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare
coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati 3
quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitimae Aquitaniae:
inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu 4
magna cum auctoritate et magna [cum] hominum
multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii 5

the same relation to their lords as the Celtic *clientes*, of whom Caesar says (vii, 40, § 7) that 'Gallic custom brands it as shameful for retainers to desert their lords even when all is lost'. The argument by which Max Radin (*C. J.*, 1912, pp. 309–10) has attempted to refute this view is, to my mind, inconclusive. See *A. C. S.*, ii, 1599–1601.

§§ 2–3. *dediderint . . . devovisset.* See the note on ii, 35, § 1 (*incolerent*).

23, § 3. *citerioris Hispaniae.* The Roman province of 'Hither Spain' lay between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

§ 4. *magna . . . multitudine.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 318; 1910, p. 61) deletes *cum*, because (1) in Caesar *cum*, placed between an adjective and a substantive, always has a modal sense, as in *magna cum auctoritate*; (2) *bellum gerere cum magna hominum multitudine* would mean 'to carry on the war *against* a large number of men'; and (3) even if *cum* here could mean *una cum*, it would yield no sense, for the *magna multitudo* included the Aquitanians themselves. This last argument is weak. In vi, 10, § 4 we read that *Suebos omnes . . . cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis . . . se recepisse.* Here *omnibus suis copiis* are identical with *Suebos omnes*; but the expression is justifiable because the writer is thinking of the *leaders* of the Suebi. Cf. i, 2, § 1 (*Orgetorix . . . civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum*

deliguntur qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant summamque scientiam rei militaris habere
6 existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros inter-
7 cludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existi-
8 mavit quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24 Prima luce productis omnibus copiis duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid
2 hostes consilii caperent expectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque

omnibus copiis exirent. Se we might say 'in 1870 the Germans invaded France with a large force'.

J. Lange (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 361), who observes that there is no other passage in Caesar in which *auctoritas* means 'prestige', may be right in conjecturing that he wrote (magna cum) *alacritate.*

§ 7. *Quod* (see the first note on i, 7, § 1) is explained by *suas copias . . . diduci*; and the meaning is 'When Crassus saw *this,* namely, that his own force', &c. In English the significance of *quod* can only be suggested. We should say 'Crassus, reflecting that his own force', &c. What justifies the use of *quod* is that Crassus's reflection was prompted by the facts related in the preceding sentences.

Meusel is, perhaps, right in supplying *et* after *relinquere.* Cf. i, 46, § 1.

24, § 1. *duplici acie.* See the note on i, 24, § 2. Crassus formed his army in two lines because it was comparatively small.

auxiliis . . . coniectis. Caesar would not have mentioned this if the auxiliaries had generally been placed in the centre. Evidently Crassus placed them there because he thought that they would fight better if they were supported and encouraged by being near the legionaries. It has been said that the usual position of the auxiliaries was on the wings (see the note on i, 51, § 1); but we do not know what it was in Caesar's time. He used them in various minor operations (i, 24, § 2; 49, § 5; 51, § 1; ii, 7, § 1; 10, § 1; 19, § 4; iv, 25, § 1; vii, 81, § 2); but there is no record of his having done so in a pitched battle. In the battle of Pharsalia Pompey stationed his slingers and archers on the left wing (*B. C.*, iii, 88, § 5).

nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen
tutius esse arbitrabantur obsessis viis commeatu inter-
cluso sine vulnere victoria potiri, et si propter inopiam 3
rei frumentariae Romani se recipere coepissent, im-
peditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiores animo
adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, 4
productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant.
Hac re perspecta Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque 5
opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad
pugnandum effecissent atque omnium voces audirentur
expectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur,
cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra
contendit.

Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis **25** He attacks their camp,
coniectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent,
auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus
confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad

§ 3. *infirmiores* is an emendation, due to J. Kvíčala. The reading of α is *infirmiore*, of β *inferiore*, which is obviously wrong. *Infirmiore animo* could only refer to the Romans; but, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 282), syntax requires that the words should be taken with *adoriri cogitabant* and therefore refer to the Aquitanians. W. Paul simply deleted *infirmiore animo*; but, as Meusel says, something corresponding with *impeditos* is evidently desirable after *sub sarcinis*. Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 249–50), who cannot see why the Aquitanians should have expected the Romans to fight with less *courage* in a difficult position, proposes to read *firmiore animo*; but his objection is surely answered by iv, 24, §§ 2–4.

§ 5. *timoris*. The MSS. have *timidiores*, which yields no sense. With Meusel and other editors I have adopted the emendation of Stephanus,—*timoris*; but, as Meusel says (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 273), it is hardly satisfactory. For, after *sua cunctatione*, *opinione* would naturally be an opinion held by the enemy, whereas the sense requires that it should be taken as an opinion held by the Romans.

25, § 1. *vallo munitionibusque*. See the note on 3, § 1. Schneider remarks that *munitionibusque* does not necessarily imply that the camp had any other fortifications [for example, a palisade] except the rampart and ditch. He says that if Caesar had written *vallo* only, his readers might have inferred that the fortification was a mere makeshift; and that if he had written *munitionibus* only, they would not have known whether the camp was fortified in the Roman fashion or in some outlandish way. That this thought was in Caesar's mind I take leave to doubt. (See the note on *aerariae secturaeque* (21, § 3).)

aggerem caespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur telaque ex loco
2 superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere.

captures it,

26 Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri
2 vellet ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iis cohortibus quae praesidio castris relictae intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis celeriter ad eas quas
3 diximus munitiones pervenerunt atque his prorutis prius in hostium castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset.
4 Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere
5 consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi desperatis omnibus rebus se per munitiones deicere et fuga salutem petere contenderunt.

and severely punishes

6 Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus ex milium L numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque

aggerem does not mean 'an *agger*', as in 21, § 3, but a kind of bank, formed by filling up the trench, and intended to enable the troops to mount the rampart. Cf. ii, 12, § 5 and v, 9, § 7.

ac non is used correctly instead of *neque* (which would here be weak), because *non timide*, being equivalent to *fortiter*, is substantially one word.

26, § 2. *Illi . . . pervenerunt.* Meusel supposes that between *imperatum* and *eductis* some words have been lost; for it seems to him incredible that cavalry officers commanded infantry. But is not Schneider's explanation satisfactory? Crassus, he says, requested his cavalry officers to select the troopers who knew the ground best, and to employ them as guides for the cohorts (*C. G.*, pp. 688-9).

§ 3. *posset.* Caesar sometimes uses *prius . . . quam* with the subjunctive even when it is impossible to detect the idea of a purpose; but here he may have meant to suggest what the cavalry officers intended.

§ 4. If *impugnare* is right, the object, *castra*, must be supplied from the context. Meusel adopts an emendation, *pugnare*.

§ 6. *milium L.* Very likely this number (for which, remember,

convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

the fugitives.

27 Hac audita pugna maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibusates, Cocosates: paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, 2 quod hiems suberat, id facere neglexerunt.

Almost all the Aquitanian tribes submit.

28 Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta iam aestas erat, tamen, quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse eo exercitum duxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. Nam quod intellegebant maximas nationes, 2 quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum 3 Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma 4 ceperunt eosque in silvas repulerunt et compluribus interfectis longius impeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

Caesar attacks the Morini,

29 Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam

not Caesar, but Crassus was responsible) is exaggerated. It is often impossible to get accurate estimates of an enemy's force. Colonel G. F. R. Henderson (*Stonewall Jackson*, i, 1898, p. 158) says that in the American Civil War 'Patterson reported to his Government that he had been opposed by 3,500 men, exactly ten times Jackson's actual number' (*C. G.*, p. 242).

28, § 1. *essent*. If Caesar had written *erant*, he would have meant simply to state the fact that the Morini and Menapii remained in arms; whereas *qui in armis essent* is equivalent to *qui eo animo erant ut in armis essent*. In English the force of the subjunctive can only be suggested.

eo properly means *in Morinos Menapiosque*. Close study of chapters 28–9, with which cf. iv, 38, §§ 1–2, will, however, show that Caesar actually invaded the territory of the Morini only.

materiam quae erat caesa conversam ad hostem con-
locabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus extruebat.
2 Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus con-
fecto, cum iam pecus atque extrema impedimenta a
nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, eius
modi sunt tempestates consecutae uti opus necessario
intermitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub
3 pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis
omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis,
Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque,
reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant,
in hibernis conlocavit.

but is forced by stress of weather to abandon the campaign.

29, § 2. *diutius . . . possent.* We might infer that the troops lived in huts in the winter, even if the fact were not expressly stated in v, 43, § 1.

et . . . non. See the note on 25, § 1 (*ac non*). Doubtless Caesar wrote *et . . . non* instead of *neque* in order to emphasize the negation.

§ 3. *reliquis . . . civitatibus.* If this were to be understood literally, it would mean that divisions of the army were quartered not only in the territories of the Veneti and all the tribes of Brittany and Normandy who had helped them against Caesar, but also in Aquitania. But this, as we may infer from iv, 6, § 1, was not the case. R. Menge is perhaps right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote not *Lexoviisque, reliquis,* but *Lexoviis reliquisque.*

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS QUARTUS

55 B.C. The Usipetes and Tencteri cross the Rhine.

EA quae secuta est hieme, qui fuit annus Cn. Pom- **1**
peio, M. Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani et item
Tencteri magna [cum] multitudine hominum flumen
Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus
influit. Causa transeundi fuit quod ab Suebis com- 2
plures annos exagitati bello premebantur et agri
cultura prohibebantur.

Manners and customs of the Suebi.

Sueborum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima 3
Germanorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere di- 4
cuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum
bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi
manserunt, se atque illos alunt; hi rursus in vicem 5
anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic 6
neque agri cultura nec ratio atque usus belli inter-
mittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil 7
est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco colendi
causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam 8
partem lacte atque pecore vivunt multumque sunt in

1, § 1. *magna* [*cum*] *multitudine*. See the note on iii. 23, § 4.

non longe a mari. On the left bank of the Rhine, above its first bifurcation and between Xanten and Nymegen, there is a range of hills; and as the Germans crossed 'not far from the sea', we may be sure that the place was not above this range. The only practicable points would have been at Xanten and lower down, near Cleve. Considering the words *non longe a mari*, I prefer the latter (*C. G.*, pp. 689–90).

§ 3. *Germanorum omnium* is more emphatic than *omnium Germanorum*.

§ 4. *pagos*. *Pagus* may mean either a smaller community forming part of a larger one or the land which belongs to the community. I am inclined to think that here, as in i, 37, § 3, and generally in Caesar, it means the former.

ex finibus. The reading of β is *suis ex finibus*. Perhaps Meusel (*J. B.*, 1913, p. 15) is justified in deleting the words, which, after *ex quibus*, seem awkward if not superfluous.

9 venationibus; quae res et cibi genere et cotidiana
exercitatione et libertate vitae, quod a pueris nullo
officio aut disciplina adsuefacti nihil omnino contra
voluntatem faciunt, et vires alit et immani corporum
10 magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se con-
suetudinem adduxerunt ut locis frigidissimis neque
vestitus praeter pelles habeant quicquam, quarum
propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta,
et laventur in fluminibus.

2 Mercatoribus est aditus magis eo ut quae bello
ceperint quibus vendant habeant, quam quo ullam
2 rem ad se importari desiderent. Quin etiam iumentis,
quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso
parant pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur, sed
quae sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec
cotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt.
3 Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus
proeliantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsue-
fecerunt, ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt;
4 neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius
5 habetur quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis

§ 10. *habeant . . . laventur.* *Habeant* is found only in the inferior MS. known as *D* (Egmondanus), the reading of *X* being *haberent*: the MSS. have *lavantur*, which in Caesar is impossible, for he certainly would not have used this form of the subjunctive. Weissenborn, who accepted the reading *haberent*, proposed *lavarentur*; but it is unlikely that Caesar, after using the present throughout the chapter, would have here used the imperfect. It is therefore better to adopt the reading *habeant* and, since *lavantur* must be amended, to read *laventur* instead (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 245).

2, § 1. *quo* is equivalent to *eo quod.*

desiderent. The subjunctive is necessary, because the reason which is suggested is not the real reason.

§ 2. *Germani* is condemned as spurious by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 62–3). Premising that the subject of *utuntur* can only be *Suebi*, as in the first three chapters they alone are in question, he remarks that although Caesar speaks of *Galli* and *Germani* (for example in 4, § 3) instead of a particular Gallic or German tribe, where misunderstanding is impossible, in this passage *Germani*, coming after *Galli*, can only mean the Germans in general. But supposing that Caesar did mean the Germans in general—and surely this is a reasonable supposition—what else could he have called them except *Germani*?

§ 4. *ephippiis.* This word, which, as the learner will see, is

numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire
audent. Vinum omnino ad se importari non patiuntur, 6
quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines
atque effeminari arbitrantur.

Publice maximam putant esse laudem quam latissime **3**
a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari magnum
numerum civitatum suam vim sustinere non posse.
Itaque una ex parte a Suebis circiter milia passuum 2
C agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram partem succedunt 3
Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est
captus Germanorum; ii paulo, quamquam sunt eiusdem
generis, sunt ceteris humaniores, propterea quod Rhe-
num attingunt multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant
et ipsi propter propinquitatem [quod] Gallicis sunt
moribus adsuefacti. Hos cum Suebi multis saepe 4
bellis experti propter amplitudinem gravitatemque
civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vecti-
gales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque
redegerunt.

The Usipetes and Tencteri, dispossessed by the Suebi, invade the country of the Menapii.

In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tencteri, quos **4**
supra diximus; qui complures annos Sueborum vim
sustinuerunt, ad extremum tamen agris expulsi et 2
multis locis Germaniae triennium vagati ad Rhenum
pervenerunt, quas regiones Menapii incolebant. Hi
ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, aedificia vicosque
habebant; sed tantae multitudinis adventu perterriti 3

derived from Greek, originally denoted a mere cloth, placed on a horse's back; but in a monument of Nero's time, which is in the museum of Mainz, a trooper's *ephippium* is figured, which is a saddle, properly so called (*D. S.*, ii, 648–9).

3, § 1. Any one can find out the meaning of *publice*, if it is not evident; but to translate *Publice . . . agros* is difficult. I should say 'The communities, as such, pride themselves on keeping', &c.

§ 3. Notice the emphasis which is laid on *fuit*.

ii. The MS. reading, *et*, is unsatisfactory. The emendation is due to W. Paul (*B. ph. W.*, 1884, col. 1212–15).

paulo . . . humaniores. The MS. reading—evidently corrupt—is *paulo quam sunt eiusdem generis et* [*sunt* (Leid. I)] *ceteris humaniores*. Of numerous emendations the one which I have adopted, Ukert's, is the best. See *C. R.*, Nov., 1911, p. 206.

ex iis aedificiis quae trans flumen habuerant demi-
graverant, et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germa-
4 nos transire prohibebant. Illi omnia experti, cum
neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium neque
clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum possent,
5 reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt et
tridui viam progressi rursus reverterunt atque omni
hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto inscios inopi-
6 nantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui de Germanorum
discessu per exploratores certiores facti sine metu
7 trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His inter-
fectis navibusque eorum occupatis, prius quam ea pars
Menapiorum quae citra Rhenum erat certior fieret,
flumen transierunt atque omnibus eorum aedificiis
occupatis reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis
aluerunt.

A remarkable Gallic custom.

5 His de rebus Caesar certior factus et infirmitatem
Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis
mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his
2 committendum existimavit. Est enim hoc Gallicae
consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere
cogant et quid quisque eorum de quaque re audierit
aut cognoverit quaerant et mercatores in oppidis vulgus
circumsistat quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque
3 ibi res cognoverint pronuntiare cogat. His rebus
atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus

4, § 3. *demigraverant.* The MSS. have *demigraverunt*; but, as Meusel observes (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 351–2), if Caesar had used the perfect, he would have written (quae trans flumen) *habebant*, not *habuerant*.

prohibebant. If Caesar had written *prohibuerunt*, he would have meant that the Menapii succeeded in preventing the Germans from crossing. They did prevent them for some time, but finally failed.

§ 6. *exploratores.* See the note on i, 12, § 2.

5, § 3. *His rebus . . . ineunt.* Cf. vi, 20, §§ 1–2.

atque auditionibus. I don't think that Schneider is quite right in explaining these words as equivalent to *quae solis auditionibus constant*; for the Gauls had inquired not only what the travellers had heard, but also what they had ascertained (*cognoverit . . . cognoverint*). As far as I can see, the meaning is 'Influenced by these reports, even when they are merely hearsay'.

consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio paenitere ne-
cesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant et plerique
ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

Caesar rejoins his army and holds a council of the Gallic notables.

Qua consuetudine cognita Caesar, ne graviori bello **6**
occurreret, maturius quam consuerat ad exercitum
proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, ea quae fore suspicatus 2
erat facta cognovit: missas legationes ab non nullis 3
civitatibus ad Germanos invitatosque eos uti ab
Rheno discederent: omnia quae[que] postulassent ab
se fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius iam 4
vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum,
qui sunt Treverorum clientes, pervenerant. Princi- 5
pibus Galliae evocatis Caesar ea quae cognoverat
dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis per-
mulsis et confirmatis equitatuque imperato bellum
cum Germanis gerere constituit.

He marches against the Germans, whose envoys endeavour to temporize.

Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis **7**
iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse
Germanos audiebat. A quibus cum paucorum dierum 2
iter abesset, legati ab iis venerunt, quorum haec fuit
oratio: Germanos neque priores populo Romano bel- 3
lum inferre neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin
armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo [haec]
sit a maioribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant,

6, § 3. *omnia quae.* The MSS. have *omnia quaeque*, which is obviously wrong. Most editors read *omniaque quae*, but, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 60), *que* is superfluous.

§ 4. *qui* refers to *Eburonum* as well as to *Condrusorum*. Cf. v, 26, § 2.

§ 5. *Principibus* apparently means 'notables' or 'leading men'. Cf. the note on i, 3, § 5.

constituit means more than 'resolved', for Caesar had already resolved to fight. As Schneider remarks, it is equivalent to *se velle ostendit*,—'announced his intention'.

7, § 2. *A quibus.* The antecedent is, I believe, *Germanos*, not, as Kraner says, *ea loca.* Meusel agrees with me.

§ 3. The tenses—*lacessantur, contendant, sit tradita*, &c.—are remarkable. The explanation is that the speech begins with a present infinitive, and that almost all the other infinitives which it contains are present (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 362). In Oratio Recta the sentence would run *Germani . . . recusant, si lacessuntur, quin armis contendant*, &c.

quod Germanorum . . . tradita. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 72) and

resistere neque deprecari. Haec tamen dicere: 4 venisse invitos, eiectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros attribuant vel patiantur eos tenere quos armis 5 possederint: sese unis Suebis concedere, quibus ne di quidem immortales pares esse possint; reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem quem non superare possint.

He offers to let the Germans settle in the land of the Ubii,

8 Ad haec Caesar quae visum est respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: sibi nullam cum iis amicitiam 2 esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent; neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint alienos occupare; neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine iniuria possint; 3 sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se et de Sueborum iniuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.

other editors, following Kraner, delete *haec*, because *haec sit* could only be followed by a clause introduced by *ut*.

resistere is used absolutely, as in several other passages, for instance, vii, 62, § 4, and so is *deprecari*. Cf. v, 6, § 2.

venisse. Kraffert may be right in inserting *se* (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 338). See the second note on ii, 4, § 10 and Madvig's *Lat. Gr.*, § 401.

§ 5. *quem non*. Caesar could not have written *quem superare non possint*, because the preceding *neminem esse* required that *non* should be closely connected with the relative. So in vi, 39, § 3 Caesar writes *Nemo est tam fortis quin rei novitate perturbetur*, not *Nemo est tam fortis qui rei novitate non perturbetur*.

8, § 2. *verum* here obviously does not mean 'true'. A moment's thought will show why it can be used in the sense of *aequum* or *iustum*.

The reader will observe that although the imperfect, *remanerent* (§ 1), is of course used after *fuit*, it is followed by *potuerint* and other primary tenses. Probably this is to be explained by the influence of the present infinitives *esse* and *licere*. See the note on i, 31, § 8. In Oratio Recta Caesar would have written *potuerunt*.

§ 3. *hoc . . . imperaturum*. The reading of *a* is *hoc Suebis* (which is obviously impossible), *imperaturum*: *β* has *hoc se ab Ubiis impetraturum*, which is defended by Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 250). He thinks that it would have been impolitic for Caesar to give such an *order* to the Ubii, and he says that the nature of the order is not defined by *hoc*. This last remark seems to me hypercritical; and, although Klotz may be right, I do not feel justified in rejecting the essential part of the reading of *a*.

Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt et re 9
deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros:
interea ne propius se castra moveret petierunt. Ne 2
id quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit. Cogno- 3
verat enim magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot
diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambi-
varitos trans Mosam missam: hos expectari equites
atque eius rei causa moram interponi arbitrabatur.

but refuses to stay his march.

[Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus 10
Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae

The Meuse and the Rhine.

9, § 1. *post diem tertium* is equivalent to *tertio die* (cf. vi, 33, § 4 with 36, § 1 and 41, § 2), and, as the Romans commonly, though not always, reckoned inclusively, if the envoys said this on a Monday, they meant that they would return on Wednesday. But this does not explain why Caesar wrote *post diem tertium* instead of *tertio die*. See the note on 28, § 1. I am rather inclined to think that, just as *post horam nonam* (v, 53, § 1) means 'after the ninth hour', *post diem tertium* (though it is equivalent to *tertio die*) here implies the meaning 'at the end of the third day'. Such a meaning is most probably implied in one of the other two passages (iv, 28, § 1) in which Caesar uses *post diem* with a numeral adjective (see *A. B.*, p. 601) and certainly in the other (vi, 33, § 4, compared with 36, § 1 and 41, § 2).

10. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 23-6) and Klotz (*C.S.*, pp. 36-43, 135-8) have independently shown that this famous chapter is probably spurious. Klotz believes that it was derived by a later writer, mainly through Strabo, from the Greek historian, Timagenes. Meusel argues that the description of the Rhine is irrelevant; that the Meuse rises not in the Vosges, but on the plateau of Langres, both of which regions Caesar had visited; that the Vosges mountains are not *in finibus Lingonum* (§ 1); that strong reasons have been given for believing that the Batavi [who are not mentioned by Strabo] did not occupy the delta of the Rhine before the time of Augustus; that the Rhine did not flow through the country of the Nantuates (§ 3); that the geographical position of the Triboci is misstated; that in the list of tribes the Rauraci, Nemetes, and Vangiones are ignored; that the statement (§ 4) that the Rhine, as it approaches the sea, 'branches off into several channels and forms numerous large islands' is absurd; that, as the Menapii possessed both banks of the Rhine 'not far from the sea' (1, § 1; 4, § 2), there would have been no room for the Batavi and the 'fierce rude tribes' who are said to have occupied 'many' of the 'numerous large islands'; that Caesar would not have written *parte quadam ex Rheno* (§ 1), but *parte Rheni*; and, finally, that *caput fluminis* [in prose of Caesar's time] means not the mouth, but the source of a river. Klotz remarks that Caesar would have written *longius* immediately before *milibus passuum LXXX* (§ 2); and that he would not have used the quasi-poetical expression, *citatus fertur* (§ 3), or

appellatur Vacalus insulamque efficit Batavorum, in
2 Oceanum influit neque longius ab Oceano milibus
3 passuum LXXX in Rhenum influit. Rhenus autem
oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Treverorum citatus fertur
4 et, ubi Oceano adpropinquavit, in plures diffluit partes

the passive, *incolitur* (§ 4). These objections are not all equally strong (is *citatus*, for instance, more poetical than *incitavisset* [iii, 12, § 1] or than *prognati* and *obitum* [ii, 29, §§ 4–5] ?), and some might perhaps be refuted (see the note on § 1); but their combined force cannot be ignored (*C. G.*, p. 692, n. 2).

It would not, however, be safe to set the chapter aside as having no historical value. Instead of *ab Oceano* (§ 1) the Aldine edition (1513) has *ab eo*, and an inferior MS. *ab Rheno*; while both have *in Oceanum* instead of *in Rhenum*; but the reader need not trouble himself about various readings, for, whatever reading we adopt, the writer places the junction of the Meuse (*Mosa*) and the Waal (*Vacalus*) at a point about 80 Roman miles from the sea. What that point was it is impossible to say with certainty. The Meuse now joins the Waal near Gorkum, and before 1856 it was joined to it by a channel at Fort St. Andries as well; but, according to P. Cluver, a geographer of the seventeenth century, both these junctions were due to modern canalization, and in the time of Caesar the Meuse quitted its present bed at Megen and joined the western branch of the Rhine at Geervliet, only 7 miles from the sea. I have not been able to find any satisfactory evidence for this theory; and it contradicts not only the chapter before us but also the testimony of Tacitus (*Ann.*, ii, 6), who says that at the 'beginning', or eastern extremity, of the *insula Batavorum* the Rhine divides into two branches; that the northern branch flows to the sea; that the southern branch, under the name of *Vahalis* (Waal), flows on until it joins the Meuse; and that the Meuse flows on to the sea (*C. G.*, pp. 689–96). Probably in Caesar's time, as now, the Meuse closely approached the Waal at Fort St. Andries and joined it at Gorkum, while a branch of the Meuse may have flowed westward from Heusden (south of Gorkum) in the direction of the modern artificial water-course. See A. Norlind, *Die geogr. Entwicklung d. Rheindeltas*, 1912, pp. 71–2.

§ 1. *Batavorum.* J. H. Holwerda (*Mnemosyne*, xli, 1913, pp. 1–9), who is apparently unaware that the authenticity of this chapter has been challenged, argues that the Batavi were settled in the valley of the lower Rhine by Caesar himself. He infers from archaeological evidence that the settlement took place shortly before the Christian era; and, remarking that the Batavi were a tribe of the Chatti, and that, according to Dion Cassius (liv, 36, § 3), lands had been assigned by the Romans to the Chatti before 10 B. C., he concludes that their benefactor could only have been Caesar or Agrippa, the latter of whom, as far as we know, assigned lands to the Ubii only. Meusel perhaps forgets that the Batavi were mentioned among Caesar's auxiliaries by Lucan (i, 431).

multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars
magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, ex 5
quibus sunt qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existi-
mantur, multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.]

Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII **11**
milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati
revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi magnopere ne
longius progrederetur orabant. Cum id non impe- 2
trassent, petebant uti ad eos [equites] qui agmen
antecessissent praemitteret eosque pugna prohiberet,
sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos
mittendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi iure 3
iurando fidem fecisset, ea condicione quae a Caesare
ferretur se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas
sibi tridui spatium daret. Haec omnia Caesar eodem 4
illo pertinere arbitrabatur ut tridui mora interposita
equites eorum qui abessent reverterentur; tamen sese
non longius milibus passuum IIII aquationis causa
processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam 5
frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis
cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni 6
equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nuntiarent ne hostes
proelio lacesserent, et si ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent
quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

The envoys return and try to gain time: Caesar sends orders to his cavalry officers not to attack the Germans.

At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, **12**
quorum erat V milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius

800 Germans rout Caesar's

§ 5. *existimantur.* No doubt the learner has been taught to write *sunt qui putent*, &c., and he may wonder why Caesar did not write *existimentur.* But *sunt qui putent* is a general statement, meaning 'there are people so constituted that they think', whereas in this passage particular tribes are referred to.

11, § 2. *eos [equites] . . . antecessissent.* If Caesar wrote *equites*, it is surprising that he did not mention before that cavalry had gone on in advance of the column, and, moreover, we must conclude that only some of the cavalry had done so, whereas in § 6 we read that all had. I believe that *equites*, which is omitted in *L*, is an interpolation.

§ 5. *quam frequentissimi.* Evidently Caesar intended to get the German chiefs, or as many as would walk into the trap, into his power, so that their formidable host might be helpless.

§ 6. *nuntiarent.* See the note on iii, 5, § 3.

12, § 1. *amplius.* See the note on i, 38, § 5.

5,000 Gallic cavalry.

DCCC equites haberent, quod ii qui frumentandi
causa erant trans Mosam profecti nondum redierant,
nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante
a Caesare discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat ab
his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros pertur-
2 baverunt; rursus his resistentibus consuetudine sua
ad pedes desiluerunt subfossisque equis compluri-
busque nostris deiectis reliquos in fugam coniecerunt
atque ita perterritos egerunt ut non prius fuga
desisterent quam in conspectum agminis nostri venis-
3 sent. In eo proelio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur
4 IIII et LXX, in his vir fortissimus Piso Aquitanus,
amplissimo genere natus, cuius avus in civitate sua
regnum obtinuerat amicus a senatu nostro appellatus.
5 Hic cum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret,
illum ex periculo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato deiectus,
6 quoad potuit, fortissime restitit; cum circumventus
multis vulneribus acceptis cecidisset atque id frater, qui
iam proelio excesserat, procul animadvertisset, incitato
equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est.

Caesar resolves to attack the Germans instantly: their leaders wait upon him and are arrested.

13 Hoc facto proelio Caesar neque iam sibi legatos
audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur
ab iis qui per dolum atque insidias petita pace ultro
2 bellum intulissent; expectare vero dum hostium
copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur summae
3 dementiae esse iudicabat, et cognita Gallorum in-
firmitate quantum iam apud eos hostes uno proelio
auctoritatis essent consecuti sentiebat; quibus ad
consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat.
4 His constitutis rebus et consilio cum legatis et quae-
store communicato, ne quem diem pugnae praeter-

§ 2. *venissent.* Although *prius . . . quam* does not imply a purpose, the subjunctive is necessary, because the clause in which it stands depends upon an *ut*-clause.

§ 4. *Piso.* Notice that this man had a Roman name, which shows that Roman influence had made itself felt even in South-Western Gaul many years before Caesar arrived.

13, § 1. *per . . . insidias* is to be taken with *ultro bellum intulissent.*

§ 4. If the clause *ne quem . . . praetermitteret*, which Meusel

mitteret, oportunissima res accidit, quod postridie
eius diei mane eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi
Germani frequentes, omnibus principibus maiori-
busque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt,
simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra 5
atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent, proelium pridie
commisissent, simul ut, si quid possent, de indutiis
fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos 6
gavisus illos retineri iussit; ipse omnes copias castris
eduxit equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perter-
ritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi iussit.

Acie triplici instituta et celeriter VIII milium **14** He marches against the German host,
itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit
quam quid ageretur Germani sentire possent. Qui 2
omnibus rebus subito perterriti et celeritate adventus

brackets, is genuine (I see no reason to suspect it), it depends upon *consilio.*

quod. In English the force of *quod* (= 'namely that') can be best given by breaking up the sentence: 'a most fortunate event occurred. Next day early in the morning', &c.

§ 5. *sui purgandi.* See the note on iii, 6, § 1.

quod . . . commisissent is not a remark made by Caesar, but expresses the gist of what was said by the Germans: therefore the subjunctive is used. In regard to the force of *quod*, see the note on 22, § 1 (*quod . . . fecissent*).

The long sentence contained in §§ 4–5 is one of the many passages in Caesar which tax the skill of a translator to the utmost. I break it up into four sentences, of which the last two translate *simul, ut dicebatur . . . impetrarent*:—'Their ostensible object was to clear themselves from complicity in the attack which had taken place the day before contrary to the agreement which they had themselves asked for; at the same time they intended,' &c.

§ 6. *illos* may at first sight seem superfluous; but the sentence would not be so strong without it. As Schneider says, if Caesar had remained in camp, he could not have written *illos retineri iussit, ipse castris se tenuit*; but *illos retineri iussit* is contrasted with *ipse omnes copias castris eduxit.*

14, § 1. I need hardly say that, as the word *agmen* in 13, § 6 shows, the army *marched* against the Germans in three parallel columns, which, on approaching the camp, wheeled into line. Cf. i, 49, § 1.

prius . . . possent. See the note on iii, 26, § 3. Here a purpose is hinted at.

§ 2. *omnibus rebus*, which is explained by *et celeritate . . . suorum*, is an adverbial phrase and might be translated by 'completely'. Cf. iii, 17, § 5.

nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi
neque arma capiendi spatio dato perturbantur,
copiasne adversus hostem ducere an castra defendere
3 an fuga salutem petere praestaret. Quorum timor
cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri
pristini diei perfidia incitati in castra inruperunt.
4 Quo loco qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt paulisper
nostris restiterunt atque inter carros impedimentaque
5 proelium commiserunt; at reliqua multitudo puerorum
mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo exces-
serant Rhenumque transierant) passim fugere coepit;
ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit.

and annihilates them.

15 Germani post tergum clamore audito, cum suos
interfici viderent, armis abiectis signisque militaribus
2 relictis se ex castris eiecerunt, et cum ad confluentem
Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata,

praestaret. This is one of the very few instances in which Caesar uses the imperfect in indirect questions after a historic present (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 354).

§ 5. *ad quos . . . misit.* Perhaps it is unnecessary to ask the reader to notice the tremendous frankness of this avowal. The man of whom Cicero, who did not love him, said (*Fam.*, vi, 6, § 8) *in Caesare haec sunt,—mitis clemensque natura*, was absolutely ruthless when he saw that in no other way could his object be gained.

15, § 1. *signis . . . relictis.* The ancients attached as much importance to their military standards as we used to do to regimental colours. Cf. vii, 2, § 2; 88, § 4. The German standards, like those of the Gauls, were figures of animals which in prehistoric times had been sacred.

§ 2. *ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni.* These words present so much difficulty that some commentators believe that Caesar wrote *Mosellae* or *Mosulae* (the Moselle), while others suggest that *et Rheni* is spurious.

To begin with, it is doubtful whether *confluentem Mosae et Rheni* means 'the confluence of the Meuse and the Waal' (if it does, *Rheni* cannot mean the Rhine properly so called) or 'the stream that connected the Meuse with the Rhine'. If it means the latter, *confluentem* denotes the Waal. When Caesar joined his army he learned that the Germans, after crossing the Rhine, had wandered southward and 'reached the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi' (6, §§ 1–4). The Condrusi (see p. 415) inhabited Condroz; so the Germans must have advanced further southward than Liège. Caesar, as soon as his preparations were complete, marched 'towards the districts in which he heard that the Germans were encamped' (7, § 1), by which he apparently means the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi.

magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, 3
perpaucis vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum CCCCXXX milium fuisset, se in

But before he attacked the Germans they must have moved away from that country; for it is generally admitted that they fled either towards the Waal or to the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine, and in either case their destruction would have taken place at a considerable distance from the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi. When the German envoys proposed to send a message to the Ubii (11, §§ 2-3) they were not more than 12 miles from the German camp, which Caesar attacked on the following day. If, then, the Germans fled to the Waal, the envoys were at least 60 miles, *in a straight line*, from the nearest frontier of the Ubii (see p. 430 [Sugambri]). If, on the other hand, the defeat took place near the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine, they would only have had to travel the few miles that separated them from the Rhine, and, after crossing that river, they would have found themselves in Ubian territory.

If we accept the MS. reading—*ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni*—we must assume (1) that the Germans retreated from the positions which they had taken up in the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi to the country of the Menapii, which they had recently left; (2) that Dion Cassius (xxxix, 48, § 2), who says that they invaded the country of the Treveri, through which the Moselle flows, either included the Condrusi and Eburones among the Treveri or simply made a blunder; (3) that when the German envoys offered to send a message to the Ubii and to get an answer in three days, they were offering to perform a manifest impossibility; (4) that *confluentem* means not 'confluence' but 'connecting stream'—the Waal—for obviously the Germans would have fled not westward to the confluence of the Meuse and the Waal, but to the nearest point of the Waal, and even then they would have had to cross the Rhine as well; (5) that after the defeat of the Germans the Ubii asked Caesar to march at least 70 miles up the valley of the Rhine and to cross the river into their territory, although his narrative leaves on our minds the impression that he crossed near the spot where he had beaten the Germans.

If, on the other hand, we decide that the defeat took place near the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine, (1) our decision flatly contradicts the MSS.; (2) we need not assume that Caesar wrote *Rheni* when he meant *Vacali* or that *confluentem* means 'connecting stream'; (3) we must assume that the Germans moved away from the positions which they had taken up in the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi, but that instead of retreating in the direction whence they had come they struck off through the Ardennes towards the south-east and entered the land of the Treveri; (4) we must assume that they had taken up a position about 70 miles, in a straight line, from the nearest point of the Meuse, to the further side of which they had sent their cavalry on a foraging expedition

4 castra receperunt. Caesar iis quos in castris retinuerat
5 discedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

(9, § 3); (5) the difficulty regarding the offer of the German envoys to send a message to the Ubii disappears; (6) the difficulty regarding the unrecorded march of Caesar up the valley of the Rhine also disappears.

Hard as it is to decide, I am tempted to conclude that the Germans fled to the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine; for as often as I read Caesar's narrative it leaves upon my mind the impression that the rout took place opposite the country of the Ubii. First we see the German host marching southward into Condroz and the adjacent country of the Eburones on the east. A few marches further southward would bring them to the neighbourhood of Coblenz. It seems to me quite in accord with Caesar's manner that, having already told us that they had moved far from the country of the Menapii, he should have omitted to mention these marches; but I can hardly conceive that if they had *retreated* northward 90 Roman miles, he would have neglected to say so. Then their envoys ask for three days' grace to negotiate with the Ubii; and (though the envoys probably did not intend to negotiate at all) the natural conclusion seems to be that the Ubii were close by. Finally, the Ubii ask Caesar to bring his army into their country; and it is not easy to believe that they would have asked him to march at least 70 Roman miles before he could cross the Rhine. Moreover, Caesar tells us (§ 2) that the fugitives who plunged into the stream were overwhelmed 'by the force of the current' (*vi fluminis*); and these words are absurdly inapplicable to the waters of the Waal. The substitution of *Mosae* for *Mosellae* is just what might have been expected from a meddlesome scribe who had read chapters 9 and 11 and perhaps also the interpolated chapter 10.

It is hardly necessary to notice the views of the commentators who refuse to believe that the rout took place either in the neighbourhood of the Waal or in that of Coblenz. The only one which seems worth mentioning is that of T. Bergk, who holds that *confluentem* meant 'a river which flows into another river', that what Caesar really wrote was *ad confluentem Mosae*, and that some one who could not understand the Latin added *et Rheni*. Bergk believes that the *confluens* in question was the Roer, and that the Germans fled to a point near the junction of the Roer and the Meuse (*C. G.*, pp. 691–706). See the note on 17, § 1.

That nearly 430,000 persons perished in the rout is incredible. See the note on iii, 26, § 6.

§ 5. *His . . . libertatem.* If the text is right, *libertatem* is perhaps equivalent to *libertatem remanendi*; but Schneider may be right in explaining that whereas Caesar might have enslaved his German prisoners, he gave them the boon of freedom. I am

He determines to cross the Rhine,

Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar **16**
statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa
fuit iustissima quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile
impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos
timere voluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere
populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit 2
etiam quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tenctero-
rum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentan-
dique causa Mosam transisse neque proelio interfuisse,
post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sugam-
brorum receperat seque cum his coniunxerat. Ad 3
quos cum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent eos
qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent sibi dederent,
responderunt: populi Romani imperium Rhenum 4
finire; si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non
aequum existimaret, cur sui quicquam esse imperii
aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet? Ubii 5
autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Caesarem legatos
miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magno-
pere orabant ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab
Suebis premerentur; vel, si id facere occupationibus 6
rei publicae prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum
transportaret: id sibi ⟨ad⟩ auxilium spemque reliqui

not bold enough to adopt R. Sydow's emendation,—*Hoc iis Caesar liberaliter* (concessit).

16, § 1. *multis de causis.* The reasons are stated in 19, § 4.

§ 4. *imperii* and *potestatis* depend upon *esse*, not upon *quicquam*, which is to be taken with *trans Rhenum*. In other words, the literal meaning is 'Why should he claim that anything beyond the Rhine should be in his power?' This seems a more satisfactory explanation than 'Why should he claim that any of his power . . . should exist beyond the Rhine?' Cf. i, 21, § 2 (*quid sui consilii sit ostendit*) and vii, 77, § 12 (*Quid ergo mei consilii est?*), and see Schneider's note.

§ 5. *qui uni . . . dederant.* In ii, 35, §§ 1–2, Caesar says that after his victorious campaign against the Belgae 'the peoples who dwelt beyond the Rhine sent envoys . . . promising to give hostages', and that, being anxious to go back to Italy, 'he ordered the envoys to return to him at the beginning of the following summer.' From the passage before us it should seem that all except the Ubii disobeyed the order.

quod . . . premerentur. See the second note on 13, § 5.

§ 6. ⟨*ad*⟩ *auxilium.* R. Lange is, I dare say, right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *ad praesens auxilium*, in contrast to *spemque reliqui temporis.* Cf. vii, 66, § 4.

7 temporis satis futurum. Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem eius exercitus Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti
8 esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

designs a bridge,

17 Caesar his de causis quas commemoravi Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis

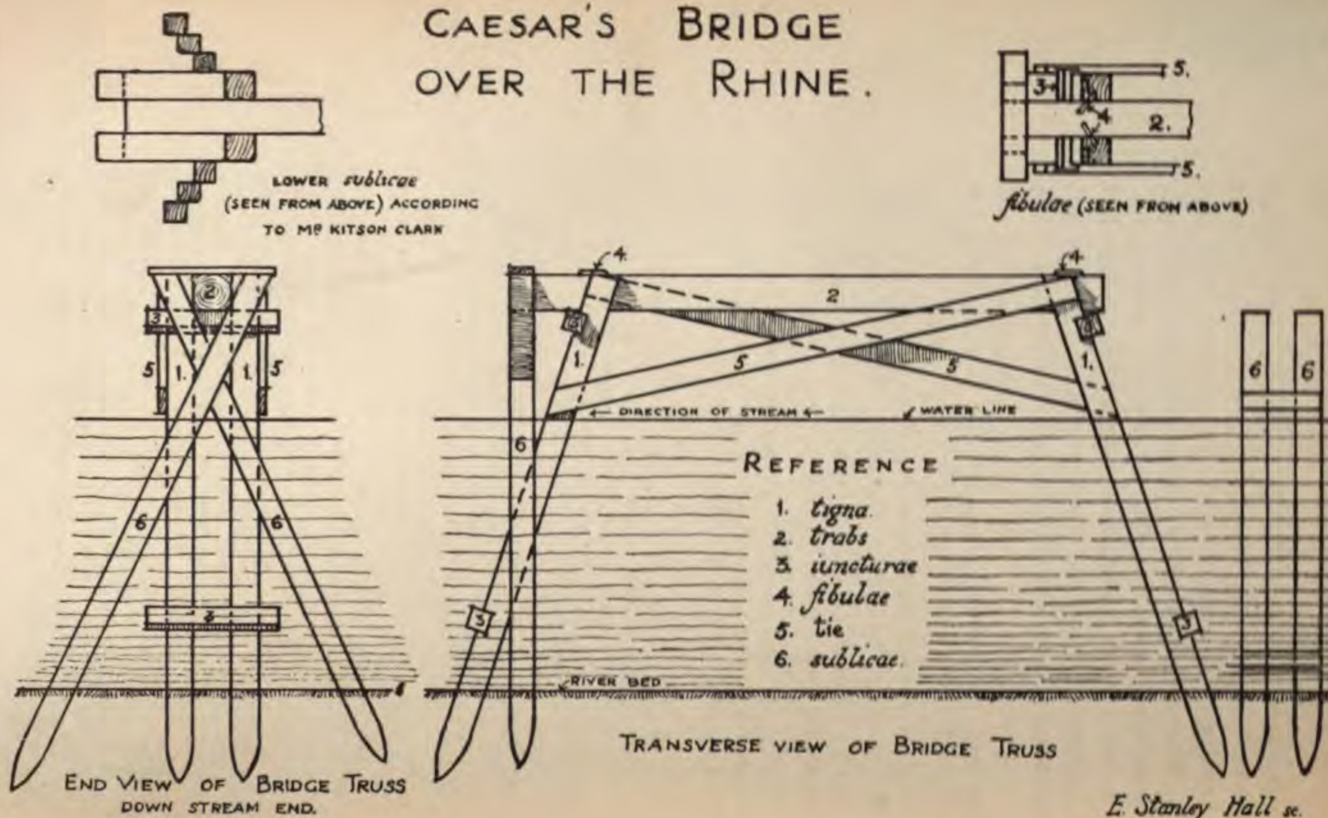
§ 7. *eius* stands for *Caesaris*.

17, § 1. *Caesar . . . decreverat*. Caesar's bridge joined the western bank of the Rhine to the territory of the Ubii, which extended no further northward than Cologne or, more probably, the mouth of the Sieg, near Bonn (p. 430). Two years later he built a second bridge *paulo supra* (vi, 9, § 3)—'a little higher up' the river—which connected the territory of the Treveri with that of the Ubii. If the rout of the Usipetes and Tencteri took place near the Waal, we must of course look for the site of the first bridge as near that river as may be consistent with Caesar's narrative. If, on the other hand, the rout took place near the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle, the bridge must have been made between Coblenz and Andernach.

Napoleon III placed the first bridge at Bonn, forgetting that the second was higher up the river, and that he had himself said that between Bonn and Mainz 'the Rhine flows over a rocky bed, where the piles could not have been driven in'. If the Usipetes and Tencteri fled to the Waal, the first bridge was most probably built at Cologne and the second at Bonn. But Cologne is open to two objections. First, it was probably opposite the territory not of the Ubii but of the Sugambri (see p. 430). Secondly, if the Usipetes and Tencteri fled to the Waal, the second bridge could not have been built further south than Bonn; and it is most improbable that the territory of the Treveri (see p. 431) extended so far northward.

A serious objection has, however, been brought against the view that the bridges were between Coblenz and Andernach. Major-General Wolf observes that in order to reach the Rhine near Andernach in 53 B.C., Caesar would have been obliged to pass through a defile between mountain and stream, and that, cut off from communication with his rear, he would have been unable to feed his troops. In these circumstances, he says, the army would certainly have been attacked,—in Germany by the Suebi, on its return by the Treveri. I reply that when Caesar, after building his second bridge, had crossed the Rhine, he was in the territory of the friendly Ubii, upon whose assistance he could rely; that he did actually fear that he would be unable to procure sufficient corn, and accordingly gave up his intention of penetrating far into Germany (vi, 29, § 1); that he took every precaution to secure his rear (9, § 5); and that the policy of the Suebi was not to attack him, but rather to lure him on (10, §§ 4-5). Apart from the arguments which I have stated in

Caesar's Bridge over the Rhine.



tutum esse arbitrabatur neque suae neque populi
Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa 2
difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter
latitudinem, rapiditatem altitudinemque fluminis,
tamen id sibi contendendum aut aliter non traducen-
dum exercitum existimabat. Rationem pontis hanc 3
instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia paulum ab imo
praeacuta dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis intervallo
pedum duorum inter se iungebat. Haec cum machina- 4
tionibus immissa in flumen defixerat fistucisque
adegerat, non sublicae modo derecte ad perpendiculum,
sed prone ac fastigate, ut secundum naturam fluminis
procumberent, iis item contraria duo ad eundem 5
modum iuncta intervallo pedum quadragenum ab
inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis
conversa statuebat. Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus 6
trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum iunctura
distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte

the note on 15, § 2, I am inclined to prefer the neighbourhood of Coblenz because Caesar's chief object in invading Germany in 53 B. C. was to prevent the Germans from reinforcing the Treveri, whose territory, as we have seen, probably did not extend so far northward as Bonn, and whose political centre, Trèves, was south even of Coblenz. I therefore conclude, though doubtfully, that both the first and the second bridge were built between Coblenz and Andernach (*C. G.*, pp. 706–10).

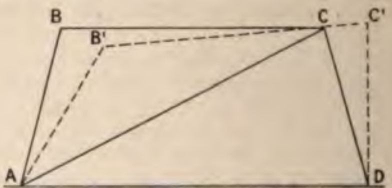
§ 4. *machinationibus*, like 'tackle', is a vague technical term, and apparently denotes both the barges or rafts which were of course necessary and the apparatus by means of which the balks (*tigna*) were lowered. Nowadays a kind of tripod would be used, formed of three masts and furnished at the top with a pulley.

fastigate here means 'sloping like the gable of a roof' (*fastigium*). I translate *prone ac fastigate* by 'leaning forward in the same plane'.

§ 5. *pedum quadragenum*. Forty feet could not have been the distance along the bed of the river (unless Caesar meant the greatest distance) on account of the difference between the depth near the bank and in mid-stream, which would have caused a variation either in the width of the roadway or in the angle formed by the balks; for he says that the balks were made of varying lengths to suit the varying depth of the stream. Therefore (unless he was thinking of the greatest distance along the bed) the measurement must have been made either between the tops of the balks or, more probably, along the surface of the water. For the roadway, 40 feet would have been an excessive width.

7 distinebantur; quibus disclusis atque in contrariam
partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo atque ea
rerum natura ut, quo maior vis aquae se incitavisset,
8 hoc artius inligata tenerentur. Haec derecta materia

§§ 6–7. Instead of *distinebantur* one MS. (*E*) has *destinabantur* ('were made fast'). Caesar may have written this: but anyhow the opposite couples of balks could not have been made fast unless they were kept at the right distance apart; for, as the accompanying diagram will show, the tendency of the current was to make the upper couple of balks AB and, in a less degree, the lower couple CD rotate about the fulcra A, D, thus depressing B, elevating C, and diminishing the horizontal distance between the upper ends of the couples. How this tendency was counteracted by the *fibulae*, and what the *fibulae* were, I will explain presently. Meanwhile the reader, if he will think, will understand that Caesar used the word *utrimque* in order to make it clear that each couple of balks was provided with two *fibulae*; and, if he has observed Caesar's use of the word *extremus* (ii, 8, § 4; 11, § 4; iii, 12, § 1; 29, § 2; vi, 29, § 3), he will conclude that *ab extrema parte* signifies 'at the top of the balks', or (which comes to the same thing) 'at (or near) the end of the transverse beam' (*bipedalis trabs*).



Now for the *fibulae*. Commentators have argued about them for 400 years; but a young architect, Mr. Stanley Hall, has recently solved the problem. To examine all the theories would require several pages; and only one of them tallies completely with Caesar's description. Mr. Hall supposes the results described by the words *disclusis* and *revinctis* to have been produced not by the *fibulae* alone but also by a tie. The *fibulae*, in his opinion, were iron 'dogs', such as are universally used now. They are shaped somewhat like a broad angular croquet-hoop, and are about 12 inches across, with the ends bent at right angles and pointed. They would have been fixed diagonally, one of the points being driven into the transverse beam and the other into the top of one of the balks. Mr. Hall shall explain the tie himself, though I shall add a few words in brackets. Referring to the diagram, he remarks that 'since the points B and C are made fast [by the *fibulae*], the whole structure ABCD will tend [owing to the current] to take up the position AB′C′D, and the effect of this will be to lengthen the distance between A and C. The most elementary engineer would know that this tendency would be counteracted by a tie between C and a point on AB as near as possible to A . . . [Then] as long as there is a constant pressure in the direction of the stream, the bridge . . .

iniecta contexebantur ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur; ac nihilo setius sublicae et ad inferiorem 9
partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis exciperent, et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, 10

must be absolutely rigid. It will be seen', Mr. Hall adds, 'that I take *quibus* as referring to *haec utraque*, that is, both pairs of balks; *disclusis* as summing up and repeating *binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur*; and *in contrariam partem* [in the opposite direction] *revinctis* as meaning "having a diagonal tie"' (*C. G.*, pp. 714–20).

§ 8. *contexebantur*, if it is right, must mean 'were connected'. Meusel proposes *contegebantur*.

cratibus. Such fascines—long bundles of rods bound together—are commonly used for the foundations of military roads in swampy places.

§ 9. *sublicae . . . exciperent*. Since Caesar has said (§ 4) that the balks were driven 'not vertically, like ordinary piles' (*sublicae*), it is natural to suppose that these *sublicae* were driven vertically. If, as some commentators believe, they had been placed in the form of a V or wedge below the bridge, they could not have been described as *cum omni opere coniunctae*, and they would have had hardly any effect in checking the impact of the water upon the balks. To plant them underneath the bridge was plainly impossible. Supposing, then, that they were vertical, the only conceivable arrangement is that proposed by Mr. Kitson Clark, who explains *pro ariete* as meaning 'like a *lateral* buttress', and suggests that they were planted in the shape of the figure \/, on either side of, and in contact with, each of the couples of balks. In this formation they would have prevented the bridge from rocking under the weight of the moving army; but they would not have counteracted the force of the stream. Mr. Hall has devised an arrangement (see the Plan) which is both simple and perfectly effective; but it is open to the objection that he supposes the *sublicae* to have been driven in not vertically, but only *oblique*. If they were not driven vertically, we must admit that, although, as Mr. Peskett says, 'a *sublica* remains a *sublica* whether it is driven in straight or crooked', Caesar's language was inconsistent and obscure; but no arrangement of vertical piles would have fully answered his purpose. Moreover, the words *oblique agebantur* seem to mean that each *sublica* was driven in obliquely, in which case it could not have been driven vertically: if Caesar had intended to describe Mr. Kitson Clark's arrangement, would he not have said *obliquo ordine agebantur*? If, as I believe, Mr. Hall is right, (quae vim fluminis) *exciperent* cannot mean 'to intercept' but must mean 'to break' (the force of the stream) by supporting the bridge. But on no theory can *excipere* here mean 'to intercept': even on Mr. Clark's the stream would have struck the balks with undiminished force (*C. G.*, pp. 721–3, modified and supplemented).

§ 10. *et aliae . . . nocerent*. These *sublicae* were, of course, vertical, and (unless one *sublica* would have sufficed for each

ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis causa
essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum
rerum vis minueretur neu ponti nocerent.

crosses the river,

18 Diebus X, quibus materia coepta erat comportari,
2 omni opere effecto exercitus traducitur. Caesar ad
utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto in
3 fines Sugambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus
civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem
atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondet
4 obsidesque ad se adduci iubet. At Sugambri, ex eo
tempore quo pons institui coeptus est fuga comparata,
hortantibus iis quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus
apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant suaque
omnia exportaverant seque in solitudinem ac silvas
abdiderant.

punishes the Sugambri,

19 Caesar paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis frumentisque succisis,
se in fines Ubiorum recepit atque his auxilium suum
pollicitus, si a Suebis premerentur, haec ab iis co-
2 gnovit: Suebos, postea quam per exploratores pontem
fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito nuntios in
omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent,
liberos, uxores suaque omnia in silvis deponerent
atque omnes qui arma ferre possent unum in locum
3 convenirent. Hunc esse delectum medium fere
regionum earum quas Suebi obtinerent; hic Romanorum adventum expectare atque ibi decertare consti-
4 tuisse. Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus iis rebus

truss) were doubtless arranged in V-shaped groups. I am told that bridges in Norway are similarly protected now (*C. G.*, p. 724).

missae. Perhaps Caesar wrote *immissae* (*Z. G.*, 1878, pp. 175–6, with which cf. *L. C.*, ii, 54–5, 624); but see *B. C.*, i, 45, § 6.

his defensoribus is explained by Dinter as ablative absolute, although he admits that *his* is masculine. Is there any objection to regarding the words as an instrumental ablative,—'by these bulwarks'?

18, § 3. *Interim.* One sees why H. Hartz (Coniect., 1886, p. 7) proposed to substitute *In itinere*; but may not *Interim* be paralleled by vii, 79, § 1?

19, § 3. *Hunc* is not the subject, but the predicate, and means 'as this', that is, 'to serve as the place of muster.' The subject is *locum* understood.

confectis, quarum rerum causa exercitum traducere constituerat, ut Germanis metum iniceret, ut Sugambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino XVIII trans Rhenum consumptis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus se in Galliam recepit pontemque rescidit.

and returns to Gaul.

Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his **20**
locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat, et si 2
tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere praeter mercatores 3
illo adit quisquam, neque his ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones quae sunt contra

He resolves to make an expedition to Britain,

§ 4. *profectum* is the reading of φ: χ β have *perfectum*, and as this appears not only in β but also in one family of α, it was evidently the reading of the archetype. Klotz, however (*C. S.*, p. 251), objecting that neither of the two readings informs us whose *laus* and *utilitas* were promoted, suggests that *profectum* was due to the mistake of a copyist who misunderstood the abbreviation *p. ro.* (*populi Romani*), and that what Caesar wrote was *populi Romani factum*. Meusel (*B. ph. W.*, 1911, col. 140), who accepts the more important part of this emendation, observes that with *factum* Caesar would not have written *ad laudem et ad utilitatem*, but *laudi et utilitati*, or else the gerundive. Klotz's conjecture is ingenious; but his reason for rejecting the MS. readings does not convince me. Read this translation and see whether it does not express what Caesar may have said: 'he felt that honour was satisfied and that he had served every useful purpose.' Why should he have said *whose* honour?

20, § 2. *anni*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 64) gives the obvious reason for rejecting this word. It seems very unlikely, however, that any reader would have written *anni* on the margin of his copy, and when I read 22, § 2, vii, 32, § 2 (*cum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur*), and vii, 68, § 2 (*quantum diei tempus est passum*), I am inclined to think that the word may be reasonably defended. Could not one say 'even if the season of the year did not serve for campaigning'? Cf. *L. C.*, i, 271.

§ 3. It would be a mistake to translate *temere* by 'rashly': it means 'readily' or 'as an ordinary affair'. Students of Druidism did undertake the journey (vi, 13, §§ 11–12), but not *temere*: they had a serious object in view.

4 Galliam notum est. Itaque vocatis ad se undique
mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo,
neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque
quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis
uterentur, neque qui essent ad maiorem navium
multitudinem idonei portus reperire poterat.

sends Volusenus to reconnoitre the coast,

21 Ad haec cognoscenda, prius quam periculum faceret,
idoneum esse arbitratus C. Volusenum cum navi longa
2 praemittit. Huic mandat ut exploratis omnibus rebus
3 ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus
copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevis-
4 simus in Britanniam traiectus. Huc naves undique
ex finitimis regionibus et quam superiore aestate ad
Veneticum bellum fecerat classem iubet convenire.

and assembles a fleet on the coast of the Morini.

Galliam—the reading of *S*—is probably right, although the rest of the MSS. have *Gallias*; for while Cicero (*Fam.*, viii. 5, § 2; 9, §§ 2, 5) uses the plural in referring to the several divisions of Gaul, Caesar uses the singular more than 100 times and the plural nowhere else; and there seems to be no reason why he should have used it here. Cf. *J. B.*, 1894, p. 251.

§ 4. *Itaque . . . reperire poterat.* Many commentators have insisted that the traders could have told Caesar all that he wanted to know; and certainly it seems difficult to understand how they could have professed ignorance of the harbours without manifest contumacy: but, at least as regards the other questions, the reasons which he assigns for their silence are sufficient. Moreover, as they only knew the harbours of Kent (v, 13, § 1), none of which could shelter a large fleet, it is quite intelligible that even on this point they should have been unable to enlighten him. Still, they could have given valuable information about the Kentish coast; and the passage in which Strabo (iv, 4, § 11) says that the Veneti attacked Caesar because they were determined to prevent him from invading Britain, the trade with which was in their hands, suggests that the merchants kept silence from interested motives. They could not foresee that Caesar's expeditions would stimulate British trade.

21, § 4. *quam . . . convenire.* We may be sure that these ships were not in any port in the country of the Veneti (the department of the Morbihan) or anywhere near it when Caesar sent for them; for as only 'a small part of the summer' (20, § 1) remained when he began to prepare for the invasion of Britain, there would have been no time for his messengers to travel to the mouth of the Loire or for the galleys to make the voyage of 600 miles from the Loire to the north-eastern coast of Gaul. When the messengers set out, the galleys must have been near the port (Boulogne) from which he sailed,—probably in the mouth of the Seine or of the Somme. We may infer that Caesar had contemplated invading Britain long before the close of this



SOUTH EASTERN BRITAI

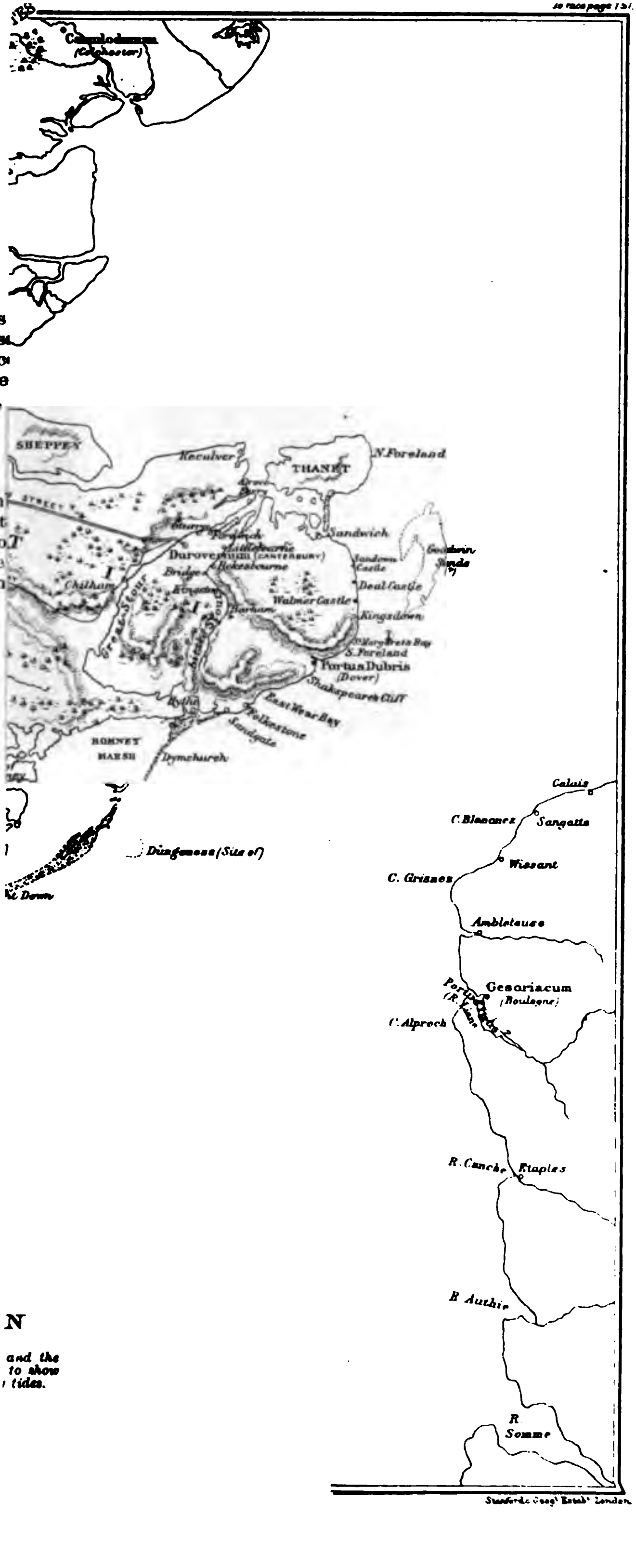
The outlines of the estuary between Thanet mainland and of Romney Marsh are intended approximately the high-water mark of Sprin

Scale:– 15 Miles to One Inch

ys
ain
ise
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sends Volus to reco noitre coast,

and assem a fleet the co of the Morin



nterim, consilio eius cognito et per mercatores perlato 5
d Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad
um legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare atque
mperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis, 6
iberaliter pollicitus hortatusque ut in ea sententia
ermanerent, eos domum remittit et cum iis una 7
Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi
onstituerat, cuius et virtutem et consilium probabat
t quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur cuiusque
uctoritas in his regionibus magni habebatur, mittit.
Huic imperat quas possit adeat civitates horteturque 8
it populi Romani fidem sequantur seque celeriter eo
enturum nuntiet. Volusenus perspectis regionibus 9
mnibus quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi

Envoys from Britain promise submission.

ummer. See the notes on iii, 8, § 2; 9, § 10; *C. G.*, p. 87; and *.B.*, pp. 300–3.

§ 5. *polliceantur* is followed by the infinitive, though in 22, 1 *pollicerentur* takes the accusative and infinitive. When the resent infinitive is used, it seems to be implied that the pronise will be fulfilled immediately. Cf. ii, 32, § 3,—*illi se quae mperarentur facere dixerunt.*

§ 7. *regem ibi constituerat.* Probably the Atrebates were one of he many tribes among whom monarchy had been overthrown y oligarchy (see p. liv). Caesar's object in appointing kings, which he did on several occasions (v, 25, § 2; 54, § 2), was not nly to put a premium upon loyalty, but also to use the loyal s instruments for keeping the anti-Roman party in check. This policy, however, as we shall see later, was not altogether uccessful, though it may have been the best that Caesar could dopt. See *C. G.*, pp. 106, 521–3.

in his regionibus is generally, but wrongly, taken in the sense f 'in the country of the Atrebates'. It means 'in Britain'. To say that Commius had great influence in his own country would have been wholly irrelevant. Caesar sent him to Britain ecause he had influence there.

§ 8. *ut . . . fidem sequantur.* See the note on ii, 3, § 2.

§ 9. *perspectis regionibus omnibus.* Volusenus's galley (§ 1), nanned by trained oarsmen, not only made him comparatively ndependent of wind and tide, but, owing to her superior speed, would enable him to keep clear of any ships which Gauls or Britons might send against him. The *regiones* which he explored probbly did not extend beyond Lympne or, at the furthest, Rye on ne side and the North Foreland on the other; for within these imits the port and the alternative landing-place of which he was in search (20, § 4; 21, § 1) were to be found. Caesar does ot tell us what observations he made; but we can make a very ood guess. Caesar had chosen him because he was the fittest nan that he could find; and we may fairly assume that he did

egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, V. die ad Caesarem revertitur quaeque ibi perspexisset renuntiat.

Certain clans of the Morini voluntarily submit.

22 Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque
2 ea quae imperasset facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi Caesar satis oportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas iudicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum
3 imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recipit. Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis contractisque,

The transports.

not neglect precautions which any competent officer would have taken, and that he did not overlook what no observant man could have failed to perceive. He spent three entire days in British waters; and his time must have been fully occupied. Of course he observed the country as far inland as he could see. But he did more. We may be sure that he noted that the beach was of shingle; that he took soundings all along the coast between Walmer and Deal (see the first note on 23, § 6) as close inshore as he could venture to go; and that he watched the phenomena which twice daily obtruded themselves upon his attention,—the rise and fall of the tide and the movement up and down the Channel of the tidal stream (*A. B.*, pp. 309–12).

auderet. See the note on i, 36, § 4. Kraner remarks that the words contain an implied censure on Volusenus. This absurd comment is stultified by *quantum . . . potuit*, which shows that Volusenus did all that it was possible for him to do. See also 23, § 5.

22, § 1. *ex . . . Morinorum.* The Morini do not act here as a united people, but individual *pagi* act on their own account. Evidently the political organization of the tribe was very loose, and the authority of the Government very weak.

quod . . . fecissent. See the second note on i, 14, § 3. Although *quod* in this and similar passages is described as a causal particle, it is not altogether causal. The Morini excused themselves not so much because they had disobeyed Caesar as because they were afraid of him; and *quod . . . fecissent* defines their apology. One might translate *ex magna . . . fecissent* by 'envoys came . . . to apologize for their recent conduct in attacking', &c.

barbari here means 'uncivilized'.

§ 3. *contractisque.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 65) deletes these words, on the ground that '*contractis* can here mean nothing

quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. Huc acce- 4
debant XVIII onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco a milibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus

else than *coactis*'. I take it that *coactis* means simply 'raised' or 'collected' (cf. ii, 5, § 4; iii, 16, § 2; vi, 7, § 1; vii, 5, § 1) and that *contractis* means 'assembled' (in one place).

§ 4. *eundem portum* obviously denotes the port in which the eighty transports and the galleys that were to convoy them (§ 3) had assembled, and from which Caesar set sail (23, § 1). This port was the estuary of the Liane,—in other words, the harbour of Boulogne, the Gallic name of which was Gesoriacum. Caesar embarked from the country of the Morini (see p. 424) 'because the shortest passage to Britain was from their coast' (21, § 3): Boulogne, which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iv, 23, § 122) calls the *portus Morinorum Britannicus*, was the permanent naval station of the Romans under the Empire and the port from which they habitually sailed to Britain: it was the only harbour in the country of the Morini which Pliny mentioned; and, according to Pomponius Mela (iii, 2, § 23), it was the most renowned harbour on the northern coast of Gaul. These facts make it probable that Caesar sailed from Boulogne; another proves it. The cavalry transports mentioned in § 4 sailed from a port 8 Roman miles from his own starting-point. He calls it the *ulterior portus* (23, § 1) and the *superior portus* (28, § 1); and it was therefore north or north-east of the port from which he himself sailed. If he sailed from Boulogne, the *ulterior portus* was Ambleteuse: supposing, for the sake of argument, that he sailed from the only other available port in the country of the Morini—Wissant, between Cape Blanc-Nez and Cape Gris-Nez—the *ulterior portus* was Sangatte. That he sailed from Ambleteuse himself is absolutely incredible, for he would not have selected such a small harbour for the bulk of his fleet. The cavalry transports were unable to start until the fourth day after he landed in Britain. When they were approaching the British coast and were seen from Caesar's camp 'such a violent storm suddenly arose that . . . some were carried back to the point from which they had started, while the others were swept down in great peril towards the lower and more westerly part of the island' (28, §§ 1–2). It will be shown in the note on 23, § 6 that Caesar's camp was in the neighbourhood of Walmer. But it is not necessary to assume this in order to prove that the cavalry transports started from Ambleteuse; for all the nautical experts whom I have consulted agree with me that it is incredible that a gale which drove some of the ships westward down the coast carried the others back to Sangatte. Anybody who may wish to satisfy himself that this conclusion, which has been generally accepted, is true should read *A. B.*, pp. 558–63, 581–3, 613, 618–19, 624–5, 639, 643, 740–1.

5 tribuit. Reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino et L. Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum a quibus ad eum legati non venerant

Caesar secures his base.

6 ducendum dedit. P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo praesidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur portum tenere iussit.

He sails for Britain, anchors off steep cliffs, and sails on 7 miles to his landing-place.

23 His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem III. fere vigilia solvit equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere
2 et se sequi iussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora diei circiter IIII. cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit.
3 Cuius loci haec erat natura atque ita montibus angustis

23, § 1. *solvit* (naves) means 'loosed' (the ships from their fastenings) and generally connotes the operation of letting go a hawser and putting off from shore or quay.

§ 2. *A quibus* is bracketed by Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 204) on the ground that the following narrative shows that as the *primae naves* which 'reached Britain about the fourth hour' belonged to the principal fleet, the cavalry did not arrive *paulo tardius*, but not at all. Mommsen must have been dreaming. In 26, § 5 we read that 'the cavalry had not been able to keep their course and make the island',—evidently because they had been late in starting and had therefore encountered an unfavourable wind; and they were late in starting because, as Caesar says, 'they were rather dilatory in getting through their work.' Besides, what becomes of *ipse* without *A quibus*?

omnibus collibus,—the cliffs between Dover and the South Foreland, which, seen from the sea, look like a series of heights separated by well-defined depressions. The Britons were evidently prepared to defend Dover harbour if Caesar should attempt to land there. There was then a small natural harbour at Dover (*A. B.*, pp. 530–1).

§ 3. *angustis.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 69–70) brackets this word, which has occasioned much discussion. 'What', he asks, 'are *montes angusti*? According to the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, there is not one [other] instance of such an expression in the whole of Latin literature.' He concludes (*ib.*, 1911, pp. 100–1) that *montibus angustis* could only mean 'limiting' or 'confining' mountains, and in the Golden Age of Latin literature could only have been written by a poet. Is this quite certain, seeing that there are many words which Caesar uses only once? Heller (*Ph. Suppl.*, v, 1889, p. 385), referring to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, v, 410 (*Quod coit angustis inclusum cornibus aequor*, where *angustis cornibus* means hills separated by a narrow fiord), maintains that *montibus angustis* means hills *qui angustum inter se spatium complectuntur*, that is to say, which are very close

mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus
telum adigi posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequa- 4
quam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves
eo convenirent ad horam nonam in ancoris expectavit.
Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis et 5
quae ex Voluseno cognovisset et quae fieri vellet
ostendit monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maximeque
ut maritimae res postularent, ut, cum celerem atque
instabilem motum haberent, ad nutum et ad tempus
omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et 6

together. This explanation might serve if Caesar was thinking not only of the Dover cliffs, but also of the heights which hemmed in the old harbour of Dover on either side. It seems to me just possible that *angustis* may here mean 'narrow' and therefore 'precipitous'; for if a mountain is relatively narrow, it must needs be relatively precipitous. By a narrow mountain I mean a mountain whose base is narrow in proportion to its height.

§ 4. *ad horam nonam* means 'to the end of the ninth hour' (see G. Bilfinger, *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, 1888, p. 9). On August 26 the ninth hour ended in the latitude of Dover at 3.30 p.m.

§ 5. *maritimae res*, 'seamanship'.

ut cum. The MS. reading, *ut quam*, is meaningless; and accordingly Lipsius proposed *ut quae*, equivalent to *quippe quae*, which emendation has been generally accepted. If it is right, *administrarentur* is used without *ut*. The emendation which I have adopted was suggested by Mommsen.

§ 6. *His dimissis . . . constituit.* Caesar landed between Walmer Castle and Deal Castle. I have proved this in *A. B.* (pp. 595–665): here it will of course be impossible to do more than give a bare outline. Several other sites had been proposed; but the only ones of which the reader need take account are Pevensey, Lympne, and Hythe.

Any one who understood the conditions of ancient warfare and had explored the coast of Kent and Sussex, or even studied the Ordnance Map, would at once perceive that Caesar must have landed in East Kent, where the country behind the foreshore was open and he could encounter the enemy on equal terms. If he had attempted to disembark at Lympne or Hythe, he would have been obliged to force his way inland over a line of heights, whereas in those days no good general ever attacked an enemy who occupied a commanding position, if he could avoid doing so: if he had attempted to land at Pevensey or anywhere west of Lympne, he would have been confronted by the forest of the Weald.

Apart from what I have just said, Pevensey, which was proposed by the late Sir George Airy, must be rejected for the following reasons. First, it is much too far from Gaul. Caesar says (21, § 3) that he chose the shortest passage: Pevensey

ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis ancoris, circiter milia passuum

is about 52 nautical miles from the mouth of the Somme, where, according to Airy, Caesar embarked; while Boulogne, from which, as we have seen, he really sailed, is only 27 nautical miles from Dover. Secondly, in the neighbourhood of Pevensey the *montes* off which Caesar anchored (23, § 3) do not exist: Airy was forced to identify them with what he himself describes as cliffs 'ten to thirty feet high'! Thirdly, Airy himself, who knew all that was to be known about the tides, and who maintained that Caesar sailed from his anchorage to his landing-place on the westward stream, was obliged to admit that he could not have done so unless, when he anchored, he had been 5 nautical miles from the coast! From this distance he could not have seen the Britons on the cliffs (23, § 2) without a telescope, and even the ridiculous cliffs, 'ten to thirty feet high,' could not have been distinguished. Fourthly, Caesar sailed for Britain in 54 B.C. with a south-west wind (v, 8, § 2); and to sail for Pevensey from either Boulogne or Wissant (see the note on 22, § 4) or even from the Somme with a south-west wind would have been sheer folly. Lastly, Caesar says (v, 23, § 6) that in 54 B.C. he started on his voyage from Britain to Gaul 'at the beginning of the second watch' in 'a dead calm' (*summa tranquillitate*),—in other words, his ships, which in that year were built both for rowing and sailing (v, 1, § 3), were rowed; he reached land at dawn; and to row 52 nautical miles in 8 hours was, needless to say, impossible. Several other reasons could be given; but these are enough.

Lympne and Hythe must also be rejected. It has been calculated that the tidal stream had been running westward for several hours before the end of the ninth hour (see 23, § 4): therefore, supposing that Caesar sailed from his anchorage westward, unless he could have estimated the exact time which the stream had still to run he would have had to face the risk that, before he could reach his landing-place, it might turn against him. His own words (*et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum*) show that he weighed anchor just after the stream had turned (eastward). He implies (26, § 5) that if he had had his cavalry with him, he would have been able to make good use of them; but what would have been the use of sending cavalry up the steep slopes on which stand the ruins of Stutfall Castle or over the wooded heights which extended behind Hythe? Worse ground for the manœuvring of cavalry it would have been hard for Volusenus to find. It would have been impossible for the cavalry transports of which I have spoken in the note on 22, § 4 to return from anywhere near Lympne or Hythe to Ambleteuse; and it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to sail from Boulogne to Lympne or even to Hythe with a south-west wind. Furthermore, an episode which Caesar describes in ch. 32 is inexplicable on the theory that he landed at either of those places. He says that one day, when the 7th legion had gone out to cut corn, he learned from the troops on guard in front of his camp that an extra-[illegible]ity of dust was visible in the direction in which

VII ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

24 The landing resisted. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proe-

the legion had gone. The place where the legionaries were reaping was the only one in which the corn had not yet been cut; and the dust was raised by the enemy who were attacking them. But the dust would have been invisible from the camp unless the cornfield was close to the edge of the high ground; and who will believe that the only field which the Romans had left unreaped was the one nearest them? Again I leave unnoticed various reasons which prove that Caesar did not land anywhere west of the South Foreland.

East Kent alone remains. The *montes* off which Caesar anchored were the lofty cliffs between Dover and the Foreland —the cliffs of which Cicero was thinking when he said (*Att.*, iv, 16, § 7) that 'the approaches to the island are ramparted with astonishing masses of cliff' (*aditus insulae esse muratos mirificis molibus*)—and a run of 7 miles brought him to the coast between Walmer Castle and Deal Castle. Only one serious objection has been made. Caesar says that he 'remained till the ninth hour, waiting at anchor for the other ships to join him'. The ninth hour ended at 3.30 p.m., and as high water at Dover on that day was at 6.21 a.m., the stream would *normally* have been running westward at 3.30 p.m. and would not have turned eastward till 5.24 p.m. This objection can be easily disposed of. Supposing that Caesar's rough estimate of the time was correct, it is not certain that he weighed anchor immediately after the ninth hour; when the overdue ships arrived their skippers had, I suppose, to receive instructions, as the generals and military tribunes had done already; and to get the ships into order, to give the signal for starting, and to weigh anchor must have taken some time. Moreover, the time at which the stream turns depends greatly upon the wind; the wind, blowing in the same direction as the stream, would have accelerated the turn; and it has been proved by a series of observations that after high water at 6.21 a.m. the stream may have turned eastward before 3.54 p.m.

If the reader is interested in the subject, this note (which is necessarily a mere makeshift) will probably have suggested questions which he would like to have answered. If so, let him read the article to which I have referred at the beginning; and any doubt that he may feel will be cleared up.

aestum here means the tidal stream, which runs alternately up and down the Channel. In 29, § 1 the word is used, in the ordinary sense, of the *vertical* movement of the tides, as when we speak of high or low tide.

aperto ac plano litore,—'on an open and evenly shelving shore'. *Apertum litus* means a shore free from such obstacles or dangers as rocks, boulders, and the like (*L. C.*, i, 283–4; *A. B.*, pp. 629, 653–4).

24, § 1. *essedariis*. Remains of war-chariots have been found in British graves, principally in Yorkshire, but not nearly so

liis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros
2 navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas
summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem
nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem,
ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere
armorum oppressis simul et de navibus desiliendum
et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat
3 pugnandum, cum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in
aquam progressi omnibus membris expeditis, notis-
simis locis, audacter tela coicerent et equos insuefactos
4 incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque huius
omnino generis pugnae imperiti, non eadem alacritate
ac studio quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant
utebantur.

25 Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas,
quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus
ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis

many as in France. Yet the Gauls had evidently ceased to use them before the time of Caesar; for he never mentions them in describing his Gallic campaigns. Professor Ridgeway has suggested that the Gauls, who spent much money in buying well-bred horses (2, § 2), discarded chariots for cavalry when they began to import animals powerful enough to carry big men and to charge with effect. British horses, as we know from the skeletons that have been unearthed, were for the most part no bigger than ponies. It is a popular delusion that the British chariots had scythes (*A. B.*, pp. 342–3, 674–6).

§ 2. *militibus autem . . . desiliendum.* This passage has needlessly perplexed some commentators, one of whom actually suggested that the unhappy soldiers were obliged to walk several paces under water! They forgot that the ships' bows may have projected considerably, and also that when they were run aground they would have been buried for a considerable depth. Thus it would have been possible to jump into four feet six inches or five feet of water from the bow of a ship whose draught was a good deal more.

§ 3. *insuefactos.* I infer that the horses had been exercised on the beach in anticipation of Caesar's invasion.

25, § 1. *ad usum.* Schneider is, I think, mistaken in saying that these words were added simply for the sake of rhythm. If Caesar had merely written *expeditior*, his apparent meaning would have been that the galleys were faster than the transports. But they were not only faster: they were also 'more free from impediment' (*expeditior*) for all purposes of navigation (*ad usum*, which is equivalent to *ad navigandum*,—in the widest sense); in other words, they were easier to turn and to stop,

navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium
constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes
propelli ac submoveri iussit; quae res magno usui
nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura et remorum motu 2
et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari con-
stiterunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulerunt. Atque 3
nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitu-
dinem maris, qui X. legionis aquilam ferebat, obtesta-
tus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, 'desilite',
inquit, 'milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere;
ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium
praestitero.' Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex 4
navi proiecit atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit.
Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus 5

and could go astern by backing water. Thus *quarum erat motus ad usum expeditior* means 'which were swifter and easier to handle'.

latus apertum. See the note on i, 25, § 6 (⟨*ab*⟩ *latere aperto*).

fundis, sagittis. Evidently Cretan and Numidian archers and Balearic slingers (cf. ii, 7, § 1) served on board the galleys.

tormentis. Those which were mounted in the turrets (iii, 14, § 4) of galleys were probably small catapults (*scorpiones*), which discharged bolts at point-blank range (vii, 25, §§ 2–4). See *C. G.*, pp. 582–3.

§ 2. *modo.* Meusel adopts an emendation of his own, *etiam*, on the ground that such an expression as 'the natives . . . stood still, and then drew back *only* a little' is impossible. The idea 'only' could, he says (*J. B.*, 1886, p. 293), at the most be used in such a sentence as 'they drew back, though only a little'. But supposing that, as I maintain, Caesar meant 'the natives . . . stood still, and then drew back, if only a little' (in English one would leave 'if only' to the imagination), what else was he to say if not *paulum modo*? Such a movement on their part was quite enough to encourage the Romans. Surely if Caesar had meant 'even', he would have written not *paulum etiam* but *etiam paulum*? I may add that although Meusel now reads *etiam*, he frankly admitted in 1886 that he could not conceive how *etiam* had been corrupted into *modo*.

§ 3. *Atque* here leads up to a climax: it may be translated by 'And now'.

milites. Meusel (*J.B.*, 1886, pp. 276–7) doubts whether a centurion would have addressed his men as *milites*, though the general would have done so; and accordingly he prefers *commilitones*, the reading of β. But in our army non-commissioned officers address privates as 'men'; so why not centurions, who enforced strict discipline? Cf. *B. C.*, iii, 91, § 1,—*Sequimini me, manipulares mei qui fuistis.*

6 admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item
ex proximis primi navibus cum conspexissent, subse-
cuti hostibus adpropinquaverunt.

26 Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen,
quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere
neque signa subsequi poterant atque alius alia ex navi
quibuscumque signis occurrerat se adgregabat, ma-
2 gnopere perturbabantur; hostes vero, notis omnibus
vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egre-
dientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adorie-
3 bantur, plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere
4 aperto in universos tela coiciebant. Quod cum anim-
advertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item
speculatoria navigia militibus compleri iussit, et quos
laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat.
5 Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus
consecutis, in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in
fugam dederunt; neque longius prosequi potuerunt,
quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non
potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cae-
sari defuit.

§ 6. *primi* is a conjecture of Madvig's; and Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 61), who adopts it, brackets *navibus*,—in my opinion unnecessarily. The MS. reading—(proximis) *primis navibus*—although Schneider defends it, is nonsense; for it would imply that the ships were ranged in at least two lines, one behind the other; and since the soldiers could only just leap into the sea without being drowned, those who were on board the ships in the imaginary second line could not have done so, for their ships would have been in deeper water.

26, § 3. *universos* does not mean all the Roman soldiers; for the line of ships from which they were landing must have been fully a mile long. The word is contrasted with *singulares* (§ 2) and means 'an entire group'.

§ 4. *speculatoria navigia* were small fast-sailing vessels of light draught, which were commonly used for reconnoitring, and would now be called 'scouts',—a name given to vessels of a certain class in the British navy.

§ 5. *neque*. See the third note on i, 47, § 1.

equites . . . potuerant. Cf. 23, § 2 and 28, § 1. Evidently the wind had shifted to an unfavourable quarter, and the cavalry transports, which had started too late, had been obliged to put back. The English equivalent of *capere* here is 'to make' (the island).

The beaten Britons sue for peace.

Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga 27
receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace mise-
runt; obsides sese daturos quaeque imperasset facturos
polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas 2
venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesare in
Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, 3
cum ad eos oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret,
comprehenderant atque in vincula coniecerant; tum 4
proelio facto remiserunt et in petenda pace eius rei
culpam in multitudinem contulerunt et propter impru-
dentiam ut ignosceretur petiverunt. Caesar questus 5
quod, cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem
ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere
⟨se⟩ imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit; quorum 6
illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus
locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt.
Interea suos in agros remigrare iusserunt, principes- 7
que undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Caesari
commendare coeperunt.

The cavalry transports

His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum quam 28
est in Britanniam ventum naves XVIII, de quibus

27, § 1. The reading of β is *obsides daturos quaeque imperasset sese facturos*; of a, *obsides . . . imperasset facturos esse*. Both are evidently objectionable, more especially the latter; for Caesar hardly ever uses *esse* with the future infinitive. I have therefore adopted Meusel's emendation (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 242–3).

2. *demonstraveram*. See the note on *dixeramus* (ii, 1, § 1).

§ 3. *oratoris* does not here mean 'an orator', but 'an envoy'. Caesar's point is that Commius represented himself to the Britons as his accredited envoy, and therefore that they committed an outrage in seizing him. Cf. 21, § 8.

§ 5. *quod . . . intulissent.* See the note on *quod . . . fecissent* (22, § 1).

ignoscere. M. Cl. Gertz is probably right in supplying *se*.

§ 7. *principes*, as the context shows, here means chiefs who were magistrates. See the second note on i, 19, § 3.

28, § 1. *post . . . quam* is of course equivalent to *quarto die postquam* (cf. 9, § 1). G. Long says that 'the expression had by usage got into a form which does not admit of strict grammatical analysis'; and the same may be said of such expressions as *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* (i, 6, § 4) and 'this day six months'. I am inclined to think that originally in such phrases as *post diem quartum* and *ante diem quintum*, *post* meant 'at the end' (of the fourth day after) and *ante* 'at the beginning' (of the fifth day before). See the note on 9, § 1.

dispersed by a gale.

supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex
2 superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quae cum adpropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno suo
3 cum periculo deicerentur; quae tamen ancoris iactis cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae continentem petierunt.

§ 2. *castris.* Ten years ago (1902), after spending two days in examining the coast between Kingsdown and Sandown Castle, I concluded that the camp must have been either on the plateau between Walmer Castle and Kingsdown or, much more probably, on the rising ground, north-west of the plateau, which is now covered by part of Walmer. On opening the second volume of Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules César*, I found that Colonel Stoffel had adopted the latter alternative. Unfortunately it would be impossible to test our choice by excavation; for the ground is covered with buildings (*A. B.*, pp. 673-4, 737).

tanta tempestas . . . deicerentur. The ships that were swept down Channel (*deicerentur*) were in great peril because only the most watchful steering could prevent them from 'broaching to': if a heavy sea struck the stern, it might swing the vessel round, and in a moment she would be overset and founder. The others were doubtless 'laid to' on the port tack, carrying only just enough sail to keep them steady (*A. B.*, pp. 319, 582, 651, 740-1).

suo is a necessary correction of the MS. reading *sui*; for, as Meusel asks (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 272-3), 'what writer of the classical period says *periculum mei*?' and if Caesar could have written *sui* here, he would certainly have written *de sui ac legionis periculo nihil timebat* in v, 57, § 1, whereas he wrote *de suo.*

§ 3. *tamen* refers to *magno . . . deicerentur* and is closely connected with *ancoris iactis.* The meaning is 'they anchored notwithstanding' (the danger they were in). See pp. 442-6.

adversa nocte. According to Schneider, *adversa* is equivalent to *obstante*,—'being unfavourable'; but if so, did Caesar mean that the ships stood out to sea *though* night was unfavourable to the voyage, or *because* it was unfavourable to their remaining where they were? I unhesitatingly reject the former alternative, for all Caesar's voyages between Gaul and Britain were made by night, and, moreover, on this particular night there was a full moon: on the other hand, it would not have been more dangerous to remain at anchor in the night than in the day-time. I agree with Kraner-Dittenberger, who hold that just as *adverso colle* (ii, 19, § 8) means 'up the hill', and *adverso flumine* (vii, 60, § 3) 'up the river', so *adversa nocte* means 'in the face of night', a translation which reminds one of Browning's famous line 'And into the midnight we galloped abreast'.

Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui dies **29** Many of the other ships wrecked.
maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit,
nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et 2
longas naves, [quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat,] quas Caesar in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat, et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas adflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur.
Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquae cum essent 3
funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. Neque 4
enim naves erant aliae quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui, et, quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum in his locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

29, § 1. *qui . . . consuevit.* This statement is not quite accurate. Off the Kentish coast the highest tides—spring tides, as they are called—occur $2\frac{1}{2}$ days after full moon.

nostrisque . . . incognitum. There will always remain a doubt whether Caesar did not know more than he chose to admit: the native skippers, who navigated his transports, which were of course Gallic vessels, could certainly have enlightened him.

§ 2. *et longas naves . . . adflictabat.* The difficulty presented by this passage is that no troops, so far as we know, had been carried in the galleys (*longas naves*), except artillerymen, archers, and slingers (25, § 1). Vielhaber deleted *quibus . . . curaverat*, and was therefore compelled to substitute *quas Caesar* for *quasque*. Meusel, who in his critical edition followed Vielhaber, afterwards adopted the emendation of Mommsen, who only deleted *longas* and *onerarias*. This emendation must, however, be rejected, because it implies that the transports—(naves) *onerarias*—were beached and that the galleys rode at anchor; whereas it is evident and is implied both in 24, § 2 and in v, 1, § 2 that the transports used in the expedition of 55 B.C. were too large to be beached, and that the galleys, which drew less water, were not. May we suppose that Caesar wrote (Ita uno tempore et) *longas naves, quas Caesar in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat, et onerarias, quibus exercitum transportandum curaverat quaeque ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas adflictabat*? If this conjecture, of which I am not at all enamoured, will not do, I fear that we must follow Vielhaber (*C. R.*, May, 1912, p. 93).

exercitum is here, as often, used of the infantry in contradistinction to the cavalry.

§ 4. *possent.* The subjunctive is used because *quibus* is equivalent to *tales ut iis*. Cf. i, 6, § 1.

et, quod . . . non erat. See the note on iii, 29, § 2 (*et*

The Britons prepare to renew hostilities.

30 Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui post
proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se conlocuti,
cum et equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse
intellegerent et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exi-
guitate cognoscerent, quae hoc erant etiam angustiora
quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transporta-
2 verat, optimum factu esse duxerunt rebellione facta
frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere et rem in
hiemem producere, quod his superatis aut reditu inter-
clusis neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britan-
niam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus coniu-
ratione facta paulatim ex castris discedere et suos
clam ex agris deducere coeperunt.

Caesar repairs most of his ships.

31 At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat,
tamen et ex eventu navium suarum et ex eo quod
obsides dare intermiserant fore id quod accidit sus-
2 picabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia com-
parabat. Nam et frumentum ex agris cotidie in
castra conferebat et, quae gravissime adflictae erant
naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas re-
ficiendas utebatur et quae ad eas res erant usui ex
3 continenti comportari iubebat. Itaque, cum summo
studio a militibus administraretur, XII navibus

. . . *non*). Any one can see that *neque, quod . . . provisum erat* would not do.

30, § 1. *sine impedimentis* need not be understood quite literally. Doubtless Caesar meant that he had taken no more baggage than was absolutely indispensable. For in vii, 10, § 1 he says that he 'left the heavy baggage of the whole army at Agedincum' (Sens); but 35, § 3 shows that he did take some with him.

§ 2. *rebellione.* See the second note on iii, 10, § 2.

coniuratione facta. H. J. Müller brackets these words. I see no reason for following his example. Remember that *rursus coniuratione facta* means 'they renewed their oaths of mutual fidelity'; and any one who has studied Celtic religion will admit that this is just what they would have done. If we were to translate *coniuratio* by 'conspiracy', the religious character of the agreement would be lost sight of.

31, § 2. *aere* here means 'bronze'.

eas res. Evidently Caesar was thinking not only of the repair of the hulls but of all the damage which had to be made good. See 29, § 3.

amissis, reliquis ut navigari ⟨satis⟩ commode posset effecit.

Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una **32** *The 7th legion attacked by cavalry and charioteers.*
frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur VII., neque
ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, cum
pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra
ventitaret, ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant
Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem maiorem quam consue-
tudo ferret in ea parte videri quam in partem legio
iter fecisset. Caesar—id quod erat—suspicatus ali- 2
quid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes quae
in statione erant secum in eam partem proficisci, ex
reliquis duas in stationem succedere, reliquas armari
et confestim sese subsequi iussit. Cum paulo longius 3
a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi atque
aegre sustinere et conferta legione ex omnibus par-
tibus tela coici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex 4
reliquis partibus demesso frumento pars una erat
reliqua, suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos
noctu in silvis delituerant; tum dispersos depositis 5
armis in metendo occupatos subito adorti paucis inter-
fectis reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul
equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes **33** *Tactics and skill of the charioteers.*
partes perequitant et tela coiciunt atque ipso terrore

§ 3. *satis*, which probably fell out of the text, was added by Rudolf Schneider. As the reader will see if he turns to 36, § 2, Caesar could only hope to make the ships tolerably seaworthy. Cf. i, 25, § 3; 39, § 6; iii, 13, § 6; 14, § 4.

32, § 1. *ex consuetudine* belongs more closely to *una*, which is emphasized, than to *missa*.

portis. The 'gates' were really openings, which could, on occasion, be barricaded. Cf. v, 50, § 5; vii, 41, § 4.

§ 2. *statione* is found only in *S*, the rest of the MSS. having *stationibus*; but, as *ii . . . in statione erant* and *duas in stationem succedere* show, it is probably right.

§ 5. *tum dispersos . . . circumdederant*. The officer who commanded the 7th legion had apparently forgotten to send out scouts; and it would seem that even the precaution of keeping some of the cohorts under arms was neglected (*A. B.*, p. 321).

33, § 1. *perequitant*. One of several instances in Caesar in which the subject of a verb is supplied from the context. Cf. v, 31, § 1; 40, § 1; vi, 9, § 1; vii, 79, § 3.

equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur.
2 Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus conlocant ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant.
3 Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu cotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi moderari ac flectere et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34 Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris [novitate pugnae]

cum se . . . proeliantur. Most editors assume that *equitum turmas* means 'the [Roman] troops of cavalry'; but General A. von Göler, with whom I agree, argues that the charioteers penetrated within the intervals of their own cavalry, who protected them when they were jumping down to fight on foot, 'just as nowadays cavalry protect the limbering up and unlimbering of the horse-artillery associated with them.' The reasons which he gives are that Caesar had no cavalry [or rather, only 30 troopers (35, § 1)] in this campaign, and that if the British warriors had penetrated between troops of hostile cavalry, they would not have been able to get on to the chariots again, as Caesar (§ 2) says that they did (*A. B.*, pp. 676–7). Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 205), followed by Meusel, conjectures that Caesar wrote not *equitum turmas* but *ordines.* He does not, however, offer any argument in support of this needless alteration or any theory to account for the presence in the MSS. of *equitum turmas.* Besides, any one who has read v, 16, § 2 will see that the charioteers would not have attacked unbroken legions.

§ 2. According to Tacitus (*Agricola*, 12), the drivers were higher in rank than the warriors, who were their retainers.

§ 3. *usu . . . exercitatione.* J. Lange (*N. J.*, cliii, 1896, p. 713) may be right in substituting *usu et cotidiana exercitatione.*

sustinere does not mean, as some editors with no practical experience explain, to 'check' the horses (which is here expressed by *moderari*), but 'to keep (them) in hand', so as to prevent their stumbling. I translate *ac tantum . . . consuerint* by 'they become so efficient from constant practice and training that they will drive their horses at full gallop, keeping them well in hand, down a steep incline, check and turn them in an instant', &c.

per temonem percurrere. This feat, as certain coins suggest (*A. B.*, p. 675), was performed not in order to show off, but in order to throw missiles at shorter range.

34, § 1. *perturbatis nostris* is, I believe, dative, but I am not sure: Schneider regards it as ablative.

The words *novitate pugnae* are certainly suspicious; but per-

55-54 B.C.

Caesar rescues the 7th legion.

tempore oportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque
eius adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore
receperunt. Quo facto, ad lacessendum hostem et 2
committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbi-
tratus suo se loco continuit et brevi tempore inter-
misso in castra legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, 3
nostris omnibus occupatis qui erant in agris reliqui
discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies 4
tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent et
hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios 5
in omnes partes dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum
militum suis praedicaverunt et quanta praedae fa-
ciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas
daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstra-
verunt. His rebus celeriter magna multitudine pedi-
tatus equitatusque coacta ad castra venerunt.

The Britons prepare for a final effort.

Caesar, etsi idem quod superioribus diebus acciderat **35**
fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate peri-
culum effugerent, tamen nactus equites circiter XXX,
quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum
transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit.
Commisso proelio diutius nostrorum militum impetum 2
hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt.

Their defeat and submission.

haps Meusel goes too far when he says (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 40) that, following *Quibus rebus*, they are impossible. Might not Caesar have added them by an afterthought to explain *Quibus rebus*? If they are genuine, they are of course a causal ablative. The Romans would not have been 'unnerved by these movements' if the tactics had not been new to them.

§ 3. *qui . . . reliqui.* These words are explained by two sentences in 30, § 2 and 32, § 1—*Itaque . . . coeperunt* and *cum pars . . . remaneret*—which show that during and after the attack on the 7th legion, and while the Roman soldiers were employed in various duties (*nostris omnibus occupatis*), those Britons who had not yet left their respective districts in order to rally round their leaders did so.

§ 4. *continerent.* See the note on 29, § 4 (*possent*).

35, § 1. *superioribus diebus* is perplexing, for Caesar has just said (34, § 4) that during *complures dies* stormy weather had 'prevented the enemy from attacking': unless there is some serious omission in the preceding narrative, one must conclude that *superioribus diebus* is a loose expression, denoting the day on which Caesar arrived in Britain. Cf. 26, § 5.

§ 2. *diutius.* See the note on iii, 9, § 5.

3 Quos tanto spatio secuti quantum cursu et viribus
efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt, deinde
omnibus longe lateque aedificiis incensis se in castra
receperunt.

Caesar and his army return to Gaul.

36 Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem
2 de pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum
quem ante imperaverat duplicavit eosque in conti-
nentem adduci iussit, quod propinqua die aequinoctii
infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subiciendam non
3 existimabat. Ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus paulo
4 post mediam noctem naves solvit, quae omnes inco-
lumes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex iis onera-
riae duae eosdem portus quos reliquae capere non
potuerunt et paulo infra delatae sunt.

Two transports fail to reach harbour: the troops which they carried attacked by the

37 Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites cir-
citer CCC atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos
Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat,
spe praedae adducti primo non ita magno suorum
numero circumsteterunt ac, si sese interfici nollent,
2 arma ponere iusserunt. Cum illi orbe facto sese
defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter

§ 3. *Quos . . . secuti.* Perhaps we ought with Gertz to supply *nostri* after *quos*.

tanto spatio . . . potuerunt. *Efficere* means 'to accomplish'; and Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 281) aptly refers to *B. C.*, iii, 102, § 1, —*quantum cumque itineris equitatu efficere poterat, cotidie progrediebatur.* I translate the words by 'as far as their speed and endurance would permit.'

36, § 3. *naves solvit.* See the note on 23, § 1.

§ 4. *onerariae duae . . . delatae sunt.* These two ships, which perhaps were in worse condition than the rest, kept a little too far out to sea, and thus failed to make the mouth of the Liane, —the entrance to the harbour of Boulogne.

37, § 2. *orbe* is here a technical military term. Obviously it does not denote a perfect circle; and a friend of mine, a very able officer of the Royal Artillery, suggests that it means an irregular figure, approximating more or less closely to a circle or oval; for, as he points out, to dress the line properly, with the enemy pressing on to attack, would have been impossible (*C. G.*, p. 728).

ad clamorem,—'on hearing the uproar'. The sense of *ad* here is 'at', that is to say 'in consequence of'. Cf. R. Southey, *Joan of Arc*, vi, 50,—'At their voice He drew the strong bolts back.'

Morini, who are repulsed.

milia VI convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata, Caesar om-
nem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim 3
nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt atque
amplius horis IIII fortissime pugnaverunt et paucis
vulneribus acceptis complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea 4
vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes
abiectis armis terga verterunt magnusque eorum nu-
merus est occisus.

Punishment of the Morini and Menapii: thanksgiving service at Rome.

Caesar postero die T. Labienum legatum cum iis **38**
legionibus quas ex Britannia reduxerat in Morinos
qui rebellionem fecerant misit. Qui cum propter 2
siccitates paludum quo se reciperent non haberent,
quo perfugio superiore anno erant usi, omnes fere in
potestatem Labieni venerunt. At Q. Titurius et 3
L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones
duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis
succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in
densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem rece-
perunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna 4
constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia
obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus 5
gestis ex litteris Caesaris dierum XX supplicatio a
senatu decreta est.

omnem . . . equitatum,—'all the [available] cavalry', namely, those who had sailed for Britain but had been obliged to return (ch. 28) and those who had presumably been left with Sulpicius (22, § 6). The rest must have been assigned to Sabinus and Cotta (22, § 5, with which cf. 12, § 1).

C. IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS QUINTUS

Ships designed for a second invasion of Britain.

1 L. Domitio, Ap. Claudio consulibus discedens ab
hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere con-
suerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus praefecerat,
uti quam plurimas possint hieme naves aedificandas
2 veteresque reficiendas curent. Earum modum for-
mamque demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi sub-
ductionesque paulo facit humiliores quam quibus in
nostro mari uti consuevimus, atque id eo magis quod
propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos
ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat; ad onera ac multitudinem
iumentorum transportandam paulo latiores quam
3 quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. Has omnes actua-
rias imperat fieri, quam ad rem multum humilitas

1, § 1. *L. Domitio . . . consulibus.* The consuls entered upon office on January 1, 700 (54 B. C.): therefore Caesar was unusually late in leaving the winter quarters of his army, though it must not be forgotten that the calendar was then in advance of the real time.

possint. I adopt Meusel's emendation instead of the MS. reading *possent.* See the note on iii, 11, § 5 (*possit*).

§ 2. *subductionesque.* Ciacconius's emendation—*subductionisque*—is surely needless. The heavy native ships, which Caesar had used in 55 B. C., could hardly be beached at all, and therefore there would have been no point in writing *ad celeritatem subductionis.* If Caesar had written this, he would have meant 'To enable them to be loaded and beached rapidly'; but what he meant was 'To enable them to be loaded rapidly and hauled up on shore'.

propter crebras . . . fieri. This is not the true explanation. The comparative smallness of the waves in the Channel is due to the shallowness of the water and its contraction within narrow limits.

in reliquis . . . maribus,—in the various arms of the Mediterranean, which had their several names, *Hadriaticum mare, sinus Ligusticus,* &c.

§ 3. *actuariae naves,* as one might infer from the words *quam . . . adiuvat,* were constructed both for rowing and sailing. See Cecil Torr's *Ancient Ships,* 1895, pp. 105–6.

imperat fieri. Caesar only uses *impero* with the infinitive in

adiuvat. Ea quae sunt usui ad armandas naves ex 4
Hispania adportari iubet. Ipse conventibus Galliae 5
citerioris peractis in Illyricum proficiscitur, quod a
Pirustis finitimam partem provinciae incursionibus
vastari audiebat. Eo cum venisset, civitatibus milites 6
imperat certumque in locum convenire iubet. Qua 7
re nuntiata Pirustae legatos ad eum mittunt, qui
doceant nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio;
seseque paratos esse demonstrant omnibus rationibus
de iniuriis satis facere. Percepta oratione eorum 8
Caesar obsides imperat eosque ad certam diem adduci
iubet; nisi ita fecerint, sese bello civitatem persecu-
turum demonstrat. Iis ad diem adductis, ut impera- 9
verat, arbitros inter civitates dat, qui litem aestiment
poenamque constituant.

Caesar in Illyricum.

His confectis rebus conventibusque peractis, in **2**
citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum
proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, circumitis omnibus 2
hibernis, singulari militum studio in summa omnium
rerum inopia circiter DC eius generis cuius supra
demonstravimus naves et longas XXVIII invenit in-
structas neque multum abesse ab eo quin paucis

54 B.C. The ships assemble in the Itian harbour.

the case of passive and deponent verbs, except in one instance (*B. C.*, iii, 42, § 2), where an active and a passive are associated, —*Eo partem navium longarum convenire, frumentum . . . comportari imperat*; and in this case, as Meusel remarks in a note on the passage, he would probably have written *iubet* if he had remembered that *convenire* preceded.

§ 4. *Ea . . . iubet.* The esparto grass of Spain was in great demand for making ropes. The iron and copper required for anchors and other purposes were, I suppose, fetched from the mines of Gaul. Cf. iii, 21, § 3; iv, 31, § 2; vii, 22, § 2.

§ 7. *demonstrant.* If the MS. reading is correct, the subject must be *Pirustae*; but as Meusel thinks it unlikely that *seseque . . . satis facere* was not part of the apology (*doceant*, &c.) which the envoys were charged to give, he substitutes *demonstrent.* Perhaps he is right; but put the text into English and see whether it is not defensible:—'The Pirustae . . . sent envoys to tell him that the authorities were not responsible for anything that had occurred, and declared themselves ready to make full reparation.'

satis facere. See the note on i, 44, § 4.

2, § 2. *cuius* is explained by what grammarians call an ellipsis. Caesar meant *cuius generis naves.*

neque multum abesse . . . possint—'and that it was not far

3 diebus deduci possint. Conlaudatis militibus atque iis qui negotio praefuerant, quid fieri velit ostendit atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire iubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam traiectum esse cognoverat, circiter milium passuum XXX [transmissum] a continenti: huic rei quod satis esse visum

Caesar visits the Treveri.

4 est militum relinquit. Ipse cum legionibus expeditis IIII et equitibus DCCC in fines Treverorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant neque imperio parebant Germanosque Transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

Cingetorix and Indutiomarus.

3 Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu valet magnasque habet copias peditum Rhenum-

2 que, ut supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutiomarus

from the possibility of their being launched in a few days'—means in plain English 'and [that they] would be ready for launching in a few days'. After *ab eo* one might expect *ut*; but *ab eo* does not affect the construction, the negative requiring *quin*. See Schneider's note. If any one will ponder the passage, he will see that the thought is rather loosely expressed. Caesar would perhaps have made his meaning clearer—to a beginner—if he had either omitted *paucis diebus* or written (as in iii, 18, § 4) *neque longius abesse quin paucis diebus*, &c.

§ 3. *transmissum.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 66) is, I have no doubt, right in deleting this as a gloss upon *traiectum*.

§ 4. *expeditis.* See the note on ii, 19, § 2.

quod hi . . . parebant. Three years before, the Treveri had sent a body of cavalry to assist Caesar in his campaign against the Belgae; but they had deserted in the battle with the Nervii, and, as Caesar says (ii, 24, § 5), 'told their countrymen that the Romans were disastrously defeated.' Unless he recalled them to obedience, it was probable that while he was in Britain Gauls and Germans would raise a rebellion in his rear.

concilia. In the spring of every year Caesar convened a diet of the Gallic chieftains, partly perhaps to test their temper, partly to fix the strength of the cavalry contingents which their respective tribes were to provide. Cf. iv, 6, § 5; v, 24, § 1; vi, 3, § 4.

Transrhenanos is added in order to show that the Belgic tribes—the Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, Paemani, and Segni—whom Caesar called Germans (ii, 4, § 10; vi, 32, § 1), are not meant.

3, § 1. *totius Galliae.* See the note on i, 3, § 7.

§ 2. *principatu.* It is doubtful whether in this passage *principatus* means, as in vi, 8, § 9, 'the chief magistracy' or simply unofficial supremacy.

et Cingetorix; ex quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris 3
legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit, se
suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia
populi Romani defecturos confirmavit quaeque in
Treveris gererentur ostendit. At Indutiomarus equi- 4
tatum peditatumque cogere, iisque qui per aetatem
in armis esse non poterant in silvam Arduennam
abditis, quae ingenti magnitudine per medios fines
Treverorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum
pertinet, bellum parare instituit; sed postea quam 5
non nulli principes ex ea civitate et familiaritate
Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus per-
territi ad Caesarem venerunt et de suis privatis rebus
ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere
non possent, veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur,
legatos ad Caesarem mittit: sese idcirco ab suis 6
discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse quo facilius
civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis
discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur; itaque 7
civitatem in sua potestate esse, seque, si Caesar per-
mitteret, ad eum in castra venturum et suas civitatis-
que fortunas eius fidei permissurum.

Caesar, etsi intellegebat qua de causa ea dicerentur **4**
quaeque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret,
tamen, ne aestatem in Treveris consumere cogeretur
omnibus rebus ad Britannicum bellum comparatis,
Indutiomarum ad se cum CC obsidibus venire iussit.
His adductis, in iis filio propinquisque eius omnibus, 2
quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum
hortatusque est uti in officio maneret; nihilo tamen 3
setius principibus Treverorum ad se convocatis hos

§ 4. *Arduennam.* Our 'Forest of Arden' in Warwickshire shows another form of the word.

§ 5. *principes* seems to mean simply 'leading men'. Cf. the note on i, 3, § 5 (*principatum*).

familiaritate. The reading of β, which may be right, is *auctoritate.*

quoniam here takes the subjunctive because Caesar is not stating the reason merely as his own, but as present in the minds of the conspirators.

§ 7. *fidei.* See the note on ii, 3, § 2.

singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit; quod cum merito
eius ab se fieri intellegebat, tum magni interesse
arbitrabatur eius auctoritatem inter suos quam plu-
rimum valere cuius tam egregiam in se voluntatem
4 perspexisset. Id factum graviter tulit Indutiomarus,
suam gratiam inter suos minui, et qui iam ante ini-
mico in nos animo fuisset multo gravius hoc dolore
exarsit.

Caesar repairs to the Itian harbour.

5 His rebus constitutis Caesar ad portum Itium cum
2 legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit LX naves, quae
in Meldis factae erant, tempestate reiectas cursum
tenere non potuisse atque eodem, unde erant profectae,
revertisse; reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque
3 omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem equitatus
totius Galliae convenit, numero milia IIII, principes-
4 que ex omnibus civitatibus; ex quibus perpaucos,
quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia,
reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere decreverat, quod,
cum ipse abesset, motum Galliae verebatur.

Intrigues of Dumnorix.

6 Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Haeduus, de quo
ante a nobis dictum est. Hunc secum habere in
primis constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum no-

4, § 3. *cuius . . . perspexisset.* See the note on i, 36, § 4.

§ 4. *suam . . . minui.* If, as I believe, these words are genuine, they explain and are in apposition with *Id* (cf. i, 7, § 1); but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 36–7) brackets them.

5, § 1. *Caesar . . . pervenit.* Caesar left Blandeno in Cisalpine Gaul about the 30th of April (of the Julian calendar) and, after the movements described in ch. 2–4, arrived at Portus Itius about the 11th of June. He had therefore posted across Gaul at the rate of 50 miles a day or more; and there is no more conclusive proof of the hold which he had already obtained upon the Gallic tribes than the fact that he was able to count, as securely as in Italy, upon finding horses ready for each successive stage (*A. B.*, pp. 329, 727).

§ 2. *factae erant . . . erant profectae.* The first *erant* is intelligible enough, for the clause *quae . . . erant* is not part of the Oratio Obliqua. The second is explained by grammarians in the same way; but to my mind the explanation is, by itself, hardly sufficient, for *unde erant profectae* seems at first sight inseparable from *eodem*, which *is* part of the Oratio Obliqua. Probably Caesar, having written *eodem*, added *unde erant profectae* (which is not dependent upon *cognoscit*) to make his meaning clear. Cf. iii, 2, § 1.

§ 3. *principes.* See the first note on 3, § 5.

varum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnae inter
Gallos auctoritatis cognoverat. Accedebat huc quod 2
in concilio Haeduorum Dumnorix dixerat sibi a Cae-
sare regnum civitatis deferri; quod dictum Haedui
graviter ferebant neque recusandi aut deprecandi
causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant. Id
factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat. Ille 3
omnibus primo precibus petere contendit ut in Gallia
relinqueretur, partim quod insuetus navigandi mare
timeret, partim quod religionibus impediri sese diceret.
Postea quam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe 4
impetrandi adempta, principes Galliae sollicitare,
sevocare singulos hortarique coepit ut in continenti
remanerent; [metu territare:] non sine causa fieri, ut 5
Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur; id esse consilium
Caesaris ut quos in conspectu Galliae interficere
vereretur hos omnes in Britanniam traductos necaret;
fidem reliquis interponere, ius iurandum poscere ut 6

6, § 2. *dixerat . . . deferri.* Various writers have suggested that Caesar really had made this offer to Dumnorix, in order to purchase his support. It seems to me more likely that Dumnorix had made the statement in order to exasperate the Aedui against Caesar. Still, Caesar may have thrown out some vague hint which led him to expect that if he proved himself loyal he would be rewarded.

neque. See the note on i, 47, § 1.

hospitibus. See the note on i, 47, § 4 (*hospitio*).

§ 3. *quod insuetus . . . timeret.* See the note on i, 6, § 3. The explanation of *diceret*, as the reader will understand, if he thinks, is different. The subjunctive is here, strictly speaking, illogical: the verb is, as it were, attracted into the subjunctive from that verb to which the subjunctive properly belongs: in other words, *partim quod . . . diceret* is equivalent to *partim quod, ut dicebat, religionibus impediretur.* Cf. i, 39, § 3.

religionibus means 'religious obligations'.

§ 5. *metu territare.* Somewhat doubtfully I follow Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 46) in bracketing these words, which are wanting in β. He thinks that if Caesar had written them, they would have immediately followed *sollicitare*; and he regards them as due to a marginal note, intended to epitomize *non sine causa . . . necaret.*

nobilitate. See the second note on i, 31, § 6.

§ 6. *fidem.* Not *suam*, which Caesar would have expressed, as in 36, § 2, but *reliquorum*: he 'interposed their pledged word' as a bar to their leaving Gaul; in other words, he made them promise to stay. Doberenz-Dinter are surely wrong in

quod esse ex usu Galliae intellexissent communi consilio administrarent. Haec a compluribus ad Caesarem deferebantur.

The fleet weather-bound.

7 Qua re cognita Caesar, quod tantum civitati Haeduae dignitatis tribuebat, coercendum atque deterrendum, quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem
2 statuebat ⟨et,⟩ quod longius eius amentiam progredi videbat, prospiciendum ne quid sibi ac rei publicae
3 nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter XXV in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit, dabat operam ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, nihilo tamen setius omnia eius
4 consilia cognosceret; tandem idoneam nactus tempestatem milites equitesque conscendere naves iubet.

The fate of Dumnorix.

5 At omnium animis impeditis Dumnorix cum equitibus Haeduorum a castris insciente Caesare domum dis-
6 cedere coepit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar, intermissa profectione atque omnibus rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendum mittit retrahi-

taking *reliquis* as meaning all except Dumnorix himself, that is to say, all those with whom he had intrigued: it is opposed to *principes* (§ 4).

7, § 2. *et.* Prammer is probably right in believing that the conjunction, which is wanting in the MSS., was in the archetype.

§ 3. *commoratus* is not exactly equivalent to the present participle. As Madvig says (*Lat. Gr.*, § 431. b), the past participle of deponents is often used 'to indicate the motive, occasion [as here], or manner of the main action'.—'For about twenty-five days . . . he was kept waiting. . . . Accordingly he did his best to keep Dumnorix steady,' &c.

Corus ventus may be translated by 'the north-west wind'; but as the ancients had no compasses, they could not tell with mathematical precision the point from which the wind was blowing. In Caesar's time the circle from any point of which the wind may blow was divided into twelve equal parts; and accordingly the wind called *Corus* may have blown from any quarter between NW. and W. by N. $\frac{1}{3}$ N. (*A. B.*, p. 555, n. 2).

§ 5. *cum equitibus Haeduorum.* In 58 B.C. Dumnorix had commanded the Aeduan cavalry which served under Caesar; and apparently he did so still. Why Caesar accepted or employed as commander of this allied force a man whom he so thoroughly distrusted, we do not know; probably he was unwilling to provoke him to open opposition until he felt able to get rid of him.

§ 6. *retrahi.* See the note on 1, § 3 (*imperat fieri*).

que imperat; si vim faciat neque pareat, interfici 7
iubet, nihil hunc se absente pro sano facturum arbi-
tratus qui praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille enim 8
revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque
fidem implorare coepit, saepe clamitans liberum se
liberaeque esse civitatis. Illi, ut erat imperatum, 9
circumsistunt hominem atque interficiunt; at equites
Haedui ad Caesarem omnes revertuntur.

The voyage to Britain.

His rebus gestis Labieno in continenti cum III **8**
legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto, ut
portus tueretur et rei frumentariae provideret quae-
que in Gallia gererentur cognosceret consiliumque
pro tempore et pro re caperet, ipse cum V legionibus 2
et pari numero equitum, quem in continenti relin-
quebat, ad solis occasum naves solvit. Et leni Africo
provectus media circiter nocte vento intermisso cur-
sum non tenuit et longius delatus aestu orta luce

§ 7. *neglexisset.* See the note on i, 36, § 4.

§ 8. *enim.* Not without hesitation I retain the MS. reading instead of *autem*, which occurs in an inferior MS. and in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*. In several passages some MSS. have *autem*, others *enim*. Some editors explain *enim* by an ellipsis; and the following translation of *nihil . . . resistere* will show what they mean:—'for he thought that a man who disregarded his authority when he was present would not behave rationally in his absence. [And he was right in so thinking;] *for* when called upon to return he resisted', &c. Sometimes, however, as Schneider points out, *enim* means much the same as *scilicet*, and so here it would be equivalent to 'as might have been expected' (from what has been said before about his character). But connecting particles are often used in Greek and Latin when a good English writer would use none; and the best way of translating *enim* (or *autem*) here would be to ignore it.

§ 9. *hominem.* The word here shows animosity, while in 58, § 6, as we shall see, *hominis* implies admiration. *Circumsistunt hominem* might be translated by 'surrounded the fellow'.

8, § 1. *portus.* The plural shows that in 54, as in 55 B.C. (iv, 22, § 4), Caesar found it convenient to keep more than one harbour under control.

§ 2. *Africo* must be translated by 'south-west wind', and is so called because it was the most favourable wind for ships sailing from Carthage to Sicily. It may have blown from any point between SW. and W. by S. ½ S. See the second note on 7, § 3.

aestu. Caesar was carried out of his course (*delatus*) by the flood tide, the general direction of which was ENE. On the

3 sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum
rursus aestus commutationem secutus remis conten-
dit ut eam partem insulae caperet qua optimum esse
4 egressum superiore aestate cognoverat. Qua in re
admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis
gravibusque navigiis non intermisso remigandi labore
5 longarum navium cursum adaequaverint. Accessum
est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere
6 tempore, neque in eo loco hostis est visus; sed, ut
postea Caesar ex captivis cognovit, cum magnae

night of the 6th of July (of the Julian calendar)—the date on which, as we may infer from Cicero's correspondence, Caesar most probably sailed (*A. B.*, pp. 728–30)—the stream began to run up the Channel about ten o'clock; for it turned westward again (§ 3) soon after daybreak (*A. B.*, p. 658).

sub sinistra . . . conspexit. As Caesar was drifting towards the North Sea, he saw the white cliffs of East Kent (see the first note on 9, § 1) receding on the port quarter (*sub sinistra*).

§ 3. *aestus . . . contendit.* The Romans had a system of naval signalling, and either by this means or by oral instructions conveyed from vessel to vessel the order was given to go about and run down with the stream. If the ebb tide had served throughout, it would not have been necessary to row hard in order that the whole fleet should reach Britain before noon. In *A. B.*, pp. 655–9, I have shown that so long as it was possible to follow the tide, the work of the rowers was easy, but that when, probably not far from the spot where the South Sand Head Light Vessel is moored, the ships' heads were turned in the direction of Sandwich, they encountered a cross-current setting towards the south-west.

ut . . . cognoverat does not necessarily mean that Caesar intended to land at exactly the same place at which he had landed in the preceding year. See the first note on 9, § 1.

§ 4. *vectoriis . . . navigiis.* I do not know whether Kraner is right in taking these ablatives as absolute. Their sense is concessive; but are they not also instrumental?

adaequaverint. The reading of *a* is *adaequarunt*, which Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 377) rejects, because Caesar rarely, if ever, uses the form *-arunt* (the very few passages in which the MSS. present this form are not improbably corrupt): *β* has *adaequaverint*, which is rather suspicious, because Caesar nowhere else uses the perfect subjunctive in causal relative sentences. Accordingly Meusel conjectures that he wrote *adaequaverunt.* I adopt the reading of *β*, because it seems to me probable that *qui vectoriis* &c. gives the reason for *admodum . . . laudanda*; and if so, the subjunctive is required. May we suppose that the right reading is *adaequarent*?

§ 6. *cum* is used here in the sense which grammarians call 'concessive'. Any one who reads the sentence carefully will

manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritae, quae cum annotinis privatisque, quas sui quisque commodi causa fecerat, amplius DCCC uno erant visae tempore, a litore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

Caesar exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo **9** capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit quo in loco hostium copiae consedissent, cohortibus X ad mare relictis et

Caesar marches inland, defeats the Britons,

understand why they have chosen this word. But instead of translating *cum* by 'though', which would here be clumsy, it would be better to bring out the meaning of the long Latin sentence (§§ 5–6) in this way:—'The ships all reached Britain about midday, but no enemy was visible: large numbers, as Caesar found out afterwards from prisoners, had assembled at the spot, but, alarmed,' &c.

privatisque . . . fecerat. These vessels presumably belonged to merchants who had dealings with the troops (see p. lxv) or to adventurers who had been attracted by delusive stories about the wealth of Britain. Cf. Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 47; Cicero, *Att.*, iv, 16, § 7; 18, § 5.

DCCC is nominative. See the note on i, 38, § 5.

superiora loca,—the high ground near Canterbury, north of the Great Stour. See the note on *Illi equitatu . . . munitum* (9, §§ 3–4).

9, § 1. *loco . . . capto.* It has been shown in the note on iv, 23, § 6 that Caesar landed in 55 B.C. between Walmer and Deal. He unquestionably landed in the same 'part of the island' (v, 8, § 3)—that is to say, in East Kent—in 54; for it is incredible that he should have landed in 55 on one side, and in 54 on the other side of the South Foreland; and before his fleet hove in sight in 54 the Britons assembled in great force to oppose his landing (8, § 6), which shows that they felt sure that he would attempt to land at or near the place where he had landed the year before (*A. B.*, pp. 603–4). But most probably the place was not exactly the same. As we shall presently see (§§ 2–3), on the morning after the disembarkation Caesar fought an action on the banks of the Great Stour about 12 miles from his camp, and the camp must therefore have been in the neighbourhood of Sandwich. Moreover, Caesar tells us (§ 1) that when he quitted the camp he felt little anxiety for his ships, as he was leaving them at anchor on a nice open shore; and, although no other commentator has noticed the fact, any one can see that he was here excusing himself for not having hauled his ships ashore, notwithstanding the severe lesson which the storm of the previous year had given him (iv, 29), by the plea that he had selected a more favourable anchorage. The anchorage in the Small Downs is much more secure than in the Downs (*A. B.*, pp. 664–5).

cohortibus X were equivalent to one legion; but as Caesar does not say *una legione*, we may infer that the cohorts were selected from the five legions.

and captures a stronghold.

equitibus CCC, qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatas ad ancoras relinquebat. Ei praesidio navibusque Q. Atrium
2 praefecit. Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum cir-
3 citer XII hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et proelium committere
4 coeperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum,

litore . . . aperto means 'a nice open shore'. *Mollis* denotes a shore where the anchorage was good, and where the ships, if they were driven aground, would suffer comparatively little. I do not think that Schneider is right in arguing that *mollis* should be translated by 'gently sloping', though that meaning is doubtless implied. Professor J. P. Postgate, who agrees with me, has kindly referred me to a passage in Ovid (*Ep. ex Ponto*, i, 2, 61-2)—

Cum subit Augusti quae sit clementia, credo
M o l l i a naufragiis litora posse dari—

which seems to justify my explanation. Professor Postgate remarks that while *aperto* describes the approach to the shore, which was not blocked by rocks, *mollis* connotes both a gentle slope and a soft surface (*A. B.*, pp. 628-30). Caesar, in his anxiety to march against the Britons, took the risk of not hauling his ships up on shore, an operation which would have consumed valuable time. See the note on *loco . . . capto*. But he made a mistake, which cost him dear. See ch. 10-11.

Ei is a correction, proposed by Kraffert, of the unsatisfactory MS. reading *et*.

§ 2. *circiter* is omitted in β.

§§ 3-4. *Illi equitatu . . . munitum.* As Caesar landed between Walmer and Sandwich, the river behind which the Britons were posted must have been either the Great Stour or the Little Stour. The Little Stour above Bekesbourne is now generally dry; but after prolonged heavy rains there may be plenty of water. In May, 1902, I walked along the bank, and there was not a teaspoonful in the channel: in April, 1904, the stream was running strongly past Barham. It may therefore have been a *flumen* in 54 B. C., though we must not forget that both in 55 and 54 the summer, at all events in Gaul, was exceptionally dry (iv, 38, § 2; v, 24, § 1). Nevertheless Caesar did not encounter the Britons on the Little Stour. The *locus superior* which he mentions was either the left bank of the stream or high ground near the left bank. Now even at Bekesbourne the dry channel of the Little Stour is only about two feet deep; and although there are well-defined heights on the left bank between Barham and Bridge, the lowest slopes, except opposite Kingston and for a short space on either side of it, are at a considerable distance from the channel. If

quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa iam ante
praeparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes 5
introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari pro- 6
pugnabant nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi pro-
hibebant. At milites legionis VII., testudine facta 7
et aggere ad munitiones adiecto, locum ceperunt
eosque ex silvis expulerunt paucis vulneribus acceptis.
Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et 8
quod loci naturam ignorabat et quod magna parte
diei consumpta munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui
volebat.

Caesar had crossed (as Colonel Stoffel believed) at or near Kingston, the Britons could have opposed him more effectually when he was ascending Barham Downs than by attempting to defend the passage of the rivulet. And since he would in any case be obliged to cross the Great Stour, is it not obvious that they would have waited for him behind the river, which might fairly be called an obstacle, rather than on the banks of the streamlet, which an active lad could have jumped? If, as I believe, he marched along the line of the Roman road from Sandwich to Canterbury, he crossed the Little Stour at Littlebourne, where it is wider: but Littlebourne is barely 9 miles from Sandwich; and Caesar had marched about 12 Roman miles when he first saw the British troops. Deal is about this distance from Littlebourne; but in the note on § 1 I have given reasons for believing that Caesar had encamped some miles north of Deal; and on the left bank of the Little Stour near Littlebourne there is no trace of a British camp.

The Great Stour, below Fordwich, would have been impassable in Caesar's time in the face of an enemy; for it flowed through a broad morass. It appears to me that he must have crossed it either between Fordwich and Sturry, or in the neighbourhood of Thanington, just above Canterbury, or possibly at Canterbury itself; and I am sure that any one who will carefully examine the ground will agree with me. The stronghold to which the Britons retreated was probably a camp in Bigbury woods, about a mile and a half west of Canterbury, of which traces still exist; and it therefore seems most likely that Caesar forced the passage of the river between Canterbury and Thanington (*A. B.*, pp. 335-7, 678-85).

§ 6. *propugnabant*, coupled with *ex silvis*, implies that the scattered groups fought by throwing missiles. Cf. vii, 86, § 4 (*Multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant*).

prohibebant, as the context shows, means 'tried to prevent'.

§ 7. *aggere* may here be translated by 'lumber': it does not mean 'an *agger*', or terrace. Probably the work of piling the lumber was performed by men who advanced between the files under the protection of their comrades' uplifted shields (*A. B.*, p. 337).

§ 8. *eos* is governed by *vetuit*, not by *prosequi*.

The second ship-wreck.

10 Postridie eius diei mane tripertito milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos qui fugerant perseque-
2 rentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, cum iam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Q. Atrio ad Caesarem venerunt, qui nuntiarent superiore nocte maxima coorta tempestate prope omnes naves adflictas atque in litus eiectas esse, quod neque ancorae funesque subsisterent neque nautae gubernatoresque vim
3 tempestatis pati possent; itaque ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

Caesar returns to the coast,

11 His rebus cognitis Caesar legiones equitatumque revocari [atque in itinere resistere] iubet, ipse ad

10, § 1. *in expeditionem misit* does not mean 'sent on an expedition'. As Schneider says, we may infer from viii, 8, § 3 that *expeditio* is equivalent to *iter a militibus expeditis suscipiendum.* The words might be translated by 'sent a light force'.

§ 2. *cum iam . . . prospectu.* Meusel, like Schneider, explains these words as meaning 'when the rear *of the enemy* was just in sight'. But Caesar was not present with any of the three Roman columns: therefore, if Meusel's explanation is right, he must have ascertained afterwards that the rear of the fugitives was just visible to his troops at the very moment when he himself, separated from the troops, received the news of the shipwreck. This seems to me impossible. Meusel, however, insists that his explanation is proved by the word *iam*, and that if Caesar had meant that the rearguard of his own troops was in sight, he would have written, not *iam* but *tantum* (only) or *etiam tum.* Mr. A. G. Peskett (*C. R.*, 1908, p. 94), who agrees with me, remarks that 'the omission in Latin of the (to us) necessary qualifying word "only" is easily defensible'. If this explanation is inadmissible, I can only suppose that Caesar wrote *tantum*, not *iam* (*A. B.*, pp. 686–7; *J. B.*, 1911, p. 100).

subsisterent. Somewhat doubtfully I retain the MS. reading instead of *sustinerent*, the reading of the first printed edition, which Meusel adopts. He remarks (*J. B.*, 1886, p. 292) that in Caesar *subsisto* means 'to halt' or 'to stand firm', and is not used of things. But Schneider is perhaps justified in saying *Quemadmodum homines subsistere dicuntur cum pedem . . . aliquo in loco defigunt . . . ita hoc loco ancorae et funes locum suum firmiter tenentes.*

gubernatores. See the note on iii, 9, § 1.

11, § 1. *atque . . . resistere.* The reading of β is *atque itinere desistere*, which, following *revocari*, is both superfluous and out of place. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 50–1; 1911, p. 100), remarking that *in itinere resistere* can only mean 'to defend themselves as they marched', argues that if Caesar had meant this, he would have added some such phrase as *si ab hostibus impetus fieret*, and that, as the enemy were in full retreat, no attack was to be feared. I have no doubt that the enemy would have regarded

naves revertitur; eadem fere quae ex nuntiis [litteris- 2
que] cognoverat coram perspicit, sic ut amissis cir-
citer XL navibus reliquae tamen refici posse magno
negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus fabros 3
deligit et ex continenti alios arcessi iubet; Labieno 4
scribit ut quam plurimas possit iis legionibus quae
sint apud eum naves instituat. Ipse, etsi res erat 5
multae operae ac laboris, tamen commodissimum esse
statuit omnes naves subduci et cum castris una
munitione coniungi. In his rebus circiter dies X 6
consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem

repairs damage, constructs a naval camp, and marches back inland.

the recall of the legions as a sign of fear; but I agree with Meusel that the passage is suspicious. See *A. B.*, pp. 687–8.

§ 2. *litterisque.* β omits *que.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 38) thinks that a reader who took *nuntiis* in the sense of 'messages' (not 'messengers') wrote *litteris* in the margin or above *nuntiis* by way of explanation, and that the writer of the archetype of α added *que* to make sense. Accordingly Meusel deletes *litteris*, remarking that Atrius would not have wasted time in writing a full report. Granted; but such a report as Caesar has himself given in 10, §§ 2–3 could have been written in 3 minutes; and it is not improbable that Atrius wrote it and that the messengers gave fuller details orally. Still, *litterisque* is open to suspicion.

reliquae . . . viderentur. I am inclined to believe that Meusel is right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *reliquae refici posse, magno tamen negotio viderentur.* If the MS. reading is right, *tamen* is used, as in i, 32, § 5, in what is called a concessive sense, and means 'at any rate' or 'at least'.

§ 3. *fabros.* See p. lxiv and *C. G.*, p. 579.

deligit. β has *deligi.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 339) says that if Caesar returned with the legions to the fleet, *deligit* is probable; but that if he returned alone, *deligi* is necessary. Surely not, if, as is likely, the legions returned in the course of the day. Caesar certainly returned alone; for even if the words *atque in itinere resistere* (§ 1) are spurious, *ipse . . . revertitur* shows that he did not wait for the legions.

§ 4. *naves instituat.* These ships were undoubtedly built in the dockyards at Gesoriacum (Boulogne); for there could have been no appliances for ship-building at Wissant. But this is not enough to prove that Labienus's camp was at Boulogne, though most probably it was (*A. B.*, p. 584; *C. G.*, p. 434).

§ 6. Schneider apparently takes *ad* as equivalent to *quod attinet ad* ('as regards'): I believe with Meusel (*L. C.*, i, 138) that its force is final, and that the literal meaning is 'not even the hours of night being left out with a view to'—that is, 'which could be devoted to'—(the work). We should say 'the troops not suspending work even in the night'.

7 militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque
egregie munitis, easdem copias quas ante praesidio
navibus relinquit, ipse eodem unde redierat proficis-
8 citur. Eo cum venisset, maiores iam undique in eum
locum copiae Britannorum convenerant summa imperii
bellique administrandi communi consilio permissa
Cassivellauno, cuius fines a maritimis civitatibus
flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari cir-
9 citer milia passuum LXXX. Huic superiore tempore
cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesse-
rant; sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti
bello imperioque praefecerant.

The Britons reinforced and assembled under Cassivellaunus.

§ 7. *subductis navibus.* Ships were generally beached for the winter, in order to prevent their timbers from rotting. Caesar's were doubtless moved in the usual way,—by capstans over greased logs, which the Romans called *phalangae.* Can any reader suggest what became of these ships—800 or more—which Caesar, as far as we know, never used again?

§ 8. *cuius fines . . . LXXX.* Caesar means, I suppose, that the distance from the place where he landed to the eastern frontier of Cassivellaunus's kingdom was about 80 miles. Meusel argues that Caesar could not have written these words: but in fact he only brackets *a mari . . . LXXX*; and his argument leaves me unconvinced. He urges that the passage could only make sense if the Thames had flowed from north to south instead of from west to east, for it did not really separate the territories of Cassivellaunus from those of the maritime tribes, namely, the tribes of the south-east. Moreover, he argues, a later statement (18, § 1)—*Caesar . . . ad flumen Tamesim in fines Cassivellauni exercitum ducit*—proves that the Thames flowed *through* the territories of Cassivellaunus, and therefore did not separate them from those of the maritime tribes. Surely the passage means 'Caesar led his army to the Thames, into the territory of Cassivellaunus',—i. e. to the Thames, after crossing which he would find himself in the territory of Cassivellaunus. Caesar knew nothing about the upper Thames; but any one who looks at the map and notices the sharp north-eastward bend which the river makes from Weybridge to London will see that he might very well have said that it separated the territory of Cassivellaunus from the maritime tribes. Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 49, n. 5) acutely remarks that if we follow Meusel in bracketing this passage, we must suppose that Caesar mentioned Cassivellaunus, the most important of the British chieftains, without saying one word to indicate where his kingdom was, although he did so in the cases of the minor chiefs (22, § 1).

§ 9. *toti bello imperioque.* Cf. § 8. This characteristically Caesarian expression seems to imply that the *imperium* included the general direction of the campaign and might be used in concluding alliances, making peace, &c.

Ethnical divisions, manners, and customs of the Britons: the British Isles.

[Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos **12**
in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt, maritima 2
pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierunt—qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt—et bello inlato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt. Hominum est infinita multi- 3
tudo creberrimaque aedificia fere Gallicis consimilia, pecoris magnus numerus. Utuntur aut aere aut 4

12–14. Oddly enough Meusel does not bracket these chapters in his latest edition (1908), though both he (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 29–31) and Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 43–50) give reasons for doing so. Meusel points out that neither Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iv, 16, § 102) nor Tacitus (*Agricola*, 10) mentions Caesar among the writers whom they quote in their descriptions of Britain; and he objects, further, that *Belgium* (12, § 2) means the whole territory of the Belgae, whereas in the passages (24, § 2; 25, § 4) in which the word is used by Caesar it means only a part of their territory, and that in 14, § 1 *his* is meaningless. This last remark seems to me hypercritical; and does not Caesar use the words *Gallia* and *Galli* both in a general and in a restricted sense? Klotz argues, as other critics, including Meusel, have done, that the description of Britain breaks the connexion of the narrative, and that several expressions in the three chapters could not have been used by Caesar. Undoubtedly the description interrupts the story; but so does the digression on the manners and customs of the Gauls and Germans (vi, 11–24), the authenticity of which is indisputable. Linguistic arguments in inquiries of this sort should be used with caution, and some of Klotz's conclusions seem to me questionable (*C. R.*, 1912, p. 92), though it must be admitted that if any one of them is certain, he has proved his case. He concludes that the 'Pseudo-Caesar' used Timagenes as an authority, and that for much of the description the original source was Posidonius. But there is no evidence that Posidonius was ever in Britain (*A. B.*, p. 499, n. 2); and the mention of iron 'currency-bars' (*taleis ferreis* [12, § 4]) and of water-clocks (13, § 4) must have come from an eye-witness. If he was not Caesar, the interpolator, when he wrote *Nos nihil . . . videbamus*, was also a liar. Still, I bracket the chapters, because if Meusel and Klotz have not proved that they are spurious, they have given sufficient reasons for suspecting their authenticity. See, however, the note on 20, § 1.

12, § 2. *iis nominibus . . . pervenerunt.* Only two of the known British tribal names correspond with Belgic tribal names,—namely, those of the Atrebates and the Catuvellauni, neither of whom are mentioned by Caesar. This sentence is an example of the kind of loose construction called Anacoluthon; for *quibus* belongs to a different noun from that which is coupled with its antecedent, *iis*.

§ 4. *aere.* The earliest of the British bronze coins that have been found are some years later than the time of Caesar (*A. B.*,

nummo aureo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus
5 examinatis pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plumbum album
in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed eius exigua est copia; aere utuntur importato. Materia cuiusque generis ut in Gallia est praeter fagum

p. 294). For this reason most editors, following Mommsen, now delete or bracket *aut aere*; but if ch. 12-14 were interpolated by a late writer, the words may be genuine. On the other hand, they may have crept into the text under the influence of *aere utuntur importato* (§ 5).

nummo aureo. Numerous British gold coins have been discovered. The earliest were struck about 150 years before Caesar's invasion; and the types were derived mainly from Gallic coins or through Gaul from coins of Philip of Macedon, which had found their way into Gaul through the medium of the Greek merchants of Massilia (Marseilles). Until about 30 B.C. they were uninscribed (*A. B.*, pp. 248-50).

taleis . . . nummo. A large number of these iron bars have been unearthed; and one of the hoards contained 394 specimens. They may be arranged, according to their weight, in four groups, the heaviest being twice as valuable as the next, four times as valuable as the third, and eight times as valuable as the lightest. Not a single bar has come to light in the eastern and south-eastern counties, where coins are most abundant (*A. B.*, pp. 250-1; *P. S. A.*, xxii, 1907-9, pp. 338-43).

§ 5. *in mediterraneis regionibus.* I can only account for this mistake by the following suggestion. According to Strabo (iii, 5, § 11), Publius Crassus—probably the Crassus who was sent by Caesar in 57 B.C. to occupy Brittany (*B. G.*, ii, 34)—sailed to the Cassiterides, or 'tin-islands', and obtained information about the tin-mining. If I am right in identifying the Cassiterides with the British Isles (*A. B.*, pp. 483-98), Crassus sailed from Brittany to Cornwall. He may have contented himself with landing on the coast, where the tin was delivered to the merchants: if so, he was doubtless informed that the tin was actually won in the interior, as, in literal truth, it of course was; and Caesar (or the writer of *B. G.*, v, 12-14) may have concluded from his report that the mines were far from the coast.

ferrum. The iron mines were in the Wealden Forest of Sussex, and were not finally abandoned before the nineteenth century.

aere utuntur importato. This statement is not absolutely false, but it is misleading. Both in the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age, which began in Britain about 400 B.C., the Britons did import certain articles of bronze, but most of their bronze was of course of domestic manufacture (*A. B.*, pp. 144, 237, 246).

fagum. If the writer meant the beech, he made a mistake. Discoveries which have been made in submerged forests and in deposits of the Bronze Age prove that the beech existed here long before the Romans first landed in Britain (*A. B.*, pp. 661-2).

atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem 6
gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi
voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora quam
in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

Insula natura triquetra, cuius unum latus est contra **13**
Galliam. Huius lateris alter angulus, qui est ad
Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves adpelluntur,
ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat.
Hoc latus tenet circiter milia passuum D. Alterum 2
vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem; qua
ex parte est Hibernia [insula], dimidio minor, ut
existimatur, quam Britannia, sed pari spatio trans-
missus atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc 3
medio cursu est insula, quae appellatur Mona; com-
plures praeterea minores obiectae insulae existiman-
tur, de quibus insulis non nulli scripserunt dies con-
tinuos XXX sub brumam esse noctem. Nos nihil 4
de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex
aqua mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti
noctes videbamus. Huius est longitudo lateris, ut 5
fert illorum opinio, DCC milium. Tertium est contra 6
septentriones, cui parti nulla est obiecta terra; sed

§ 6. *Leporem . . . putant.* In regard to this superstition see *A. B.*, p. 55 and nn. 3-4.

animi here means 'pastime'. A moment's thought will suggest how the word got this meaning. Caesar uses *animi* alone in a similar sense in vii, 77, § 10, but doubtless he added *voluptatisque* from his usual desire to explain one word by another and thus make his meaning unmistakable. As Schneider remarks, *animi* by itself might have been taken to mean *doloris evitandi.*

13, § 1. *quo* refers to *angulus,* not to *Cantium.*

inferior . . . spectat. See the note on iii, 9, § 10.

§ 2. *transmissus* is a genitive depending upon an ablative of quality. After *atque* must be understood *eo quod.*

§ 3. *Mona* is evidently the Isle of Man, not Anglesey, which had the same name.

non nulli . . . noctem. In regard to the origin of this misleading statement see *A. B.*, pp. 225-6. Pytheas of Massilia, who explored Britain about the time of Alexander the Great, appears to have been informed that the northernmost of the British Isles was situated on or near the Arctic Circle.

§ 4. *certis . . . mensuris.* In regard to the 'water-clocks' of the Romans see W. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd ed., i, 972-5 (s.v. Horologium).

eius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat.
Hoc milium passuum DCCC in longitudinem esse
7 existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies
centum milium passuum.

14 Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Can-
tium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque
2 multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores
plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt
pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni
vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque
3 hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque
sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter
4 caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duo-
denique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum
5 fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex
iis nati eorum habentur liberi quo primum virgo
quaeque deducta est.]

§ 6. *angulus*, if the MSS. are right, means (its) 'corner', i.e. the eastern corner. H. Hartz (*Coniect. Caes.*, 1886, p. 8) was perhaps right in proposing *alter* instead of *lateris*.

maxime . . . spectat. The meaning is *si ad aliquam terram spectat, maxime spectat ad Germaniam.* I translate the words by 'looks, if anything, in the direction of Germany'.

§ 7. *centum.* Meusel has *centenum*, an emendation which first appeared in the Aldine edition (1513); but the MS. reading is supported by several quotations—*viciens centum milia*, &c.—in *Th. l. L.*, iii, 827.

milium is a genitive of quality. Cf. the familiar line 'Came a nurse *of* ninety years'.

14, § 2. *Interiores . . . serunt* is inaccurate. Archaeological evidence proves that corn was grown in the interior even in the Bronze Age (*A. B.*, pp. 151–2, 224, 253–4, 260, 267).

pellibusque sunt vestiti. Here again the writer was imperfectly informed. Woollen and linen clothes were worn even in the Bronze Age; and numerous spindle-whorls have been found in dwelling-places both of that period and of the Early Iron Age (*A. B.*, pp. 160–1, 264).

horridiores. The reading of β, which Meusel adopts, is *horribiliores.* But Roman soldiers were not to be frightened by blue paint; and *horridiores* gives a perfectly satisfactory sense,—'and this gives them a wild look in battle.'

§§ 4–5. *Uxores . . . deducta est.* This custom, which is called polyandry, certainly did not exist among the Celts—this is one of the reasons which have led some critics to deny that these three chapters were written by Caesar—but it may perhaps have survived among certain primitive communities in remote districts. It has been argued that the writer intended to ascribe

Equites hostium essedariique acriter proelio cum 15
equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, ita tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint; sed compluribus in- 2
terfectis cupidius insecuti non nullos ex suis amiserunt. At illi, intermisso spatio, imprudentibus 3
nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis eiecerunt, impetuque in eos facto qui erant in statione pro castris conlocati, acriter pugnaverunt, duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Caesare atque 4
his primis legionum duarum, cum hae perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se constitissent, novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime perruperunt seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die Q. Laberius Durus, tribunus militum, inter- 5
ficitur. Illi pluribus submissis cohortibus repelluntur.

Military operations renewed: Caesar embarrassed by the charioteers.

Toto hoc in genere pugnae, cum sub oculis omnium 16
ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad huius generis hostem, equites 2
autem magno cum periculo proelio dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque cederent et, cum

it only to the people of the interior (*interiores* [§ 2]); but, as the passage immediately follows that in which he speaks of *omnes Britanni*, I do not see how this view can be maintained.

15, § 1. The narrative, which was interrupted after ch. 11, is here resumed; and if 12–14 were not written by Caesar, there is of course no interruption. Fighting apparently recommenced when Caesar, returning from the coast after 10 days' absence (11, § 8), was approaching the valley of the Great Stour. The enemy's cavalry and charioteers then commenced a fierce running fight (*in itinere*) with Caesar's Gallic cavalry.

fuerint. See the second note on i, 26, § 2.

16, § 1. *Toto . . . pugnae* evidently does not mean 'in all this sort of fighting', for one particular fight is referred to. The words, as Schneider remarks, are equivalent to *in tota hac huiusmodi pugna*; and the best translation that I can think of is 'Throughout the whole of this peculiar combat'.

neque ab signis discedere auderent might be translated by 'and they dared not abandon their regular formation'. See the note on i, 39, § 7.

paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis
desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio contenderent.
3 [Equestris autem proelii ratio et cedentibus et inse-
4 quentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat.] Acce-
debat huc ut numquam conferti sed rari magnisque
intervallis proeliarentur stationesque dispositas habe-
rent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent integrique et
recentes defatigatis succederent.

Trebonius decisively defeats the Britons.

17 Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus con-
stiterunt rarique se ostendere et lenius quam pridie
2 nostros equites proelio lacessere coeperunt. Sed me-
ridie, cum Caesar pabulandi causa III legiones atque
omnem equitatum cum C. Trebonio legato misisset,
repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advo-
laverunt, sic uti ab signis legionibusque non absiste-

§ 3. *Equestris autem . . . inferebat.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 47) is, I think, right in bracketing these words; and all commentators have recognized that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain them. They cannot refer to a combat between the Roman and the British cavalry, for the British cavalry only acted in support of the charioteers. Therefore, if they were genuine, they could only refer to a combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry, and the meaning would be either (1) '*On the other hand*, the mode in which the British *cavalry* fought [in co-operation with the charioteers] exposed the Romans, alike in retreat and in pursuit, to exactly the same danger', or (2) '*In fact* the nature of the combat of horse [that is to say, the combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry] exposed the Romans', &c. But the passage, which is not in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*, is at least suspicious (*A. B.*, pp. 688–91). The difficulty which Caesar found in dealing with the charioteers was partly due to the fact that his army, like all Roman armies, was weak in cavalry,—and in cavalry of the right kind. If he could have taken to Britain one of those German squadrons with their attendant light infantry which so effectively supported him in the war with Vercingetorix, he would have had less trouble (*A. B.*, pp. 342–3, 354).

§ 4. *stationesque dispositas haberent.* These *stationes* corresponded with what Caesar in ii, 22, § 1 calls *subsidia*, that is to say, 'reserves'. The word sometimes means 'piquets', but not here.

integrique . . . succederent, as the thoughtful reader will see, completes the sense of *atque alios . . . exciperent.* In English the words would be expressed by a participial clause,—'fresh vigorous men taking the places of those who were tired.'

17, § 2. *ab signis legionibusque.* See the note on i, 39, § 7,

rent. Nostri acriter in eos impetu facto reppulerunt 3
neque finem sequendi fecerunt, quoad subsidio confisi
equites, cum post se legiones viderent, praecipites 4
hostes egerunt magnoque eorum numero interfecto
neque sui colligendi neque consistendi aut ex essedis
desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga protinus 5
quae undique convenerant auxilia discesserunt, neque
post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes
contenderunt.

Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesim **18** Caesar marches for Cassivellau-
in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen
uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri

and do not be satisfied with the translation 'from the standards and the legions', which is not only hideous but does not express Caesar's meaning.

§ 4. *sui colligendi.* See the note on iii, 6, § 1.

§ 5. *summis* is here equivalent to *universis* or *cunctis*; and the sense is (from that time the enemy never encountered us) 'in a general action'.

18, § 1. *Caesar . . . duxit.* Caesar must have marched either by the trackway on the line of which the Romans afterwards made the road called Watling Street, or along the southern slope of the chalk escarpment and across the Medway at Aylesford or Halling. All the Roman and pre-Roman antiquities that have been discovered in Kent, west of a line drawn from Reculver through Canterbury and Lympne to Romney, have come from sites clustering along these routes (*A. B.*, p. 344).

quod flumen . . . transiri potest. Although numerous attempts have been made, it is impossible to determine the spot where Caesar crossed the Thames. There are only two places for which a shred of real argument has been adduced,—'Coway Stakes', about a furlong west of Walton Bridge, and Brentford. 'Coway Stakes' is close to Halliford; and Dr. E. Guest pointed out that between Hurleyford (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Great Marlow) and the sea Halliford is the only place 'bearing a name which indicates a ford over it'. But that name originated after the Anglo-Saxon invasion; and we do not know whether there was a ford near Halliford in the time of Caesar. At Brentford a line of stakes, which Mr. Montagu Sharpe identifies with the *acutis sudibus* of § 3, extended some 30 or 40 years ago for about a mile up the river from a point opposite the mouth of the Brent; and he shows that 'no other ancient stakes have been discovered in the lower river during dredging operations': but of course it cannot be proved that the stakes in question were those which Caesar mentions. Indeed the latter must have been displaced or their points sawn off by the Romans, though the ford may have been staked again by the Britons after Caesar's departure (*A. B.*, pp. 692–8, 742; *A. J.*, 1906, pp. 25–39).

2 potest. Eo cum venisset, animadvertit ad alteram
fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas.
3 Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus praefixis[que] munita,
eiusdemque generis sub aqua defixae sudes flumine
4 tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque
Caesar praemisso equitatu confestim legiones subsequi
5 iussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites
ierunt, cum capite solo ex aqua extarent, ut hostes
impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

19 Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni
deposita spe contentionis dimissis amplioribus copiis,
milibus circiter IIII essedariorum relictis, itinera
nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat locisque
impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat, atque iis
regionibus quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat pecora
2 atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat et, cum
equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa

§ 3. *praefixis[que]*. *Que*, which is omitted in ϕ, is certainly an interpolation. As Meusel says (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 68–9), if Caesar had written it, *acutis* would have to be taken as a participle; but in classical Latin it is always an adjective.

§§ 4–5. *His rebus cognitis . . . mandarent.* This excessively laconic passage seems at first sight hard to explain. What happened was probably this. The cavalry were sent behind cover to swim the river close by, where it was not obstructed by stakes; and at the right moment the infantry plunged into the water and advanced to the attack. Caesar had calculated that the Britons would be distracted by the onset of the cavalry upon their flanks and rear; but the infantry were determined to have the credit for themselves. We may suppose that, while they were removing the stakes or sawing off their points, the slingers and archers (see p. lxiii and ii, 7, § 1) harassed the enemy. It has been objected that *praemisso* 'must mean that Caesar sent the cavalry across the river, ordering the infantry to follow [immediately behind] them'. But such an operation would have been absolutely impossible: the word *Sed* proves that the infantry in their ardour crossed before the cavalry could charge; and *praemisso* simply means that when Caesar was approaching the river he sent on the cavalry in advance (*A. B.*, pp. 345–6, 698–9).

§ 5. *cum*. See the first note on 8, § 6.

19, § 1. *milibus . . . essedariorum.* Does this mean that Cassivellaunus had 4,000 chariots, or 2,000 charioteers with 2,000 warriors (see iv, 33, §§ 1–2)? I adopt the former explanation; but I am not quite sure (*A. B.*, p. 675).

se in agros effuderat, [omnibus viis notis semitisque]
essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo
nostrorum equitum cum his confligebat atque hoc
metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur ut 3
neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar
pateretur et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque
faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque
itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

Interim Trinovantes, prope firmissima earum regio- **20**
num civitas, ex qua Mandubracius adulescens Caesaris
fidem secutus ad eum in continentem [Galliam] ve-
nerat, cuius pater in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat
interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem
vitaverat, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque 2
sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos; petunt ut 3
Mandubracium ab iniuria Cassivellauni defendat atque

The Trinovantes supply him with grain.

§ 2. *effuderat.* The reading of *α* is *eiecerat*; of *β*, *effunderet*. Caesar almost always uses the indicative with *cum* to express repeated action: but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 371) holds that *se eicere*, which in the *Bellum Gallicum* invariably denotes a swift, sudden, or violent rush, would in this passage be out of place; and accordingly he believes that Caesar wrote *effuderat*.

omnibus . . . semitisque. *Notis*, which Schneider, referring to iv, 24, § 3, defends, is only found in *β*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 48–9), who sarcastically asks whether war-chariots could move along footpaths, brackets the passage, remarking that one of the characteristics of the interpolator was love of exaggeration. The words are obviously superfluous.

§ 3. *tantum . . . poterant.* *Quantum* is not commensurate with *tantum*, for the actual damage was to be done by the cavalry, and their capacity for doing damage was limited by the capacity of the infantry, which protected them, for marching. The meaning is 'that an amount of damage should be done corresponding with the work which the infantry could do', &c. This translation will serve :—'to injure the enemy as far as the legionaries' powers of endurance would allow.'

20, § 1. Mandubracius had evidently crossed the Channel with Caesar. I infer from the narrative that the embassy of the Trinovantes was dispatched before Caesar had advanced far into the interior, and doubtless as soon as he had proved his superiority. As the Trinovantes were evidently antagonistic to the Catuvellauni—the tribe over whom Cassivellaunus ruled—we may be sure that if they had been forced to join the league against Caesar, they were half-hearted.

Galliam, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 62), is evidently a gloss upon *continentem*. Caesar would not have written *continentem Galliam* unless there had been an insular *Gallia* as well.

in civitatem mittat, qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. 4 His Caesar imperat obsides XL frumentumque exercitui Mandubraciumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt.

Five tribes submit: capture of Cassivellaunus's stronghold.

21 Trinovantibus defensis atque ab omni militum iniuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi legationibus missis sese Caesari dedunt. 2 Ab his cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus con-
3 venerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt.
4 Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus
5 ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes paulisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt
6 seseque alia ex parte oppidi eiecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

The kings of Kent, in obedience to Cassivellaunus,

22 Dum haec in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, [quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus,] quibus regionibus IIII reges praeerant, Cingetorix,

§ 3. *imperiumque obtineat.* These words are added in order to show that Mandubracius was not only to rule, but to rule with full powers, not as a dependant of Cassivellaunus.

21, § 2. *oppidum Cassivellauni.* See p. 427.

§ 3. *Oppidum . . . munierunt.* Caesar would have modified this description if he had seen the great hill-forts (most of which were erected in the Bronze Age and even earlier) of Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset. Nearly all the heights on which these forts were erected are covered with soil so thin that they never could have been thickly wooded, and if trees had encumbered their sides, they would have been cut down; for the object of the engineers was to leave no ground on which an enemy could conceal himself (*A. B.*, pp. 136, 255–7).

22, § 1. *quod esse . . . demonstravimus* refers to 14, § 1, and if ch. 12–14 are spurious, this passage must be also. But the existence of this passage is one of the facts which make me doubt whether, after all, 12–14 are not genuine. For if *quod esse . . . demonstravimus* was interpolated, Caesar said nothing to show where Cantium was.

Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segovax, nuntios mittit atque
his imperat uti coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia
de improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Hi cum 2
ad castra venissent, nostri eruptione facta multis
eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige,
suos incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus hoc proe- 3
lio nuntiato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus,
maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos
per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Caesarem
mittit. Caesar, cum constituisset hiemare in conti- 4
nenti propter repentinos Galliae motus neque multum
aestatis superesset atque id facile extrahi posse in-
tellegeret, obsides imperat et quid in annos singulos
vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet con-
stituit; interdicit atque imperat Cassivellauno ne 5
Mandubracio neu Trinovantibus noceat.

attack the naval camp, but are repulsed.

Cassivellaunus comes to terms.

Obsidibus acceptis exercitum reducit ad mare, naves **23**

Caesar and his

castra navalia. See 11, §§ 5–7.

§ 2. *Lugotorige.* Lugos was a Celtic deity, whose name appears also in Luguvallum (Carlisle) and Lugudunum (Lyons).

§ 4. *propter . . . motus.* As the narrative will show, the meaning is 'because disturbances were likely to break out', &c.

penderet. See the note on iv, 14, § 2 (*praestaret*). Mommsen (*H. R.*, v, 66) says 'it is certain that the stipulated tribute was never paid',—a mere assertion which is not only improbable, but is opposed to such evidence as we possess (*A. B.*, p. 356). No doubt payment was stopped after Caesar left Gaul; but Mommsen did not fully appreciate the hold which he could exert over Cassivellaunus through hostages. Hostages in those days were meant to be used. Besides, when Caesar was disobeyed, he said so frankly (iv, 38, § 4).

§ 5. *interdicit atque imperat* means 'strictly forbids', *imperat* being added to strengthen *interdicit*. Schneider is surely wrong in likening this expression to *praecipit atque interdicit* (58, § 4), for there the troops were ordered to do one thing and forbidden to do another.

23, § 1. *exercitum . . . mare.* Caesar omitted to mention that, escorted probably by a small flying column, he had made an earlier visit to the coast on or before the 1st of September (the 5th of August of the Julian calendar). This is attested by a letter which he wrote on that day to Marcus Cicero (*Q. fr.*, iii, 1, § 25). Perhaps he desired to see for himself that the defences of the naval camp (22, § 1) were secure against any future attack, to reinforce the garrison, and to ascertain what progress had been made in the repair of the fleet (*A. B.*, pp. 348-9, 672, 731-3).

army return to Gaul.

2 invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat et non nullae tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus exercitum 3 reportare instituit. Ac sic accidit uti ex tanto navium numero tot navigationibus neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis, quae milites por-4 taret, desideraretur, at ex iis quae inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, [et] prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX, perpaucae locum caperent, reliquae fere 5 omnes reicerentur. Quas cum aliquamdiu Caesar frustra expectasset, ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur, quod aequinoctium suberat, necessario angustius milites conlocavit ac summa tranquillitate 6 consecuta, secunda inita cum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

Distribution of the legions in winter quarters over a wide area.

24 Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivae peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis exercitum in hibernis conlocare legionesque in plures civitates distribuere. 2 Ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam C. Fabio legato dedit, alteram in Nervios Q. Ciceroni, tertiam

§ 2. *captivorum . . . habebat.* See p. lxv and ii, 33, § 7.

§ 3. *tot navigationibus* is, I believe, ablative absolute. Anyhow its force is concessive.

§§ 3-4. *portaret . . . remitterentur.* See the note on ii, 35, § 1.

§ 4. *et* (prioris) is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 68), because, if it were genuine, *remitterentur* would necessarily refer to the ships which Labienus had just built as well as to those which Caesar had sent across the Channel. This is true; but would it not be possible to supply mentally *aut mitterentur* in connexion with *et quas . . . LX*? I find that J. C. Held has anticipated this explanation, remarking that *re* in *remitterentur* does not apply to Labienus's ships. Therefore, although I bracket *et* as suspicious, I am not certain that it is spurious.

24, § 1. *concilio.* See the note on 2, § 4 (*concilia*).

§ 2. Quintus Cicero was a *legatus*, as we learn from one of his brother's letters (*Fam.*, i, 9, § 21).

in Esuvios L. Roscio, quartam in Remis cum T. La-
bieno in confinio Treverorum hiemare iussit, tres in
Belgio conlocavit: his M. Crassum quaestorem et 3
L. Munatium Plancum et C. Trebonium legatos prae-
fecit. Unam legionem, quam proxime trans Padum 4
conscripserat, et cohortes V in Eburones, quorum pars
maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio
Ambiorigis et Catuvolci erant, misit. His militibus 5

L. Roscio. Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 206) adds *quaestori*, remarking that if *quaestoribusque* (25, § 5) is right, the title *quaestor* must have been omitted with one name in 24, and that Roscius is designated as a quaestor in 53, § 6. Mommsen is, not improbably, right; but Cicero is not called a *legatus* by Caesar, though he was one.

in Remis . . . Treverorum. If Caesar's narrative is correct, Labienus was still in the country of the Remi towards the end of 54 B. C.; for Caesar says (53, § 2) that Indutiomarus, who had been on the point of attacking Labienus, returned into the country of the Treveri (*copias omnes in Treveros reducit*). In vi, 5, § 6, however, Caesar says that he sent the baggage of the whole army into the country of the Treveri to Labienus, and in vi, 7, § 1 he says that the Treveri were preparing to attack Labienus and the legion which was wintering in their territory: but he does not say that Labienus had transferred his camp from the country of the Remi to that of the Treveri; and Napoleon III argues that Labienus must have remained throughout the winter in his original camp, because, after the destruction of Sabinus's force (v, 26–37), it would have been very dangerous for him to move. Most probably, then, the camp was really in the country of the Treveri, though it was very near the common frontier of the Remi and the Treveri (*in confinio Treverorum*); and we may suppose that in vi, 5 and 7 Caesar corrected the mistake which he had made in v, 24 (*C. G.*, pp. 732–4).

M. Crassum,—a son of the celebrated Roman millionaire.

§ 4. *Unam legionem . . . misit.* This legion, as we learn from vi, 32, §§ 3–4, encamped at a place called Atuatuca, the geographical position of which is discussed on pp. 407–8. The positions of all the other camps have of course been guessed at; but, except that of Trebonius, which was at Samarobriva (Amiens) (ch. 46–7; *C. G.*, p. 371, n. 1), not one of them is known. See, however, the note on vi, 7, § 5.

The mention of the five cohorts which formed part of Sabinus's force has caused some perplexity. We know that Caesar had at least eight legions in 54 B. C.; for when he entered Gaul he had four (i, 7, § 2; 10, § 3): he raised two more in the same year (i, 10, § 3), and two more in the year following (ii, 2, § 1). We may be sure, however, that he had not only eight but nine in 54 B. C.; for *proxime* in § 4 of the chapter which we are reading means *nuper*, as it does in

Q. Titurium Sabinum et L. Auruncleium Cottam 6 legatos praeesse iussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus facillime inopiae ⟨rei⟩ frumentariae sese 7 mederi posse existimavit. Atque harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna, praeter eam quam L. Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam 8 dederat, milibus passuum C continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones conlocatas munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

Assassination of Tasgetius.

25 Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cuius maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. 2 Huic Caesar pro eius virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari eius opera 3 fuerat usus, maiorum locum restituerat. Tertium

vi, 32, § 5, and therefore the legion *quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat* must have been raised in the winter of 55–54 B.C. But what about the *cohortes V*? They were certainly veterans: for otherwise Caesar, after saying that the legion had been recently raised, would not have omitted to add that the five cohorts were recruits. But if they were veterans, they must have belonged to one or more of the other legions. Now, although we have just seen that Caesar had nine legions in this year, there is reason to believe that they were only equivalent to eight and a half, for Sabinus's newly raised legion and his five cohorts were annihilated in the autumn (v, 37): three new legions were raised in the following year (vi, 1, § 4); and at the end of that year Caesar had ten. General A. von Göler suggested that the five cohorts of Sabinus's brigade belonged to one of the old legions, and that the men who belonged to the remaining five of the same legion were drafted into those legions which had lost most by death or disease. If von Göler is wrong, Sabinus's five cohorts must have been detachments from other legions: in other words, Caesar, although he had nominally ten legions in 53 B.C., only had the equivalent of nine and a half, five of the ten having each only 9 cohorts. It seems to me more probable that von Göler is right (*C. G.*, p. 732, n. 1).

§ 7. *milibus . . . continebantur.* If the reader will ponder these words, he will see that they can only mean that none of the camps was more than 100 miles from any other. If Caesar really wrote *C*, he made a mistake, for it is certain that Atuatuca, the camp of Sabinus and Cotta (see the note on § 4), was much more than 100 miles from Samarobriva (Amiens), where one of the legions encamped. See ch. 46–7 and *C. G.*, pp. 371–3.

§ 8. *munitaque hiberna.* Permanent camps, intended to be occupied throughout the winter, were of course fortified more elaborately than the temporary camps which were constructed at the end of each day's march (*C. G.*, pp. 586–7).

iam hunc annum regnantem inimici palam multis
ex civitate auctoribus interfecerunt. Defertur ea res
ad Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plures pertinebat, 4
ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, L. Plancum cum
legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci iubet
ibique hiemare, quorumque opera cognoverit Tasgetium
interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim 5
ab omnibus legatis quaestoribusque, quibus legiones
tradiderat, certior factus est in hiberna perventum
locumque [hibernis] esse munitum.

Diebus circiter XV quibus in hiberna ventum est **26**
initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est
ab Ambiorige et Catuvolco; qui cum ad fines regni 2
sui Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque
in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque oppressis

Ambiorix and Catuvolcus, kings of the Eburones, make an abortive attack on

25, § 3. *inimici . . . interfecerunt.* The reading of *α* is *inimicis iam multis palam ex civitate et iis auctoribus eum interfecerunt.* Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 254-5) remarks that it differs so much from that of *β* that we evidently have to do with something more than a copyist's mistake or a marginal alteration. He believes that the words *et iis auctoribus* presuppose a lost clause, and he wants to know what *palam* belongs to. Accordingly he attempts to fill up the obvious gaps in *α* as follows:—*inimicis* [*iam*] *multis palam* ⟨*adversantibus Carnutes expulerunt*⟩ *ex civitate*, &c. The emendation is ingenious, and the reading of *β* may not be right; but if the reader will turn to 54, § 2, he will hardly believe that the Carnutes first banished Tasgetius and then killed him.

palam . . . auctoribus may be translated by 'with the avowed sanction of many of the citizens'.

auctoribus. See the note on iii, 17, § 3.

§ 5. *hibernis.* I have little doubt that Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 61) is right in deleting this word. Doberenz-Dinter, who admit that it is very surprising, take it as a dative—('the place) for the winter quarters'—and compare it with i, 30, § 3.

26, § 2. *fines* here, as also in 46, § 4 and 54, § 2, evidently means 'frontier'.

Indutiomarus had been obliged a few months before to give Caesar 200 hostages, among whom were all his own kinsmen (4, §§ 1-2); but we may infer from vi, 2, § 1 (*Interfecto Indutiomaro . . . ad eius propinquos a Treveris imperium defertur*) that Caesar, after he returned from Britain, had thought it best to restore them. When one reads v, 22, § 4 one finds it hard to conceive why he did so.

If *nuntiis*, as Meusel thinks, meant 'messengers', not 'messages', would not *ab* be necessary? Cf. ii, 2, § 1; 14, § 1; vii, 48, § 1.

the camp [Atuatuca] of Sabinus and Cotta.

lignatoribus magna manu ad castra oppugnanda vene-
3 runt. Cum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque
ascendissent atque una ex parte Hispanis ⟨altera
Germanis⟩ equitibus emissis equestri proelio supe-
riores fuissent, desperata re hostes suos ab oppugna-
4 tione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt,
uti aliqui ex nostris ad conloquium prodiret: habere
sese quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus
controversias minui posse sperarent.

Representatives sent out to confer with them: Ambiorix advises Sabinus to transfer his troops to Cicero or Labienus.

27 Mittitur ad eos conloquendi causa C. Arpineius,
eques Romanus, familiaris Q. Titurii, et Q. Iunius ex
Hispania quidam, qui iam ante missu Caesaris ad
Ambiorigem ventitare consuerat. Apud quos Ambiorix
2 ad hunc modum locutus est: sese pro Caesaris in se
beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod eius
opera stipendio liberatus esset quod Atuatucis finiti-
mis suis pendere consuesset, quodque ei et filius et
fratris filius a Caesare remissi essent, quos Atuatuci
obsidum numero missos apud se in servitute et catenis
3 tenuissent; neque id quod fecerit de oppugnatione
castrorum aut iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed
coactu civitatis, suaque esse eius modi imperia ut non
minus haberet iuris in se multitudo quam ipse in
4 multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam,

§ 3. *altera Germanis.* I have no doubt that either these words, which were supplied by R. Sydow, or possibly *altera Gallis*, were written by Caesar. There was no reason why he should emphasize *una* if cavalry were not sent out from any other side. It is remarkable that no further mention is made of the cavalry in the following narrative (32–7).

§ 4. *aliqui.* This is the only passage in Caesar in which *aliqui* is substantival. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 13, § 39, and other passages quoted in *Th. l. L.*, i, 1607.

27, § 1. *qui . . . consuerat.* Evidently Ambiorix had made himself useful to Caesar as a political agent, and the acts of kindness for which he professed gratitude were presumably the reward which he received for his services.

§ 2. *quod.* See the second note on i, 14, § 3.

ei. See the note on i, 5, § 4.

§ 3. *fecerit.* See the note on i, 31, § 8.

suaque . . . multitudinem. It has often been said that these words are inconsistent with what Caesar says in vi, 13, § 1,—that 'the masses are regarded almost as slaves, never venture

quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non
potuerit. Id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse,
quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum ut suis copiis
populum Romanum superari posse confidat. Sed esse 5
Galliae commune consilium: omnibus hibernis Caesaris
oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio
alteri legioni subsidio venire posset. Non facile 6
Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim cum de re-
cuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videre-
tur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satis fecerit, habere 7
nunc se rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris: monere,
orare Titurium pro hospitio ut suae ac militum saluti
consulat. Magnam manum Germanorum conductam 8
Rhenum transisse; hanc adfore biduo. Ipsorum esse 9

to act on their own initiative', &c. Perhaps they are: but if so, the case of Ambiorix was the exception that proves the rule; and I am not quite sure that *multitudo* here means the whole 'multitude' of Ambiorix's host. Perhaps it only means the 'knights' or influential landowners (vi, 13, § 3) and their retainers; for in vii, 63, § 6 *multitudinis* can only bear this meaning. In viii, 8, § 3 (*consilio advocato . . . animos multitudinis confirmat*) *multitudo* plainly denotes only the officers who were present at a council of war; while any one who compares viii, 7, § 4 with 22, § 2 will see reason to doubt whether, if *multitudinem* does mean 'the multitude', Ambiorix told the truth (*C. G.*, pp. 529-41, and especially pp. 532-3, 536-7).

§ 4. *potuerit*, says Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 364-5), is very surprising, for it follows five secondary tenses of the subjunctive (*liberatus esset*, &c.), and immediately follows a perfect infinitive,—*fuisse*. 'I can only suppose', he says, 'that *quod*-clauses of this kind, which do not depend upon the principal sentence, could be treated like independent relative clauses in Oratio Obliqua,' in which, as in § 3, Caesar frequently uses the perfect subjunctive even when secondary tenses of the subjunctive precede and follow. I confess that I see nothing surprising in *potuerit*. Meusel apparently forgets that it is preceded by *fecerit* (§ 3); and I have no doubt that in both cases Caesar used the primary tense because Ambiorix was describing what had only just happened, whereas in § 2 he described what had happened some time before. Cf. ii, 4, §§ 2, 4.

sit . . . confidat. The present was used because the subjunctives were preceded by a present infinitive, *posse*; and the primary tenses in §§ 7-11 are to be accounted for on the same principle. See the note on i, 14, §§ 5-6.

§ 6. *videretur*. See the note on ii, 28, § 3.

§ 7. *hospitio*. See the note on i, 47, § 4 (*hospitio*).

§ 9. *Ipsorum esse consilium*,—'It was for them [the Roman generals] to decide'.

consilium, velintne prius quam finitimi sentiant eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter milia passuum circiter L, alter
10 paulo amplius ab iis absit. Illud se polliceri et iure iurando confirmare tutum se iter per suos fines datu-
11 rum. Quod cum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Caesari pro eius meritis gratiam referre. Hac oratione habita discedit Ambiorix.

The advice considered in a council of war.

28 Arpineius et Iunius quae audierant ad legatos deferunt. Illi repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, tamen non neglegenda existimabant, maximeque hac re permovebantur, quod civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte populo Romano bellum facere ausam vix erat credendum.
2 Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt, magnaque inter eos
3 existit controversia. L. Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones nihil temere agendum neque ex hibernis iniussu Caesaris
4 discedendum existimabant; quantasvis ⟨Gallorum⟩, magnas etiam copias Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis docebant; rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum multis ultro vulneribus
5 inlatis fortissime sustinuerint; re frumentaria non premi; interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Caesare
6 conventura subsidia; postremo quid esset levius aut

28, § 4. *quantasvis . . . docebant.* The MS. reading is *quantasvis magnas etiam copias Germanorum*, &c. *Quantasvis magnas* being obviously wrong, various attempts have been made to restore the text. F. Hotman deleted *magnas etiam*, and Stephanus deleted *magnas* and accordingly reversed the order of *etiam copias*. But neither of these corrections is satisfactory. Something has evidently dropped out after *quantasvis*. R. Oehler, whom Meusel follows, supposes that the missing word was *Ambiorigis*; but Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 255), remarking that the forces of Ambiorix were not unlimited, suggests *Gallorum*.

rem . . . quod. Meusel takes this to mean 'the fact that'. May it not mean 'The facts of the case (proved this), because'? I translate the words by 'Experience proved this; for', &c.

sustinuerint. See the first note on 27, § 4.

§ 6. *esset* is the reading of α: β has *esse*. This is a rhetorical question: therefore, as I have remarked in the note on i, 40, § 2, the infinitive answers to one of the rules which grammarians

turpius quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere consilium?

Contra ea Titurius sero facturos clamitabat, cum **29**
maiores manus hostium adiunctis Germanis convenissent, aut cum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum. Brevem consulendi esse
occasionem. Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; 2
neque aliter Carnutes interficiundi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta
contemptione nostri ad castra venturos. Sese non 3
hostem auctorem sed rem spectare: subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et
superiores nostras victorias; ardere Galliam tot con- 4
tumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei militaris extincta. Postremo 5
quis hoc sibi persuaderet sine certa spe Ambiorigem ad eius modi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam 6
in utramque partem esse tutam: si nihil esset durius, nullo cum periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros;

have framed for Oratio Obliqua. But the rule does not derive much support from the MSS. of the *Commentaries*. The subjunctive is found in rhetorical questions in all the MSS. in i, 40, § 2; 43, § 8; v, 29, §§ 5–7; and *B. C.*, i, 32, § 3; and in the first and last of these passages the indicative would certainly have been used in Oratio Recta.

29, § 2. *Caesarem arbitrari.* Ciacconius may have been right in supposing that Caesar wrote *Caesarem se arbitrari*; but there is a similar omission of the reflexive pronoun in 36, § 2 and in ii, 4, § 10.

adesset. In English one would say '(if Caesar) *had been* at hand', and a beginner would probably wonder why he did not write *adfuisset.* But in Oratio Recta Sabinus would have said (neque, si ille) *adesset* (tanta contemptione nostri ad castra) *venissent*, and if in Oratio Obliqua *adesset* had been changed into *adfuisset*, the meaning would have been 'if Caesar had been at hand during the attack and had afterwards departed'.

§ 3. *Sese . . . spectare*,—'It was not to the enemy that he looked for guidance, but to facts'.

Ariovisti mortem. How and in what circumstances Ariovistus was slain is not known; but the remark which Caesar ascribes to Sabinus points to the conclusion that he was killed by Roman hands. It has been suggested that he may have died from a wound received in the battle which is described in i, 52.

§ 5. *persuaderet.* See the note on 28, § 6.

§ 6. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 338–9) conjectures that Caesar wrote *omnes* before *perventuros*, for, although *se* is sometimes to

si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiret, unam esse
7 in celeritate positam salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum qui dissentirent consilium quem haberet exitum? in quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda.

30 Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, 'vincite', inquit, 'si ita vultis', Sabinus, et id clariore
2 voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret; 'neque is sum', inquit, 'qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear. Hi sapient: si gravius quid acciderit, abs
3 te rationem reposcent; qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, non reiecti et relegati longe a ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.'

Sabinus decides to accept it.

31 Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque et orant ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in
2 summum periculum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam
3 se salutem perspicere. Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus
4 manus: superat sententia Sabini. Pronuntiatur prima luce ituros. Consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum re-
5 linquere cogeretur. Omnia excogitantur, quare nec

be supplied from the context, its omission here would be harsh; but he is doubtful whether *se* dropped out or *omnes*. He decides for the latter, because *legionem* was often abbreviated by copyists into *leg.*, and *leg. omnes* might easily have been mistaken by the writer of the archetype for *legionem*.

§ 7. *haberet*. See the note on 28, § 6.

30, § 1. *primisque ordinibus*. The word *ordo*, which in 28, § 3 means *centuria*, is here used (by the figure which grammarians call metonymy) in the sense of *centurio*,—that is to say, *primis ordinibus* is equivalent to *primorum ordinum centurionibus*. Similarly in English one of the musicians in an orchestra is called 'the first violin'. In vii, 62, § 4 *primi ordines* is used in a totally different sense.

31, § 3. *permotus* is equivalent to *graviter animo commotus*.

§ 5. *Omnia excogitantur . . . augeatur*. It has been argued

sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis
periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris profi- 6
ciscuntur ut quibus esset persuasum non ab hoste,
sed ab homine amicissimo [Ambiorige] consilium
datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

The brigade leaves the camp.

At hostes, postea quam ex nocturno fremitu vigi- 32
liisque de profectione eorum senserunt, conlocatis
insidiis bipertito in silvis oportuno atque occulto loco
a milibus passuum circiter duobus Romanorum ad-
ventum expectabant, et cum se maior pars agminis 2
in magnam convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte
eius vallis subito se ostenderunt novissimosque pre-
mere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo
nostris loco proelium committere coeperunt.

Ambiorix's forces attack the column in a defile.

Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, 33
trepidare et concursare cohortesque disponere, haec
tamen ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere vide-
rentur; quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit qui
in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta, 2
qui cogitasset haec posse in itinere accidere atque ob
eam causam profectionis auctor non fuisset, nulla

that this passage is out of place and originally stood in § 3 after *perducitur*; while Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 46–7), following Mommsen, who says (ib., 1894, p. 207) that, in its existing context, it must mean 'Everything is done in order to make the march as dangerous as possible and to tire out the soldiers beforehand' (!), and who regards it as a 'scathing rebuke' of Sabinus, condemns it altogether as an interpolation. I do not agree with either of these views, and I subjoin my own translation of §§ 4–5, to show how naturally the passage reads as it stands:—'An order was issued that the troops were to march at daybreak. The men stayed up for the rest of the night, every one looking about to see what he could take with him, what part of his winter's kit he would be forced to leave behind. Men thought of every argument to persuade themselves that they could not remain without danger, and that the danger would be increased by protracted watches and consequent exhaustion,' &c. (*C. G.*, pp. 726–7).

§ 6. *esset.* The subjunctive is causal.

Ambiorige is rightly deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 62).

33, § 1. *providisset.* In English the force of the subjunctive can be suggested:—'And now Titurius, having exercised no forethought, lost all nerve,' &c.

viderentur. See the note on ii, 28, § 3.

§ 2. *auctor.* See the note on iii, 17, § 3.

in re communi saluti deerat et in appellandis cohor-
tandisque militibus imperatoris et in pugna militis
3 officia praestabat. Cum propter longitudinem agminis
non facile per se omnia obire et quid quoque loco
faciendum esset providere possent, iusserunt pronun-
tiari ut impedimenta relinquerent atque in orbem
4 consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in eius modi casu
reprehendendum non est, tamen incommode accidit:
5 nam et nostris militibus spem minuit et hostes ad
pugnam alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore
6 et desperatione id factum videbatur. Praeterea accidit,
quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis
discederent quaeque quisque eorum carissima haberet
ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properaret,
clamore et fletu omnia complerentur.

34 At barbaris consilium non defuit. Nam duces
eorum tota acie pronuntiari iusserunt, ne quis ab
loco discederet: illorum esse praedam atque illis
reservari quaecumque Romani reliquissent; proinde
2 omnia in victoria posita existimarent. [Erant et
virtute et numero pugnandi pares.] Nostri tametsi
ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem
spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quotiens quaeque
cohors procurrerat, ab ea parte magnus numerus
3 hostium cadebat. Qua re animadversa Ambiorix pro-
nuntiari iubet, ut procul tela coiciant neu propius

§ 6. *haberet.* The subjunctive is due to Attraction of Mood.

34, § 2. *Erant . . . pares.* These words are untranslatable. Two inferior MSS. have *pugnando*; and if this reading were adopted, the literal translation of *Erant . . . nostri* would be, 'Our men were equally matched [with the enemy] in fighting, both in respect of courage and numbers,' or, in idiomatic English, 'Our men were as brave as they and not overmatched in point of numbers.' H. J. Heller conjectures that Caesar wrote (et virtute et) *studio* (pugnandi); but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 57) brackets *Erant . . . pares*, because (1), as the narrative shows, the Romans were outnumbered by the Eburones; (2) if the subject of *erant* is *nostri*, Caesar, as we may infer from iii, 14, § 8, would certainly have said that in valour the Romans were *superiores*; and (3) if the subject is *Eburones* or *utrique* understood, he would never have admitted that the Eburones were as brave as the Romans. The first of these reasons seems to me the best.

accedant et, quam in partem Romani impetum fece-
rint, cedant, levitate armorum et cotidiana exercita- 4
tione nihil his noceri posse, rursus se ad signa reci-
pientes insequantur.

Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum **35**
quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum
fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam 2
partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela
recipere. Rursus, cum in eum locum unde erant 3
progressi reverti coeperant, et ab iis qui cesserant et
ab iis qui proximi steterant circumveniebantur; sin 4
autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinque-
batur neque ab tanta multitudine coniecta tela conferti
vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati 5
multis vulneribus acceptis resistebant et magna parte
diei consumpta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam
pugnaretur, nihil quod ipsis esset indignum committe-
bant. Tum T. Balventio, qui superiore anno primum 6
pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis,

§ 4. *levitate . . . posse.* *Levitas*, says Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 52), is not used in classical prose in the sense of lightness of weight, and, even if it were, Caesar would not have written *levitate*; but *propter levitatem*. The former argument appears to me weak; *brevitas*, which Caesar (ii, 30, § 4) uses in the sense of shortness of stature, does not occur elsewhere with that meaning before the time of the elder Pliny; and when I read ii, 1, § 3 and iii, 21, § 3, I doubt whether Caesar would necessarily have written *propter levitatem*. Perhaps, as Meusel argues, the words might be dispensed with; but I do not think that the reasons for bracketing them are sufficient.

35, § 2. *eam partem*,— i. e. *cohortem*.

ab latere aperto. See the note on i, 25, § 6.

§ 3. *coeperant.* See the note on 19, § 2.

§ 4. *vellent.* The subjunctive leaves it uncertain whether the soldiers did or did not intend to hold their ground; and it is necessarily followed by an indicative (*relinquebatur*): for if Caesar had written *relictus esset*, he would have meant that they had had no such intention. See *J. B.*, 1894, p. 374.

§ 5. *pugnaretur.* See the note on iii, 5, § 1.

§ 6. *qui superiore . . . duxerat* is equivalent to *qui primipilus fuerat* (see the note on ii, 25, § 1 [*primipilo*]): in other words, Balventius had in the previous year been the chief centurion of his legion. But why was he not still? Probably he had served his full time and was now serving again as an *evocatus*, or volunteer; for it is evident from the way in which Caesar speaks of him that he had not been degraded (*C. G.*, pp. 577-8).

7 utrumque femur tragula traicitur; Q. Lucanius, eiusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento
8 filio subvenit, interficitur; L. Cotta legatus omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

36 His rebus permotus Q. Titurius, cum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Cn. Pompeium ad eum mittit rogatum ut sibi
2 militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondet: si velit secum conloqui, licere; sperare a multitudine impetrari posse quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam
3 fidem interponere. Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una conloquantur: sperare se ab eo de sua ac militum
4 salute impetrari posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat atque in eo perseverat.

Sabinus parleys with Ambiorix and is killed. The Roman troops annihilated.

37 Sabinus quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi iubet, et cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperatum facit suisque ut idem faciant
2 imperat. Interim, dum de condicionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto sermo ab Ambiorige insti-
3 tuitur, paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt

§ 7. *eiusdem ordinis.* *Ordo* is here used in the sense of 'rank', 'grade', or 'position'. See the note on 30, § 1. There is nothing to show whether Lucanius belonged to the same cohort to which Balventius had belonged or to the 1st cohort of some other legion. In the latter case the cohort must have been one of the five which are mentioned in 24, § 4.

§ 8. *ordines* of course here means 'centuries'. See the note on 30, § 1.

in adversum os. The adjective shows that the stone flew not obliquely, but from the front and struck Cotta full in the face. The preposition is used as if Caesar had written (lapide qui funda) *in adversum os* (missus erat).

36, § 1. *Cn. Pompeium.* See the first note on i, 19, § 3.

§ 2. *sperare.* I doubt whether it is necessary to follow Meusel's example and add *se*, which is not in the MSS. See the first note on 29, § 2.

37, § 1. *in praesentia.* See the note on i, 15, § 4.

impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi 4
L. Cotta pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte
militum. Reliqui se in castra recipiunt, unde erant
egressi. Ex quibus L. Petrosidius aquilifer, cum 5
magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra
vallum proicit; ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans
occiditur. Illi aegre ad noctem oppugnationem susti- 6
nent; nocte ad unum omnes desperata salute se ipsi
interficiunt. Pauci ex proelio elapsi incertis itineribus 7
per silvas ad T. Labienum legatum in hiberna perve-
niunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

38 *Ambiorix incites the Atuatuci and Nervii to attack Cicero's camp.*

Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu
in Atuatucos, qui erant eius regno finitimi, profici-
scitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit pedita-
tumque se subsequi iubet. Re demonstrata Atuatu- 2
cisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios pervenit
hortaturque ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque
ulciscendi Romanos pro iis quas acceperint iniuriis
occasionem dimittant. Interfectos esse legatos duos 3
magnamque partem exercitus interisse demonstrat;
nihil esse negotii subito oppressam legionem quae 4
cum Cicerone hiemet interfici; se ad eam rem pro-
fitetur adiutorem. Facile hac oratione Nerviis per-
suadet.

39 *The attack begins.*

Itaque confestim dimissis nuntiis ad Ceutrones,
Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidumnos, qui omnes
sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas possunt
manus cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna
advolant nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte
perlata. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut 2

§ 3. *ordines* here apparently means 'ranks', as in iv, 26, § 1; 32, § 5; 33, § 1, &c.

§ 5. *proicit.* The MSS. have *proiecit*, but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 344) conjectures that Caesar wrote *proicit*; for he never changes tenses within a sentence without good reason.

§ 6. *se ipsi interficiunt* is generally taken to mean, not that each individual committed suicide, but that the men killed one another. The Latin might of course bear either meaning; but the latter is suggested by Livy, *Epit.*, 110 (*auxiliares . . . inter se concurrentes occubuerunt*), and Lucan, iv, 556–66.

38, § 2. *sui . . . liberandi.* See the note on iii, 6, § 1.

non nulli milites, qui lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu
3 interciperentur. His circumventis magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Atuatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes legionem oppugnare incipiunt. Nostri celeriter
4 ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Aegre is dies sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant atque hanc adepti victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant.

The defence.

40 Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim a Cicerone litterae magnis propositis praemiis, si pertulissent; obsessis
2 omnibus viis missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex ea materia quam munitionis causa comportaverant turres admodum CXX excitantur; incredibili celeritate quae deesse

39, § 2. *qui . . . discessissent.* I am inclined to think that here, as in 33, §§ 1–2, the subjunctive is causal, Caesar accounting for the capture of the soldiers by their having gone to fetch wood; but Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 1507) regards it as due to Attraction of Mood. See the note on 33, § 6.

lignationis is explained by *munitionisque.* The wood was required, at all events in part, for the purpose of fortification. Cf. 40, § 2.

§ 3. *Eburones . . . clientes.* Grammatically the Eburones, Nervii, and Atuatuci are to be regarded as one group and their allies and dependents as another: otherwise, as the learner will see if he remembers how copulative conjunctions are used in Latin, *atque* would be incorrect.

§ 4. *adepti.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 322) says that this can only mean 'after they had gained (the victory, they hoped', &c.) whereas the context requires that it should be equivalent to *si adepti essent.* Do we know enough of Latin and of Caesar to be quite sure that he was incapable of such a grammatical anomaly? R. Menge has proposed *adeptos*, and Meusel adopts this emendation; but I cannot bring myself to follow his example.

40, § 1. *ad Caesarem.* Caesar was at Samarobriva (Amiens). Cf. 46, 47, §§ 1–2.

§ 2. *ex ea materia* is in the Aldine edition: *α* has *ex materia*; *β* has *ea materia.* *Ex* is indispensable, and *ea* is certainly desirable. As Meusel explains (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 302), in the archetype *ex* was probably written above *ea* (or *ea* above *ex*), and the writers of *α* and *β* respectively mistook what the writer of the archetype meant.

turres admodum CXX. If we suppose that the towers were only 80 feet apart, as they are said to have been at Alesia (vii, 72, § 4), the perimeter of the camp, without reckoning the space occupied by the towers themselves, would have been 119×80, or 9,480 feet; and allowing for that space, it could

operi videbantur perficiuntur. Hostes postero die 3
multo maioribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fos-
sam complent. A nostris eadem ratione qua pridie 4
resistitur. Hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus.
Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermit- 5
titur; non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis
datur. Quaecumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem
opus sunt noctu comparantur; multae praeustae sudes, 6
magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur; turres
contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexun-
tur. Ipse Cicero, cum tenuissima valetudine esset, 7
ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relin-

not have been less than two miles. The camp then would have covered an area of 160 acres—one-fourth of a square mile—which is very much too large for a single legion. See, however, the note on § 6 (*contabulantur*). Caesar's narrative was of course based upon the report of Cicero; but I suspect that the exaggeration, if there is one, is due to a copyist, for to falsify the number of the towers would hardly have increased the glory of the defence (*C. G.*, pp. 250–1). *Turres*,—wooden towers, from the stories of which archers, slingers, and artillery showered missiles among the defenders of a besieged town, or, as in this case, among the assailants of a camp. When they were mounted upon an *agger*, or siege terrace (cf. ii, 30, §§ 3–4), they were moved on rollers. Occasionally they were very high, containing as many as ten stories (viii, 41, § 5).

excitantur . . . celeritate. Most editors place the semicolon after *celeritate*: I am inclined to think that J. Lange (*N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 807) is right in placing it after *excitantur*, but I cannot accept his reason, which implies that Caesar preferred sound to sense.

§ 5. *ad laborem intermittitur.* See the note on 11, § 6.

§ 6. *muralium pilorum*,—heavy pikes, hurled from walls or towers. Cf. vii, 82, § 1.

contabulantur is equivalent to *tabulatis instruuntur*,—'furnished with stories'. M. Camille Jullian believes that the towers were connected by platforms (see viii, 9, § 3 and the note on vii, 22, § 3); and if so, the number (*CXX*) may be true. But this conjecture is not supported by the word *contabulantur*: in Livy, xxiv, 34, § 7 (turres) *contabulatas* can only mean 'furnished with stories', and the platforms that occasionally connected military towers were called *pontes*.

pinnae loricaeque. As a *pinna* is a pinnacle, and a *lorica* (which properly means a coat of mail or a breastplate) is here a breastwork, *pinnae . . . cratibus* may be translated by 'embattled breastworks of wattle-work'. They were fastened (*attexuntur*) to the towers, and served to screen the artillerymen who worked the catapults on the successive stories.

quebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

Cicero refuses 'to accept terms from an armed enemy'.

41 Tum duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone
2 habebant, conloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate eadem quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat comme-
3 morant: omnem Galliam esse in armis, Germanos Rhenum transisse, Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna
4 oppugnari. Addunt etiam de Sabini morte; Ambio-
5 rigem ostentant fidei faciundae causa. Errare eos dicunt, si quicquam ab iis praesidii sperent qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem
6 nolint; licere illis per se incolumibus ex hibernis discedere et quascumque in partes velint sine metu
7 proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo respondet: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani accipere ab
8 hoste armato condicionem; si ab armis discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare se pro eius iustitia quae petierint impetraturos.

The Nervii adopt Roman siege methods.

42 Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii vallo pedum X et fossa
2 pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nobis cognoverant et quosdam
3 de exercitu nacti captivos ab his docebantur; sed

§ 7. *ultro.* Dictionaries explain the meaning which is at the root of this word, but otherwise give hardly enough help to the beginner. When *ultro* is equivalent to *sua sponte* its meaning is unmistakable; but here it means something different, implying that the soldiers, in their anxiety to spare Cicero fatigue, went beyond—overstepped—the line which ordinarily kept them at a respectful distance from their commander. I translate it here by 'actually'. The reader has doubtless seen for himself that in 28, § 4 it means 'into the bargain'.

41, § 1. *principes* may here be translated by 'chieftains'. See the note on 3, § 2.

§ 6. *incolumibus* is here attracted into the case of *illis.* In vi, 35, § 8 *licet* is followed by an accusative, which is less usual.

42, § 1. *vallo pedum X.* See the first note on ii, 5, § 6.
pedum XV. See the second note on ii, 5, § 6.

nulla ferramentorum copia, quae essent ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis caespites circumcidere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurire cogebantur. Qua quidem ex 4 re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus milium passuum III in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt. Reliquis diebus turres ad alti- 5 tudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas idem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

Septimo oppugnationis die maximo coorto vento **43** ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et fervefacta

A desperate assault resolutely repelled.

§ 3. *essent* is a correction, made by Ciacconius for *esset*: it recommends itself. The subjunctive shows that *ferramentorum . . . essent* is equivalent to *eiusmodi ferramentorum ut essent*.

§ 4. *milium passuum III . . . munitionem*. I have adopted R. Menge's conjecture. The reading of α is *milium passuum XV in circuitu munitionem*; of β, *X milium in circuitu munitionem pedum XV* (where *pedum XV* would denote the breadth of the ditch). It would of course have been absurd to surround Cicero's small camp, the perimeter of which could not have been much more than a mile (*C. G.*, p. 251), with a contravallation of 15 or even of 10 Roman miles. Napoleon III and others suppose that Caesar wrote (milium) *pedum* (XV); but he nowhere else computes a distance of more than one mile in feet (*C. G.*, pp. 728–9).

§ 5. *ad* here, as in iv, 17, § 3, means 'in proportion to', not 'up to', for the towers would have been useless unless they had been higher than the rampart.

falces. See the note on iii, 14, § 5.

testudines were sappers' huts, used for protecting soldiers when they were filling up ditches, undermining walls, &c. They had sloping roofs, so that stones dropped on to them by the enemy might slide off harmlessly, and they were protected against fire, probably by raw hides soaked in water. Minute descriptions of these huts, derived from various writers, Greek and Roman, are to be found in dictionaries of antiquities; but I do not advise the reader to consult them; for it is not likely that the *testudines* which the Nervii made resembled those of the Greeks, though they may have been constructed on the same general principles. A *testudo*, used by Caesar's lieutenant, Trebonius, to protect his men in levelling the ground for the construction of an *agger*, is described in *B. C.*, ii, 2, § 4; and its dimensions differed widely from those of *testudines* in general, as given by Vitruvius, x, 14 (*C. G.*, pp. 609–10).

43, § 1. *fusili . . . glandes*. I follow the MS. reading. Meusel adopts the conjecture *fusiles*; but *ferventes fusiles . . . glandes* is ungrammatical unless *fusiles . . . glandes*, like *proelium equestre*, can be regarded as virtually one word, and *fusiles* is meaningless. The ordinary meaning of *fusilis* is 'molten'; but clay cannot be melted. *Fusili ex argilla* must therefore mean 'of softened

iacula in casas, quae more Gallico stramentis erant
2 tectae, iacere coeperunt. Hae celeriter ignem compre-
henderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem locum
3 castrorum distulerunt. Hostes maximo clamore sicuti
parta iam atque explorata victoria turres testudines-
4 que agere et scalis vallum ascendere coeperunt. At
tanta militum virtus atque ea praesentia animi fuit
ut, cum undique flamma torrerentur maximaque
telorum multitudine premerentur suaque omnia im-
pedimenta atque omnes fortunas conflagrare intellege-
rent, non modo [demigrandi causa] de vallo decederet
nemo sed paene ne respiceret quidem quisquam, ac
5 tum omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic
dies nostris longe gravissimus fuit, sed tamen hunc
habuit eventum ut eo die maximus numerus hostium
vulneraretur atque interficeretur, ut se sub ipso vallo
constipaverant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant.
6 Paulum quidem intermissa flamma et quodam loco
turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohortis
centuriones ex eo quo stabant loco recesserunt suosque
omnes removerunt, nutu vocibusque hostes, si introire
vellent, vocare coeperunt; quorum progredi ausus
7 est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus coniectis
deturbati turrisque succensa est.

(or plastic) clay'. General A. von Göler proved by experiment that balls of clay can be sufficiently heated to set straw on fire; and innumerable bullets of baked clay have been found in ancient British forts. Why were the slings not destroyed by these red-hot bullets? I suppose that they were lined with metal (*C. G.*, pp. 729-30).

casas . . . tectae. I am inclined to infer from a parallel passage (16, § 2) in the anonymous *Bellum Hispaniense*, which describes Caesar's last campaign, that these huts had been built by Cicero's troops.

§ 4. *demigrandi causa.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 50) deletes these words as either a foolish marginal note or a corruption. Kraner defends them on the ground that men might have left the rampart for good reasons with the intention of returning (cf. 51, § 5); but Meusel denies that Caesar would have expressed 'with the intention of quitting his post' in this way.

§ 5. *ut* (following *interficeretur*). See the note on ii, 19, § 6.

que . . . non. See the note on iii, 29, § 2.

The rivalry of Pullo and Vorenus.

Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui **44**
iam primis ordinibus adpropinquarent, T. Pullo et
L. Vorenus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias 2
habebant, uter alteri anteferretur, omnibusque annis
de loco summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex his 3
Pullo, cum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, 'quid
dubitas', inquit, 'Vorene? aut quem locum tuae pro-
bandae virtutis expectas? hic dies de nostris contro-
versiis iudicabit.' Haec cum dixisset, procedit extra 4
munitiones, quaeque pars hostium confertissima est
visa, in eam inrumpit. Ne Vorenus quidem sese tum 5
vallo continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem
subsequitur. Mediocri spatio relicto Pullo pilum in 6
hostes immittit atque unum ex multitudine procur-
rentem traicit; quo percusso et exanimato hunc scutis
protegunt hostes, in illum universi tela coiciunt neque
dant progrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum 7
Pulloni et verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic 8
casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti dextram
moratur manum, impeditumque hostes circumsistunt.
Succurrit inimicus illi Vorenus et laboranti subvenit. 9
Ad hunc se confestim a Pullone omnis multitudo 10

44, § 1. *adpropinquarent.* To bring out the consecutive force of the subjunctive in English is not easy. Here is my attempt:—'In this legion there were two centurions . . . who, by dint of extraordinary courage, were getting close,' &c.

§ 3. *tuae probandae virtutis* is Schneider's correction, generally accepted, of the meaningless MS. readings *tuae pro laude virtutis* (α) and *pro laude virtutis tuae* (β).

§ 4. *in* is an emendation proposed by Oudendorp and justified by usage. The reading of α is *inrumpit*, of β *eam inrumpit*.

§ 5. *Ne . . . quidem* evidently does not mean 'Not even', but 'of course . . . not'. One might translate by 'Vorenus of course did not keep inside the rampart'.

§ 6. *quo . . . hunc.* See the second note on i, 40, § 1. The reader might have expected *quem percussum et exanimatum*; but, as Schneider says (vol. i, p. 255), Caesar chose the other way of expressing himself because he wished to emphasize the fact that the Gaul in question was struck.

progrediendi, the reading of β, is preferable to *regrediendi*, as one may infer from § 8.

§ 8. *impeditumque.* Meusel may be right in following β, which omits *que*; but if we retain it, the rapid succession of events seems to me more vividly portrayed.

convertit [, illum veruto transfixum arbitrantur].
11 Vorenus gladio rem comminus gerit atque uno inter-
12 fecto reliquos paulum propellit; dum cupidius instat,
13 in locum delatus inferiorem concidit. Huic rursus circumvento subsidium fert Pullo, atque ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa cum laude sese
14 intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit, ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset neque diiudicari posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

A Gallic slave carries a dispatch to Caesar.

45 Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod magna parte militum confecta vulneribus res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores litterae nuntiique ad Caesarem mittebantur; quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostro-
2 rum militum cum cruciatu necabatur. Erat unus intus Nervius, nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei

§ 10. *illum . . . arbitrantur.* I follow Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 52-3) in bracketing these words. The reading of *a*—*illum vero obscurantur occisum*—which is nonsensical, suggests that there is something wrong. 'The fanciful reader', says Meusel, 'wanted to explain the fact, which seemed to him surprising, that the entire hostile group [*omnis multitudo*] turned upon Vorenus.' The preceding narrative shows that there was not the slightest reason to suppose that Pullo was dead.

§ 12. *delatus* is an emendation, proposed by W. Paul, instead of the MS. reading, *deiectus*, which is hardly intelligible; for how could Vorenus have been *thrown* down by men whom he was pursuing?

§ 14. *versavit.* How is one to express the meaning—'moved [them] about'—in English? I should say ('Thus Fortune) made them her puppets', &c.

45, § 1. *quorum pars . . . necabatur.* What, asks J. Lange (*N. J.*, clv, 1897, pp. 607-10), happened to the rest? Accordingly he argues that *quorum pars deprehensa* is equivalent to *quorum deprehensorum pars*. But if all were caught, why were not all killed? I believe that Caesar meant what he seems to mean, and that those who were not caught failed for various reasons to reach him.

§ 2. *a prima obsidione.* J. Lange (*N. J.*, clv, 1897, p. 612) says that these words cannot mean either 'at the beginning of the blockade', which would be expressed by *prima obsidione* or *primo obsidionis tempore*, or 'immediately after the beginning', &c., but 'since the beginning', &c. He admits that the following words do not appear to fit in with this translation; but he insists that the discrepancy is only apparent:—the words *qui*

fidem praestiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnis- 3
que persuadet praemiis ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat.
Has ille in iaculo inligatas effert et Gallus inter Gallos 4
sine ulla suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit.
Ab eo de periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur. 5

Caesar marches to the rescue,

Caesar acceptis litteris hora circiter XI. diei statim **46**
nuntium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum quaestorem
mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ab eo milia passuum
XXV; iubet media nocte legionem proficisci celeriter- 2
que ad se venire. Exit cum nuntio Crassus. Alterum 3
ad C. Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatium fines
legionem adducat, qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat.
Scribit Labieno, si rei publicae commodo facere possit, 4
cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat. Reliquam
partem exercitus, quod paulo aberat longius, non
putat expectandam; equites circiter CCCC ex proximis
hibernis cogit.

. . . *perfugerat* mean 'who since the beginning of the blockade had been as a deserter (*perfuga*) with Cicero'. I believe that Lange is over-subtle and that *a prima obsidione* does mean 'immediately after the beginning of the blockade'. Cf. *L. C.*, i, 41.

§ 3. *magnis praemiis*, says J. Lange (*N. J.*, clv, 1897, p. 613), means 'by the promise of large rewards', for of course the slave was not paid in advance. He may, indeed, have demanded a sum down before he started, for in iii, 18, § 2 and 26, § 1 *praemiis pollicitationibusque* must surely mean 'rewards and promises' (of further reward): but Lange's view is supported by 55, § 3 and i, 44, § 2, where Ariovistus says that he *non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis donum . . . reliquisse*; and I believe that he is right.

§ 4. *iaculo.* The reading of *a* is *in iaculo*; but supposing that it is right, *in* must mean 'on': for if, as Long suggests (*D. R. R.*, iv, 227), the letter was inserted *in* the hollowed shaft of a javelin, lashing (*inligatas*) was obviously both superfluous and impossible. The letter could easily have been concealed by lashing twine over it, as if the javelin had been spliced.

46, § 2. *cum nuntio* does not mean 'along with the messenger' (that, if it were true, would be a superfluous piece of information), but 'on the arrival of the messenger'.

§ 4. *commodo* is ablative. Cf. i, 35, § 4.

CCCC. This was a very small number (cf. 8, §§ 1–2). We may infer from the present passage, as well as from the passages (iv, 6, § 5; vi, 4, § 6) which show that Caesar regularly levied contingents of cavalry from the various Gallic tribes in the spring, that the Gallic cavalry, or the bulk of them, were sent home for the winter, while the Spanish cavalry and the German remained with the legions.

47 Hora circiter III. ab antecursoribus de Crassi ad-
ventu certior factus eo die milia passuum XX pro-
2 greditur. Crassum Samarobrivae praeficit legionem-
que ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus,
obsides civitatum, litteras publicas frumentumque
omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat,
3 relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum erat, non ita
multum moratus in itinere cum legione occurrit.
4 Labienus interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita,
cum omnes ad eum Treverorum copiae venissent,
veritus ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem
fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, prae-
5 sertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras
Caesari remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex
hibernis educturus esset; rem gestam in Eburonibus
perscribit; docet omnes equitatus peditatusque copias
Treverorum III milia passuum longe ab suis castris
consedisse.

48 Caesar consilio eius probato, etsi opinione trium
legionum deiectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum
2 communi saluti auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit
magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis
cognoscit quae apud Ciceronem gerantur quantoque
3 in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis
magnis praemiis persuadet uti ad Ciceronem epistulam
4 deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne

and sends a dispatch to Cicero.

47, § 2. *impedimenta.* The troops who had been quartered at Atuatuca, and doubtless also the legions in the other camps, had heavy baggage with them (31, § 6). In the campaign of 52 B.C. Caesar left the baggage of the whole army at Agedincum (Sens) (vii, 10, § 3); but, as any soldier would understand, the army nevertheless took some baggage with it into the field (35, § 3).

§ 4. *sciret.* The subjunctive is causal.

48, § 1. *etsi . . . redierat.* Though the meaning of these words is unmistakable, it is hard to translate them into good English. I should say 'although he had only two legions instead of the three which he had expected'. Instead of *redierat* Meusel adopts Pluygers's emendation, *reciderat*; but may one not compare *B.C.*, iii, 93, § 2,—*pilisque missis ad gladios redierunt*?

§ 3. *equitibus Gallis.* See the note on i, 23, § 2.

§ 4. *Graecis conscriptam litteris* can only mean 'written in

intercepta epistula nostra ab hostibus consilia cogno-
scantur. Si adire non possit, monet ut tragulam cum 5
epistula ad ammentum deligata intra munitiones
castrorum abiciat. In litteris scribit se cum legioni- 6
bus profectum celeriter adfore; hortatur ut pristinam
virtutem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat 7
praeceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim 8
adhaesit neque a nostris biduo animadversa tertio die
a quodam milite conspicitur, dempta ad Ciceronem
defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat 9
maximaque omnes laetitia adficit. Tum fumi incen- 10
diorum procul videbantur, quae res omnem dubita-
tionem adventus legionum expulit.

49 **The Gauls raise the siege and march to encounter Caesar,**

Galli re cognita per exploratores obsidionem relin-
quunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis contendunt. Haec
erant armata circiter milia LX. Cicero data facultate 2
Gallum ⟨eundem⟩ ab eodem Verticone, quem supra

Greek characters'. Dion Cassius (xl, 9, § 3) says that the letter was written in Greek: but his testimony on such a point proves nothing; and if Caesar had meant what Dion supposed, he would have said *Graece*. He uses the expression *Graecis litteris* in two other passages (i, 29, § 1 and vi, 14, § 3), where the meaning 'Greek characters' is indisputable. He wrote the letter in Latin but in Greek characters, just as officers in the Indian Mutiny sometimes wrote dispatches in Greek characters. This passage proves that some of the Nervii or their allies understood Latin (*C. G.*, pp. 730–1).

§ 5. An *ammentum* was a thong, fastened to the middle of a javelin, to enable it to be thrown with greater force. As Long explains (*D. R. R.*, iv, 228), referring to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xii, 321 (*inserit amento digitos*), 'when a man wished to throw a spear, he grasped the shaft . . . inserted his fingers in the loop and by means of the additional leverage was able to throw a heavy weapon a considerable distance'. Mr. R. R. Marett (*Anthropology*, 1912, p. 231) says that the Australian 'spear-thrower' 'for no obvious reason enables him [an Australian native] to throw his spear extraordinarily far. I have myself', he adds, 'seen an Australian spear, with the help of the spear-thrower, fly a hundred and fifty yards, and strike true and deep at the end of its flight.'

§ 10. *fumi incendiorum.* Caesar was burning villages as he advanced, just as the English did in the Indian Mutiny. Cf. viii, 3, § 2.

49, § 1. *milia LX.* Probably this number was exaggerated. See the note on iii, 26, § 6.

§ 2. *Gallum . . . Verticone.* The reading of *α* is *Gallum ab eodem Verticone*; of *β*, *Gallum eundem Verticonem*, which is

demonstravimus, repetit, qui litteras ad Caesarem
3 deferat. Hunc admonet iter caute diligenterque
faciat. Perscribit in litteris hostes ab se discessisse
4 omnemque ad eum multitudinem convertisse. Quibus
litteris circiter media nocte Caesar adlatis suos facit
certiores eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat.
5 Postero die luce prima movet castra et circiter milia
passuum IIII progressus trans vallem magnam et
6 rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni
periculi res tantulis copiis iniquo loco dimicare; tum,
quoniam obsidione liberatum Ciceronem sciebat, aequo
animo remittendum de celeritate existimabat: considit
et quam aequissimo potest loco castra communit atque
7 haec, etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum milium VII,
praesertim nullis cum impedimentis, tamen angustiis
viarum quam maxime potest contrahit, eo consilio ut

obviously wrong. W. Nitsche, whom Meusel follows, proposes *Gallum ⟨alium⟩ ab eodem Verticone*, because *Gallum* without *alium* would evidently mean the slave who is mentioned in 45, § 3, and in this case Caesar would certainly have written *Gallum eundem*. But does not the reading of β suggest that Caesar did write *Gallum eundem*? If so, the slave had returned to his master, just as the spy Ungud returned to Lucknow again and again during the Indian Mutiny; and in favour of this supposition it may be said that, as we may infer from 45, § 4, the slave might safely have returned, and that if he had not already returned, Caesar would probably have employed him to carry his dispatch (48, § 3). Still, Nitsche's emendation may be right.

§ 3. *Hunc*. I used to think, as Meusel apparently does (*L. C.*, i, 144), that the pronoun referred to *Gallum*; but I am now inclined to believe that Long (*D. R. R.*, iv, 229) is right in identifying it with *Caesarem*.

§ 6. *tantulis*. The reading of β is *cum tantis*, which yields equally good sense, and, moreover, as Meusel says (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 300), seems to follow rather more naturally the preceding *multitudinem hostium*. Nevertheless, I adhere, as Meusel himself habitually does when there are not sufficient grounds for a decision, to the reading of α.

§ 7. *viarum*. Passages crossed a Roman camp from front to rear and from side to side. Of the latter the principal (*via principalis*) connected the *porta principalis dextra* with the *porta principalis sinistra*. From the centre of the *via principalis* to the *porta praetoria*—the front gate of the camp—extended the *via praetoria*. Just inside the rampart a passage, in which the army was formed up when it was about to march out, ran right round the camp. See F. Stolle, *Das Lager und Heer der Römer*, 1912, pp. 51–144.

in summam contemptionem hostibus veniat. Interim 8
speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis explorat quo
commodissime itinere vallem transire possit.

50 *who entices them to attack him on unfavourable ground.*

Eo die parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam factis
utrique sese suo loco continent: Galli, quod ampliores 2
copias, quae nondum convenerant, expectabant, Caesar, 3
si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum
elicere posset, ut citra vallem pro castris proelio
contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut exploratis
itineribus minore cum periculo vallem rivumque
transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra 4
accedit proeliumque cum nostris equitibus committit.
Caesar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere 5
iubet, simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo
muniri portasque obstrui atque in his administrandis
rebus quam maxime concursari et cum simulatione
agi timoris iubet.

51 *Rout of the Gauls.*

Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias tradu-
cunt aciemque iniquo loco constituunt, nostris vero 2
etiam de vallo deductis propius accedunt et tela intra
munitionem ex omnibus partibus coiciunt praeconi- 3
busque circummissis pronuntiari iubent, seu quis Gallus
seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire,
sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem.
Ac sic nostros contempserunt ut obstructis in speciem 4
portis singulis ordinibus caespitum, quod ea non posse
introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere,
alii fossas complere inciperent. Tum Caesar omnibus 5
portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso celeriter
hostes in fugam dat, sic uti omnino pugnandi causa
resisteret nemo, magnumque ex iis numerum occidit
atque omnes armis exuit.

§ 8. *speculatoribus.* See the note on ii, 11, § 2.

50, § 5. *consulto.* Doberenz-Dinter, referring to 16, § 2, take this word with *cedere*: to me it is self-evident that it goes with *Caesar . . . iubet.*

portas. See the second note on iii, 19, § 2.

51, § 4. *videbantur*, as in ii, 11, § 5, is equivalent to *sibi videbantur.*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *per Remos* [illegible] take these words in the [illegible] *per Remos* [illegible] that they are equivalent [illegible] *Remos* [illegible] and [illegible] that Schneider [illegible] and Meusel [illegible] take them in the same way. [illegible] instances in which *per* is used in the sense of *by means of* [illegible] three columns of Meusel's Lexicon. If Caesar had meant 'through the country of the Remi', he would almost certainly have written *per* [illegible] see *L. C.* [illegible], 1040 [illegible], 1276). He only twice [illegible] § 1; [illegible] § 1 uses *per* with the name of a tribe in the sense of 'through the country of', and there his meaning is unmistakable.

[illegible] Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 1595) regards the force of the subjunctive as final. I should say that it is consecutive,—'a shout

Indutiomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppu-
gnare decreverat, noctu profugit copiasque omnes in
Treveros reducit. Caesar Fabium cum legione in sua 3
remittit hiberna, ipse cum III legionibus circum Sama-
robrivam trinis hibernis hiemare constituit et, quod
tanti motus Galliae extiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad
exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de 4
Sabini morte perlato omnes fere Galliae civitates
de bello consultabant, [nuntios] legationesque in
omnes partes dimittebant et quid reliqui consilii
caperent atque unde initium belli fieret explorabant
nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habebant. Neque 5
ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine sollicitudine
Caesaris intercessit, quin aliquem de consiliis ac motu
Gallorum nuntium acciperet. In his ab L. Roscio 6
quaestore, quem legioni XIII. praefecerat, certior
factus est magnas [Gallorum] copias earum civitatum
quae Aremoricae appellantur oppugnandi sui causa
convenisse neque longius milibus passuum VIII ab 7
hibernis suis afuisse, sed nuntio adlato de victoria

Gallic tribes continue to intrigue.

arose . . . announcing a victory and conveying the congratulations of the Remi.'

§ 3. *cum . . . hiberna.* The reading of *a* is *cum sua legione remittit in hiberna*; but Klotz (*C.S.*, p. 256) rightly remarks that in Caesar's time *legati* were not permanently attached to legions, but only placed in command of them as occasion required, and that Caesar elsewhere never speaks of *suae legiones* except with reference to himself. Accordingly, following the analogy of 25, § 4, 46, § 4, and 47, § 3, he adopts, as I have done, the reading of *β*.

trinis. It ought to be unnecessary to explain why *trinis* is used, and not *tribus*.

§ 4. *nuntios* is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 66) because (1) the word breaks the run of the sentence; (2) after *illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato* it is superfluous; and (3) Caesar nowhere else couples *nuntii* with *legationes*, except in vii, 64, § 7, where *nuntiis* is expressly distinguished from *legationibus*. The first reason does not impress me.

reliqui cannot be genitive, as any one will see if he reads the sentence carefully. It means 'the other tribes' from the point of view of each tribe which sent embassies.

§ 6. *Gallorum* is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 63-4) because every contemporary reader must have known that the *Aremoricae civitates* were Gallic.

Aremoricae is a Celtic word meaning 'maritime'.

Caesaris discessisse, adeo ut fugae similis discessus
videretur.

The Senones defy Caesar.

54 At Caesar principibus cuiusque civitatis ad se evo-
catis, alios territando, [cum se scire quae fierent
denuntiaret,] alios cohortando magnam partem Galliae
2 in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas in
primis firma et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis,
Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud eos regem constituerat,
cuius frater Moritasgus adventu in Galliam Caesaris
cuiusque maiores regnum obtinuerant, interficere
publico consilio conati, cum ille praesensisset ac pro-
fugisset, usque ad fines insecuti regno domoque expu-
3 lerunt, et missis ad Caesarem satis faciendi causa
legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum venire iussisset,
4 dicto audientes non fuerunt. Tantum apud homines
barbaros valuit esse aliquos repertos principes belli
inferendi tantamque omnibus voluntatum commuta-
tionem attulit, ut praeter Haeduos et Remos, quos
praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro
vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide,
alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere
5 civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud
scio mirandumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis,
tum maxime quod qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus
praeferebantur tantum se eius opinionis deperdidisse ut
populi Romani imperia perferrent gravissime dolebant.

54, § 1. *alios* is only found in *S*; but *alias*—the reading of *X*—which, I need hardly say, is an adverb, is used by Caesar (ii, 29, § 5; iii, 21, § 3; v, 57, § 3; *B. C.*, i, 59, §§ 2–3) only in regard to time.

cum se scire . . . denuntiaret is an old conjecture, which appeared first in the Aldine edition. The reading of *a* is *cum se scire quae fierent alias cohortando denuntiaret*, the order of which is obviously wrong; of *β*, *cum sciret deficere, alias cohortando*, which is nonsense. Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 38) brackets the words in question as a marginal explanation of *territando*.

§ 4. W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 779), referring to *B. C.*, i, 77, § 2, iii, 47, § 7, supplies *in* before *honore*; but in *B. C.*, i. 33, § 2 Caesar writes *Pompeius . . . dixerat eodem se habiturum loco*, &c. See Meusel's note on the last-named passage.

§ 5. *compluribus . . . causis.* Cf. 41, § 5 and *C. G.*, pp. 103–5.

eius, I am sure, agrees with *opinionis*, and Meusel (*L. C.*, ii, 257) agrees with me.

Treveri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis 55
nullum tempus intermiserunt quin trans Rhenum
legatos mitterent, civitates sollicitarent, pecunias polli-
cerentur, magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta multo
minorem superesse dicerent partem. Neque tamen 2
ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit ut Rhenum
transiret, cum se bis expertos dicerent, Ariovisti bello
et Tencterorum transitu: non esse amplius fortunam
temptaturos. Hac spe lapsus Indutiomarus nihilo minus 3
copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exules
damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se adlicere
coepit. Ac tantam sibi iam his rebus in Gallia aucto- 4
ritatem comparaverat ut undique ad eum legationes
concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice priva-
timque peterent.

Indutiomarus prepares to fight,

Ubi intellexit ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte 56
Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari,
altera Nervios Atuatucosque bellum Romanis parare,
neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore si ex finibus
suis progredi coepisset, armatum concilium indicit.
Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli; quo lege com- 2
muni omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur; qui
ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis
omnibus cruciatibus adfectus necatur. In eo concilio 3

55, § 2. *transiret*. I am inclined to think that Vascosanus was right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *transirent*. Cf. i, 2, § 1; 17, § 2; iii, 17, § 3; and *N. J.*, cliii, 1896, pp. 689–90.

Ariovisti . . . transitu. The reasons which Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 37) gives for bracketing these words seem to me hardly sufficient. He remarks that Caesar would not have written *transitu*, but *fuga* or *calamitate*, and that he would not have omitted to mention the Usipetes. The latter reason is weak (cf. vii, 77, § 14): the former is based upon a misunderstanding; for *transitu* evidently refers to the migration of the Tencteri, not to their flight. When they fled they were not able to cross the Rhine: they were drowned.

56, § 2. *qui ex iis . . . necatur*. Probably the last comer was regarded as accursed. That his execution involved a religious ceremony I have little doubt; and I am sure that those who have studied Celtic religion will agree with me. Cf. vi, 16.

venit is of course perfect: tenses in Latin, as the learner doubtless knows, correspond with facts, for good Latin writers said exactly what they meant; whereas in English tenses are often used loosely.

Cingetorigem, alterius principem factionis, generum suum, quem supra demonstravimus Caesaris secutum fidem ab eo non discessisse, hostem iudicat bonaque
4 eius publicat. His rebus confectis, in concilio pronuntiat arcessitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus
5 aliisque compluribus Galliae civitatibus; huc iturum per fines Remorum eorumque agros populaturum ac, prius quam id faciat, castra Labieni oppugnaturum.

and besets Labienus's camp.

57 Quae fieri velit praecipit. Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat, ne quam occa-
2 sionem rei bene gerendae dimitteret cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque eius propinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita quam in concilio habuerat, nuntios mittit ad finitimas civitates equitesque undique evocat; his
3 certam diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope cotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus sub castris eius vagabatur, alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias conloquendi aut territandi causa; equites plerumque
4 omnes tela intra vallum coiciebant. Labienus suos intra munitionem continebat timorisque opinionem quibuscumque poterat rebus augebat.

58 Cum maiore in dies contemptione Indutiomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit ut nulla ratione ea res enuntiari aut
2 ad Treveros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine cotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela coiciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum nostros ad
3 pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati

§ 3. *quem supra demonstravimus . . . discessisse.* Cf. 3, §§ 2–5; 4, § 3.

57, § 2. *equites . . . evocat.* As it was winter, Labienus had only a few cavalry with him. See the second note on 46, § 4.

58, § 1. *intromissis equitibus.* Evidently the Treveran sentries were excessively careless.

Sortie of Labienus's cavalry: Indutiomarus killed.

discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem 4
equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, perter-
ritis hostibus atque in fugam coniectis (quod fore,
sicut accidit, videbat) unum omnes petant Indutio-
marum, neu quis quem prius vulneret quam illum
interfectum viderit, quod mora reliquorum spatium
nactum illum effugere nolebat; magna proponit iis 5
qui occiderint praemia; submittit cohortes equitibus
subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna et, 6
cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado
deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur caputque eius
refertur in castra; redeuntes equites quos possunt
consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita, omnes 7
Eburonum et Nerviorum quae convenerant copiae
discedunt, pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar
quietiorem Galliam.

§ 4. *praecipit atque interdicit.* The former verb of course refers to *unum . . . Indutiomarum*, the latter to *neu quis . . . viderit*; but, as in 22, § 5, it is impossible to use two verbs in translation: 'giving stringent orders' will bring out the sense.

§ 6. *hominis.* See the note on 7, § 9. I doubt whether our language can adequately express the compliment which the word implies (though Schneider may be right in thinking that it is used with a touch of irony). If Caesar had written in English, he might perhaps have said, 'the general's' (good fortune), suggesting that Labienus was a good general.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS SEXTUS

53 B.C. Caesar raises two new legions and borrows a third from Pompey.

1 Multis de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum expectans per M. Silanum, C. Antistium Reginum,
2 T. Sextium legatos dilectum habere instituit; simul ab Cn. Pompeio proconsule petiit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio rei publicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consul sacramento rogasset ad
3 signa convenire et ad se proficisci iuberet, magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliae existimans tantas videri Italiae facultates ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore sarciri sed etiam maioribus augeri

1, § 1. *dilectum . . . instituit.* The levy was held in Cisalpine Gaul. See 32, § 5 and the second note on i, 10, § 3.

§ 2. *petiit* is a correction, due to Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 355), of the MS. reading, *petit*: *remaneret*, following *petit*, could not here be justified. See the note on iii, 5, § 3 (*certiores facit*).

quoniam . . . remaneret. See the last note on v, 3, § 5. Pompey was at this time a proconsul, charged with the government of Spain; but he found it convenient to remain in the neighbourhood of Rome (*ad urbem*)—he could not legally enter the city without forfeiting his *imperium*—leaving Spain to be governed by his *legati*. Why he did this, the reader cannot fully understand without a general knowledge of Roman history.

consul sacramento rogasset. Pompey had been consul two years before. The technical term *sacramento rogasset* implies, as Caesar's contemporary readers would have understood, *an vellent iurati nomen dare militiae*,—'whether they would bind themselves by oath to serve as soldiers'. This legion had been raised in 55 B.C., the year of Pompey's second consulship. It would seem that two years earlier he had been authorized to raise troops even in the provinces (Cicero, *Att.*, iv, 1, § 7). This would account for his having raised a legion in territory which was under Caesar's jurisdiction.

§ 3. *ad opinionem Galliae* may be translated by 'with a view to impressing public opinion in Gaul'.

augeri. Obviously the subject of this verb is not really *id*, but must be supplied from *detrimentum*. It is *id quod detrimento affectum esset*.

copiis posset. Quod cum Pompeius et rei publicae 4
et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto per suos
dilectu tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et
adductis legionibus duplicatoque earum cohortium
numero quas cum Q. Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et
copiis docuit quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes
possent.

Alliance of the Treveri with German tribes and with Ambiorix: rebellious attitude of the Nervii, Atuatuci, Menapii, Senones, and Carnutes.

Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad eius pro- **2**
pinquos a Treveris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos
Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non de-
sistunt. Cum a proximis impetrare non possent, 2
ulteriores temptant. Inventis non nullis civitatibus,
iure iurando inter se confirmant obsidibusque de
pecunia cavent; Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere
adiungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar, cum undi- 3
que bellum parari videret, Nervios, Atuatucos, Mena-
pios adiunctis Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis esse in
armis, Senones ad imperatum non venire et cum
Carnutibus finitimisque civitatibus consilia communi-
care, a Treveris Germanos crebris legationibus solli-
citari, maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit.

Caesar punishes

Itaque nondum hieme confecta proximis IIII coactis **3**
legionibus de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit

§ 4. *duplicatoque . . . amiserat.* These words are explanatory of *tribus . . . legionibus*: in other words, Caesar meant that his three new legions doubled the legion and five cohorts which he had lost. Before the destruction of Q. Titurius's brigade (v, 24–37) he had had eight legions and five cohorts: the brigade consisted of one legion and five cohorts (v, 24, § 4); and at the end of 53 B.C. Caesar had ten legions (vi, 44, § 3). See the note on v, 24, § 4.

Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 69) wishes to strike out *que* after *duplicato*, arguing that if it were genuine, we should receive the false impression that Caesar raised three new legions *plus* 15×2 cohorts. I never received this impression.

2, § 1. *Interfecto . . . docuimus.* See v, 58, § 6.

ad eius propinquos. See the note on v, 26, § 2.

§ 2. *confirmant.* The implied object is *societatem.* Objects are often left to the imagination in English. Any one can think of instances.

§ 3. *Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis.* See ii, 4, § 10 and p. xxxi.

Senones . . . venire. Cf. v, 54, § 2.

3, § 1. *proximis . . . contendit.* We may infer from v, 53, § 3 (*ipse cum III legionibus circum Samarobrivam . . . hiemare constituit*) that Caesar started on this march from Samarobriva (Amiens).

the Nervii and marches against the Senones.

2 et, prius quam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent,
magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto atque
ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris, in
3 deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coegit. Eo
celeriter confecto negotio, rursus in hiberna legiones
4 reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, ut instituerat,
indicto, cum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes Tre-
verosque venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc
esse arbitratus, ut omnia postponere videretur, con-
5 cilium Luteciam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant
hi Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria coniun-
xerant, sed ab hoc consilio afuisse existimabantur.
6 Hac re pro suggestu pronuntiata, eodem die cum
legionibus in Senones proficiscitur, magnisque itineri-
bus eo pervenit.

The Senones and Carnutes submit.

4 Cognito eius adventu Acco, qui princeps eius con-
silii fuerat, iubet in oppida multitudinem convenire.
Conantibus, prius quam id effici posset, adesse Roma-
2 nos nuntiatur. Necessario sententia desistunt lega-
tosque deprecandi causa ad Caesarem mittunt; adeunt
per Haeduos, quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas.
3 Libenter Caesar petentibus Haeduis dat veniam excu-
sationemque accipit, quod aestivum tempus instantis
4 belli non quaestionis esse arbitrabatur. Obsidibus
5 imperatis C, hos Haeduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem
Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt usi deprecato-
ribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela; eadem ferunt
6 responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar equitesque imperat
civitatibus.

§ 2. *prius quam . . . possent.* See the note on iii, 26, § 3.

§ 4. *Concilio Galliae . . . indicto.* See the note on v, 2, § 4.

reliqui. The Belgae, as the preceding narrative shows, are not included.

ut . . . videretur. See the note on ii, 28, § 3.

§ 5. *civitatemque . . . coniunxerant.* Cf. ii, 3, § 5.

§ 6. *pro suggestu,*—'from the front of his tribunal'. The *suggestus* was a platform, erected within the camp, on which, as we may infer from Trajan's column, councils of war were held (*D. S.*, iv, 1562).

4, § 2. *in fide.* See the note on ii, 3, § 2.

§ 3. *petentibus Haeduis* is ablative, not dative.

Caesar prepares to punish Ambiorix.

Hac parte Galliae pacata, totus et mente et animo **5**
in bellum Treverorum et Ambiorigis insistit. Cavari- 2
num cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci iubet,
ne quis aut ex huius iracundia aut ex eo quod
meruerat odio civitatis motus existat. His rebus 3
constitutis, quod pro explorato habebat Ambiorigem
proelio non esse contenturum, reliqua eius consilia
animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui 4
Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus silvisque mu-
niti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Caesarem legatos
numquam miserant. Cum his esse hospitium Am-
biorigi sciebat; item per Treveros venisse Germanis
in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi detrahenda 5
auxilia existimabat quam ipsum bello lacesseret, ne
desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet aut cum
Transrhenanis congredi cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio 6
totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treveros
mittit duasque ad eum legiones proficisci iubet; ipse
cum legionibus expeditis V in Menapios proficiscitur.
Illi nulla coacta manu loci praesidio freti in silvas 7
paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt.

As a preliminary step, he marches against the Menapii, who submit.

Caesar partitis copiis cum C. Fabio legato et M. Crasso **6**
quaestore celeriterque effectis pontibus adit tripertito,
aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque ho-
minum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii 2
legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille 3
obsidibus acceptis hostium se numero habiturum con-
firmat, si aut Ambiorigem aut eius legatos finibus
suis recepissent. His confirmatis rebus Commium 4
Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis
relinquit; ipse in Treveros proficiscitur.

5, § 1. *et mente et animo.* Any one who will think, using his dictionary, if necessary, can find out the difference between *mente* and *animo*. There is a similar, but more elaborate, expression in the Catechism,—'with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength.'

§ 6. *totius . . . impedimenta* need not be understood literally. In the campaign of 52 B.C. Caesar left the baggage of the whole army at Agedincum (Sens) (vii, 10, § 3); but, as any soldier would understand, the army nevertheless took some baggage with it into the field (35, § 3).

expeditis. See the note on ii, 19, § 2.

Labienus decisively defeats the Treveri.

7 Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treveri magnis
coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis Labienum cum
una legione, quae in eorum finibus hiemabat, adoriri
2 parabant, iamque ab eo non longius bidui via aberant,
cum duas venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt.
3 Positis castris a milibus passuum XV auxilia Ger-
4 manorum expectare constituunt. Labienus hostium
cognito consilio, sperans temeritate eorum fore aliquam
dimicandi facultatem, praesidio V cohortium impedi-
mentis relicto cum XXV cohortibus magnoque equitatu
contra hostem proficiscitur et mille passuum inter-
5 misso spatio castra communit. Erat inter Labienum
atque hostem difficili transitu flumen ripisque prae-
ruptis. Hoc neque ipse transire in animo habebat
neque hostes transituros existimabat. Augebatur
6 auxiliorum cotidie spes. Loquitur consulto palam,
quoniam Germani adpropinquare dicantur, sese suas

7, § 1. *hiemabat.* The reading of *a*—*hiemaverat*—would imply that Labienus had wintered in the country of the Treveri, but was there no longer. It is true that 3, § 4 shows that winter, properly so called, was over: but, as we may gather from i, 10, § 3, *hiemare* could be used in an extended sense; and I have no doubt that *hiemabat* is right.

§ 5. *Erat . . . praeruptis.* M. Jullian, who was anticipated by H. L. Long, identifies this river with the Semoy, and the knoll (*tumulus*) mentioned in 8, § 3 with a hill between Mouzon and Izel: but is the district between Mouzon and Izel the only one in Luxemburg that corresponds with Caesar's narrative? Anyhow Mouzon is about 80 Roman miles from Tongres, which M. Jullian identifies with Atuatuca (see 32, §§ 3-4 and p. 407), whereas Caesar (v, 27, § 9) implies that the camp of Labienus was only a little more than 50 Roman miles from that stronghold (*C. G.*, pp. 383–4) and (v, 30, § 3) that an army consisting of a legion and five cohorts—say about 6,000 men—could march thence to it, or to the rather nearer camp of Cicero, in two days.

§ 6. *consulto* is an emendation, proposed by W. A. Hecker. The MS. reading—*in concilio*—is evidently open to objection; for it implies that in a council of war Labienus deliberately made a remark the motive of which he did not expect the officers who were present to understand; that he reckoned on some of the officers repeating this remark outside the council in the hearing of the Gallic troopers; and that in a second council (§ 8) he explained to his officers what he had meant. Moreover, it deprives the word *palam* of all point. It seems more probable that Labienus would have made the remark openly in the camp before the troopers, and that he would have held only one council.

exercitusque fortunas in dubium non devocaturum
et postero die prima luce castra moturum. Celeriter 7
haec ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum
equitum numero non nullos Gallicis rebus favere
natura cogebat. Labienus nocte tribunis militum 8
primisque ordinibus convocatis quid sui sit consilii
proponit et, quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspi-
cionem, maiore strepitu et tumultu quam populi
Romani fert consuetudo castra moveri iubet. His
rebus fugae similem profectionem efficit. Haec quo- 9
que per exploratores ante lucem in tanta propinquitate
castrorum ad hostes deferuntur.

Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones proces- **8**
serat, cum Galli, cohortati inter se ne speratam
praedam ex manibus dimitterent—longum esse per-
territis Romanis Germanorum auxilium expectare,
neque suam pati dignitatem ut tantis copiis tam
exiguam manum praesertim fugientem atque impe-
ditam adoriri non audeant—flumen transire et iniquo
loco committere proelium non dubitant. Quae fore 2
suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret,
eadem usus simulatione itineris placide progredie-
batur. Tum praemissis paulum impedimentis atque 3
in tumulo quodam conlocatis, 'habetis', inquit, 'milites,
quam petistis facultatem: hostem impedito atque ini-
quo loco tenetis; praestate eandem nobis ducibus 4
virtutem quam saepe numero imperatori praestitistis,
atque illum adesse et haec coram cernere existimate.'
Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque derigi iubet 5
et paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis
reliquos equites ad latera disponit. Celeriter nostri 6

§ 7. *Gallorum equitum.* See the note on i, 23, § 2.

§ 8. *primisque ordinibus.* See the note on v, 30, § 1.

§ 9. *exploratores.* See the first note on i, 12, § 2.

8, § 4. *nobis ducibus*, as the following *imperatori* shows, is almost certainly dative.

§ 5. *dimissis.* Meusel adopts a conjecture of his own,—*missis.* If *dimissis* is right, it must be equivalent to *in plures partes missis*, which, however, is not impossible, for the troops of cavalry were probably stationed at various points.

clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi
praeter spem quos fugere credebant infestis signis
ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt
ac primo concursu in fugam coniecti proximas silvas
7 petierunt. Quos Labienus equitatu consectatus, magno
numero interfecto, compluribus captis, paucis post
diebus civitatem recepit. Nam Germani, qui auxilio
veniebant, percepta Treverorum fuga sese domum
8 contulerunt. Cum his propinqui Indutiomari, qui
defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos ex civitate
9 excesserunt. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse
in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium
est traditum.

Caesar again bridges the Rhine and threatens the allies of Ambiorix,

9 Caesar, postquam ex Menapiis in Treveros venit,
2 duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit; quarum
una erat, quod auxilia contra se Treveris miserant,
3 altera, ne ad eos Ambiorix receptum haberet. His
constitutis rebus, paulo supra eum locum quo ante
4 exercitum traduxerat facere pontem instituit. Nota
atque instituta ratione magno militum studio paucis

§ 6. *modo.* Meusel thinks that Caesar wrote *nostrorum*, which seems to me an excessively daring conjecture. *Modo* is surely defensible on the analogy of vii, 76, § 6, and *impetum modo . . . non* is equivalent to *ne impetum quidem.* Cf. F. Hand, *Tursellinus*, iii, 1836, p. 638.

§ 7. *recepit.* I do not feel quite sure whether this is equivalent, as Meusel thinks (*L. C.*, iii, 1633), to *denuo in suam potestatem redegit* ('recovered his hold over') or, as in vii, 90, § 1, to *in deditionem accepit* ('received the submission of'). But the following sentence—*Nam Germani . . . contulerunt*—seems to show that Meusel is right. The difference between the two meanings is real, though the latter involves the former.

§ 8. *comitati eos*, as Schneider acutely remarks, is not superfluous after *cum his*; for a man might be said to go *cum aliquo* if he went at the same time, but alone.

§ 9. *principatus* here evidently means 'the chief magistracy'. See the note on i, 3, § 5.

9, § 2. *quod . . . miserant.* What is the implied subject of the verb? F. Hotman's conjecture, which Meusel adopts, that Caesar wrote *quod Germani*, is, I think, unnecessary. *Germani* can be mentally supplied from *Rhenum*, and Caesar often leaves the subject of a verb to the imagination. Cf. iv, 33, § 1; v, 40, § 1; vi, 34, § 5; vii, 79, § 3.

§ 3. *paulo supra . . . instituit.* See the note on iv, 17, § 1.

§ 4. *Nota . . . ratione. Ratio* here, as in iv, 17, § 1, means 'the principle' (of construction); but *instituo* is not used in the

diebus opus efficitur. Firmo in Treveris ad pontem 5
praesidio relicto, ne quis ab his subito motus oriretur,
reliquas copias equitatumque traducit. Ubii, qui ante 6
obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant, pur-
gandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant
neque ex sua civitate auxilia in Treveros missa neque
ab se fidem laesam; petunt atque orant ut sibi parcat, 7
ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocenti-
bus poenas pendant; si amplius obsidum velit dari,
pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa reperit ab Suebis 8
auxilia missa esse; Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit,
aditus viasque in Suebos perquirit.

Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior **10** *but learns that the Suebi are prepared to resist.*
Suebos omnes in unum locum copias cogere atque
iis nationibus quae sub eorum sint imperio denuntiare
ut auxilia peditatus equitatusque mittant. His cogni- 2
tis rebus rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum
locum deligit; Ubiis imperat ut pecora deducant
suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans
barbaros atque imperitos homines inopia cibariorum
[adductos] ad iniquam pugnandi condicionem posse
deduci; mandat ut crebros exploratores in Suebos 3
mittant quaeque apud eos gerantur cognoscant. Illi 4

same sense as in that passage: *instituta* means 'established' (by practice). One might translate the words by 'The principle of construction was perfectly familiar'.

§ 6. *purgandi sui.* See the second note on iii, 6, § 1.

10, § 1. Meusel (*L. C.*, ii, 913) agrees with me in coupling *Suebos omnes.* Kraner thinks that *omnes* agrees with *copias*; but cf. § 4.

§ 2. *inopia cibariorum.* The Germans, like the Gauls, owing to their imperfect political development, had no organized commissariat; and the latter were more than once obliged to strike prematurely or to disperse because they had not secured the means of subsistence. Cf. ii, 10, § 4; iii, 18, § 6.

adductos is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 71) because it is unlikely that Caesar would have written it before *deduci.* Meusel thinks that it was added by a copyist or a reader who had noticed that Caesar almost always used the ablative *inopia* with a participle.

§ 3. *crebros.* Evidently the meaning is that the scouts were to be numerous in proportion to the area which they were to explore. Meusel, however (*L. C.*, i, 753–4), takes *crebros* in a temporal sense.

imperata faciunt et paucis diebus intermissis referunt: Suebos omnes, postea quam certiores nuntii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis quas coegissent penitus ad extremos fines se recepisse; silvam ibi esse infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; hanc longe introrsus pertinere et pro nativo muro obiectam Cheruscos ab Suebis [Suebosque ab Cheruscis iniuriis incursionibusque] prohibere: ad eius silvae initium Suebos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse.

Digression on the manners and customs of the Gauls and Germans.

Factions in Gaul,

11 Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum
esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et quo
2 differant hae nationes inter sese proponere. In Gallia
non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus
pagis [partibusque] sed paene etiam in singulis domi-
3 bus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt
qui summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existi-

§ 4. *venerint . . . coegissent.* See the first note on v, 27, § 4. Meusel observes (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 365) that Caesar might well have written *venerint . . . coegerint* or *venissent . . . coegissent*, but that he wrote *venerint* under the influence of the present, *referant*, and *coegissent* under the influence of the following perfect infinitive, *recepisse*. I believe that he wrote *venerint* because it describes a more recent act than *coegissent*. In Oratio Recta he would have written *venerunt . . . coegerant*.

§ 5. *appellatur.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 381–2) insists that Caesar wrote *appelletur*: for he would not have suddenly introduced a statement of his own in the middle of the report furnished by the scouts; he could only have learned the name of the forest from them; and he would not have made a remark which might create the impression that he was parading his geographical knowledge. Perhaps he did write *appelletur*: but the question is whether the text can be reasonably defended; and I think that ii, 4, § 10 answers Meusel's arguments.

Suebis . . . prohibere. Meusel adopts an emendation proposed by Ciacconius,—(Cheruscos ab) *Sueborum* (Suebosque ab)—*Cheruscorum*, &c.; but I do not agree with him that the MS. reading is untranslatable. Still, the construction is very harsh and unusual; and perhaps, as he suggests (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 286), the words *Suebosque . . . incursionibusque*, which might well be dispensed with, were interpolated.

11, § 2. *pagis.* See p. liv.

partibusque is suspicious. Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 66) that the *civitates*, *pagi*, and *domus* were also *partes Galliae*, and that one may infer from i, 12, § 4, where π has *partes vel pagos* instead of *pagos*, that *partibus* was added to explain *pagis*.

§ 3. *eorum* is equivalent to *Gallorum*: the antecedent of

mantur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa
omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Idque eius 4
rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex
plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret; suos enim
quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur neque,
aliter si faciat, ullam inter suos habeat auctoritatem.
Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae; nam- 5
que omnes civitates divisae sunt in duas partes.

tribal and domestic.

Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis **12**
principes erant Haedui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum 2
per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas anti-
quitus erat in Haeduis magnaeque eorum erant clien-
telae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adiunxerant
eosque ad se magnis iacturis pollicitationibusque per-
duxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis 3
atque omni nobilitate Haeduorum interfecta, tantum
potentia antecesserant ut magnam partem clientium
ab Haeduis ad se traducerent obsidesque ab his 4
principum filios acciperent et publice iurare cogerent
nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros et partem
finitimi agri per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque
totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate ad- 5
ductus Diviciacus auxilii petendi causa Romam ad

Rival groups of tribes, headed by the Aedui and the Sequani.

The Sequani, aided by Ariovistus, overpower the Aedui,

quorum is not *eorum*, but *qui . . . existimantur*; and *redeat* is in the subjunctive because the force of *quorum* is consecutive. If the reader does not see what I mean, he will do so after he has read the following translation of *eorumque . . . redeat*:—'the leaders of the rival factions are those who are popularly regarded as possessing the greatest influence; and, accordingly, to their arbitrament and judgement belongs the final decision on all questions and political schemes.'

§ 4. *habeat.* The MSS. have *habet*; but Meusel, in a discussion which may be read with profit (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 383–4), shows that the indicative is impossible.

12, § 1. *Sequani.* See the note on i, 31, § 3.

§ 2. *summa . . . Haeduis.* How far this is true depends upon the time which Caesar had in mind when he said *antiquitus*. In the second century B.C. the Arverni had gone nearer to establishing an hegemony over Gaul than any other Gallic tribe. See pp. xli, lvi.

§ 3. *nobilitate.* See the note on i, 31, § 6 (*nobilitatem*).

§ 4. The object of *cogerent* is really not *Haeduos*, but *Haeduorum magistratus* (or *principes*).

who, on Caesar's arrival, recovered supremacy;

6 senatum profectus infecta re redierat. Adventu Caesaris facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Haeduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem comparatis, quod ii qui se ad eorum amicitiam adgregaverant meliore condicione atque aequiore imperio se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia dignitateque amplificata, Sequani principatum dimi-

while the Remi take the place of the Sequani.

7 serant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; quos quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intellegebatur, ii qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Haeduis coniungi poterant se Remis in clientelam 8 dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur: ita [et] novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. 9 Eo tum statu res erat ut longe principes Haedui haberentur, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

Druids and knights alone

13 In omni Gallia eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore genera sunt duo; nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se,

§ 6. *Adventu Caesaris.* Not immediately after his arrival, but in consequence of the victory which he gained over Ariovistus towards the end of 58 B.C.

reliquis rebus. Whether this is to be regarded as an instrumental ablative (as Kraner thinks), or an ablative of cause, or a modal ablative ('in other respects') seems to me to depend upon the point of view of the writer, which we cannot ascertain.

§ 8. The first *et* is obviously superfluous. It could not stand unless the *nova* were distinct from the *repente collecta auctoritas* (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 208; 1910, p. 61).

§ 9. *tum.* W. Paul (*Z.G.*, 1878, p. 191) proposed *tamen*; but I do not see any sufficient reason for the change.

13, § 1. *plebes . . . concilio.* Some writers have tried to prove that these words refer to a period earlier than Caesar's time, and that during the Gallic war a revolution was in progress, which was stimulated by the rebellion of Vercingetorix. The only passages which lend the least support to this theory are iii, 17, § 3; 18, § 7; v, 27, § 3, on each of which I have written a note, and viii, 21, § 4.

Caesar certainly intended to describe the condition of Gaul in his own time: he had ample opportunities for observation; and no doubt he was informed about matters which he could not see for himself by Gauls, like Diviciacus, whom he trusted. If a state in which a rich adventurer with a glib tongue can ingratiate himself, as Dumnorix did (i, 18, §§ 3-5), with the populace and hire their bows and spears and thereby exalt himself to power is democratic, then democracy flourished in

nulli adhibetur concilio. Plerique, cum aut aere 2
alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria poten-
tiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus;
in hos eadem omnia sunt iura quae dominis in servos. 3
Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum,
alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacri- 4
ficia publica ac privata procurant, religiones inter-
pretantur; ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus
disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud

possess political power.

Degradation of the masses.

Religious and civil power of Druids.

Gaul. But such a 'democracy' is quite consistent with the state of society described by Caesar, in which 'the masses are regarded almost as slaves' and 'never venture to act on their own initiative'. Still, although the *plebs* had not begun to acquire definite political power, they had the power of making their wishes felt. A full discussion of the question will be found in *C. G.*, pp. 529–41.

concilio, the reading of *ah*, is, I believe, right, although editors generally prefer *consilio*. I take it that the word here means not 'deliberation' but 'council' (cf. vii, 77, § 3); and *consilium* in Caesar, when it means 'a council', is regularly used of a council of war held by Roman officers.

§ 2. Dinter, perhaps unnecessarily, adds *quibus* after *nobilibus*.

§ 3. *equitum* here means 'knights', not 'cavalry'. The 'knights' mentioned in this passage were the Gallic aristocracy, and the 'men of rank' (*nobilibus*) mentioned in § 2 were the most distinguished of the knights. See the note on i, 31, § 6. Intelligent readers can always see in which of the two senses Caesar uses the word *equites*.

§ 4. *religiones*,—'questions of religion'.

ad hos . . . concurrit. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 58) brackets these words and therefore also *hi*. He argues (1) that the statement is virtually repeated in 14, § 2; (2) that Caesar would have written *discendi*, not *disciplinae* (causa); (3) that the pronouns *hos*, *hi*, and *eos* are objectionable, for *hos* would naturally refer to *equitum* and accordingly Nipperdey altered it into *eos*, while the meaning of *hi* and *apud eos* is obscure; and, lastly, that the next sentence—*Nam fere*, &c.—would naturally follow *religiones interpretantur magnoque sunt apud eos honore*, and that the connexion is spoiled by the intervening words *ad hos . . . concurrit.* Now if the passage is genuine, it must be admitted that Caesar did repeat himself; but in the case of a rapid writer, who had no time to revise his work, this would not be surprising. If Caesar wrote *auxilii causa* (ii, 24, § 4) and *conloquii causa* (*B. C.*, i, 26, § 3), why should he not have written, for once, *disciplinae causa*? *Hos* and *hi* may be awkward, but their meaning is clear; and as for *eos*, Meusel, who says that Caesar would never have expressed himself so badly as to use it with reference to 'the Gauls, who are nowhere mentioned' (*die nirgends genannten Galli*), is of course obliged to retain it and therefore tacitly to admit that Caesar did express himself badly. I do not bracket the words; for I cannot see what

5 eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis
publicis privatisque constituunt, et si quod est facinus
admissum, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, de finibus
controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque
6 constituunt; si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum
decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena
7 apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum,
hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his
omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant,
neque iis petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus
8 communicatur. His autem omnibus druidibus praeest
9 unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc
mortuo aut si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate

motive any interpolator could have had for adding them. See Long's *Caesar*, p. 299. Anyhow, *eos* stands not for *adulescentes*, but for *Gallos*.

§ 5. *finibus*. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville maintained that *fines* here meant the frontiers of states; but Caesar, while professing to tell us in what respects the customs of the Germans differed from those of the Gauls, says expressly (22. § 2) that the former did not recognize private property in land; and, taken in conjunction with that passage, the words *si de finibus controversia est* imply that the Gauls did. Besides, Caesar remarks (22, §§ 2–4, with which cf. iv, i, § 7) that the Germans refused to sanction private property in land 'in order to prevent the growth of avarice' (*ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas*) and 'to keep the masses contented' (*ut animi aequitate plebem contineant*), neither of which objects was attained in Gaul: it is inconceivable that a people who had a coinage, a wealthy class, and an extensive commerce should have held all their land in common; and nobody will believe that Ambiorix was not the owner of the land which surrounded his country house (30, § 3), that Lucterius owned no land though a fortified town formed part of his *clientela* (viii, 32, § 2), or that the governments of the various Gallic states would have been as weak as they were (i, 4, § 2; 17, § 1; 18, § 3; vii, 4, § 4) if they had controlled cultivation and disposed of the crops (*C. G.*, pp. 509–12).

M. Jullian (*H. G.*, ii, 99, n. 6), with whom I agree, holds that *poenas* denotes the penalties inflicted for non-payment. Cf. *A. B.*, p. 294, n. 1.

§ 6. *si qui . . . populus*. If, as Doberenz-Dinter say, *qui* is used substantivally, the expression is loose,—'if any one, whether private individual or tribe': if, as Meusel seems to think (*L. C.*, iii, 1552), it is adjectival, the words are equivalent to *si qui privatus aut si qui populus*.

§ 7. *his* is of course dative, *de via* being understood with *decedunt*, just as in English one might say 'Get out', meaning 'Get out of the way'.

succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum,
non numquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt.
Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae 10
regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco
consecrato. Huc omnes undique qui controversias
habent conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque
parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde 11
in Galliam translata existimatur, et nunc qui dili- 12

Their doctrine imported

§ 10. *Huc omnes . . . parent.* In § 5 Caesar has said that the Druids 'are judges in *nearly* all disputes' (*fere de omnibus controversiis . . . constituunt*). Probably the suitors who appealed to them were *equites* (§ 3), who alone could afford the expense of the journey, and who, having, as Caesar says (§ 3), unlimited rights over their dependants, may have settled their petty disputes without having recourse to Druids. The Druids had not a monopoly of jurisdiction. The Aeduan Vergobret (i, 16, § 5 and p. liv) had 'the power of life and death over his countrymen', just as fathers had over their wives and children (vi, 19, § 3); and the chief magistrate of every tribe adjudicated on offences against the state (i, 4; v, 56, § 3; vii, 4, § 1), though the punishment which he inflicted may have been sanctioned and superintended by Druids.

§ 11. *Disciplina . . . existimatur.* This passage has occasioned much discussion, some scholars accepting Caesar's statement as literally true, while others maintain that he was misinformed. It has been suggested that the Belgae who invaded Britain (v, 12, § 2) may have found Druidism flourishing there, and made it known in Gaul, whence they had come: but they were not the first Celtic invaders; and if Druidism was really of British origin, it had probably been imported into Gaul before. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Gauls who invaded Italy and defeated the Romans in 390 B.C. were accompanied by Druids; and if they were not, it is reasonable to suppose that Druidism had not yet appeared in Gaul when they set out on their wanderings. Some writers believe that Druidism originated in the British Isles in the Neolithic Age (see p. xliv); but whether this is true or not, no satisfactory reason can be given for believing it. M. Camille Jullian (*H. G.*, ii, 88–9), remarking that the Germans, who were akin to the Celts and had always been closely connected with them, had no priests in Caesar's time (*B. G.*, vi, 21, § 1), but had a century later (Tacitus, *Germania*, 10), argues that among the Celts also the priestly office had once been exercised by the tribal kings, but had naturally become specialized; in other words, he holds that Druidism was a Celtic institution, which arose comparatively late,—probably in the third century B. C. But Druidism, as we may infer from Caesar's words, had flourished in Britain long before his time, and as we may infer from the *Annals* (xiv, 30) of Tacitus, especially in the western and less civilized districts; and it may be doubted whether at the time of its birth remote British tribes were politically or socially more advanced than

from Britain.

gentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.

Their privileges.

14 Druides a bello abesse consuerunt neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt. [Militiae vacationem
2 omniumque rerum habent immunitatem.] Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur.
3 Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos non nulli XX in disciplina permanent.

Their doctrines.

Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus,
4 Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis

the German contemporaries of Caesar. My own opinion is that we can never disprove Caesar's report of the Gallic tradition that the Druidical doctrine originated in Britain, and, in the absence of other testimony, had better cling to it.

Sir John Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 1904, pp. 57, 61) maintains that there is no evidence that Druidism was ever the religion of any Brythonic people,—that is to say, of any people who spoke that Celtic dialect from which Welsh and Breton are descended (see p. xlvii); and since he assigns almost the whole of Britain south of the firths of Forth and Clyde to the Brythons, he appears to restrict the British area of Druidism to a narrow western fringe. This hardly agrees with Caesar's statement that Britain was the stronghold of Druidism. Moreover, Caesar plainly gives us to understand that Druidism was common to all the peoples whom he calls Celtae (i, 1, § 1),—the peoples between the Seine and the Garonne; and it is certain that among them the Brythonic element was predominant (see p. xlvii). Indeed, although it is commonly assumed that the Belgae had no Druids, there is absolutely no ground for the assumption. Caesar often used the word *Galli* in a broad sense, including the Belgae; and it is not improbable that when he was describing the manners and customs of the Gauls, and Druidism, which was their most remarkable institution, he intended his description to apply to the Belgae. Sir John Rhys accepts the political part of the description as applying to the Belgic and the other Brythonic tribes of both Gaul and Britain. Yet he insists that that part of the same description which deals with Druidism, and which is closely connected with the political part, has nothing to do with either the Belgae or the other Brythons (*C. G.*, pp. 523–5)!

14, § 1. *neque tributa . . . pendunt.* M. Jullian (*H. G.*, ii, 55) infers from *una* that the Druids did pay taxes, but separately and at a lower rate than the laity. Perhaps they voluntarily contributed to the revenue. Cf. Schneider's *Caesar*, ii, 230.

Militiae . . . immunitatem. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 47) regards these words as a superfluous gloss upon the preceding sentence.

§ 3. *rationibus* here means 'documents'. I do not think that it is necessarily equivalent, as Herzog supposes, to *negotiis*.

instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgus disciplinam
efferri velint neque eos qui discant litteris confisos
minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit
ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac
memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt per- 5
suadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem
transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem
excitari putant metu mortis neglecto. Multa prae- 6
terea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac
terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum

§ 4. *velint . . . discant.* Meusel (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 379) thinks that Caesar might correctly have written *volunt*, but that, having written *velint*, he probably wrote *discant*—the reading of β—also, because in relative clauses which occur in a subjunctive sentence he generally puts the verb in the subjunctive though one would expect the indicative (cf. ii, 35, § 1; iii, 4, § 1, &c.). Yet Meusel himself adopts the reading *discunt*. I cannot conceive that Caesar would have written either *volunt* or *discunt*. If he had written *Id . . . instituerunt* instead of *Id . . . instituisse videntur*, he would have written *volunt*, because *quod . . . volunt* would then have been a statement of fact for which he made himself responsible; but as he wrote *Id . . . videntur*, *quod . . . velint* states the reason which, as he *suggests*, probably influenced the Druids.

quod . . . accidit. Schneider takes *quod* as a pronoun, explained by *ut praesidio . . . remittant* (cf. 15, § 1). I agree with Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 1592) that it is a conjunction.

§ 5. *sed ab aliis . . . alios.* According to Diodorus Siculus (v, 28, § 6) and Timagenes (Ammianus Marcellinus, xv, 9, § 8), the Druids owed their conception of immortality to Pythagoras; and it is not improbable that Druidism may have absorbed Pythagorean doctrine through the influence of the Greeks of Massilia (Marseilles). But if the Druids preached the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, there is no reason to believe that the Celts in general accepted it. They fancied that there was an Elysium somewhere in the West, where after death they were to live again a life like that which they had lived before, but free from care. Perhaps, however, if Caesar was rightly informed, the Druids meant that immediately after death the soul entered a new body,—a very subtle, or as one might say ethereal, but not wholly unsubstantial counterpart of that which it had left behind; and if so, the laity, in so far as they knew what they themselves believed, probably shared the faith of their teachers. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls was not invented by Pythagoras: it was pretty general in primitive times, and is by no means extinct. Many Christians, who profess to believe in the immortality of the soul, also believe, or fancy that they believe, in reincarnation (*A. B.*, pp. 294-6; *C. G.*, pp. 17, 34-5).

§ 6. *terrarum* is equivalent to *orbis terrarum*. Cf. iv, 7, § 5.

immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt.

Knights and retainers.

15 Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit—quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut inlatas propulsarent—, omnes
2 in bello versantur, atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

Religious

16 Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita reli-

15, § 1. *incidit* is of course perfect, but, equally of course, should not be translated by a perfect. See the note on v, 56, § 2.

uti. See the note on i, 5, § 1.

§ 2. *ambactos clientesque.* The exact meaning of *ambacti*, which was a Gallic word, is not certain. According to Festus, a lexicographer of the sixth century (*De significatione verborum*, ed. Müller, 1839, p. 4), *ambactus apud Ennium Gallica lingua servus appellatur*, which I take to mean that the poet Ennius used the word *ambactus*, learned by the Romans from the Cisalpine Gauls, in the sense of *servus*. But if the *ambacti* whom Caesar mentions had been slaves, he would have written not *ambactos*, but *servos*; so, if Ennius was right, *servus*, as the equivalent of *ambactus*, clearly means, not a slave, but a paid servant; and this is the meaning which Mommsen (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 20, note) attaches to *ambactus*: that is to say, he regards *ambacti* as retainers inferior in rank to *clientes*, who held an honourable position, like that of the armed retainers of mediaeval barons. In a later passage (19, § 4) Caesar distinguishes between *servi* and *clientes*. Describing Gallic funerals, he says 'shortly before our time slaves (?) and retainers who were known to have been beloved by their masters were burned along with them after the conclusion of the regular obsequies' (*paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat iustis funebribus confectis una cremabantur*). I believe that *servi* here means 'slaves', but I am not quite sure that it does not mean 'paid servants', that is *ambacti*. Some writers think that in the passage which this note is intended to explain *clientesque* was added by Caesar as the equivalent of *ambactos*, so that *ambactos clientesque* meant '*ambacti*, that is to say, clients'; but if he had intended to convey this meaning, would he not have explained *ambactos*, just as he explains the word *soldurii* (iii, 22, § 2)? I am inclined, then, to believe that *ambactus*, though it was of Gallic origin, had become an established Latin word, which his Italian readers understood (*C. G.*, pp. 514–16).

16, § 1. *omnis* is here used as in i, 1, § 1 (*Gallia est omnis divisa*, &c.), and its position shows that it means 'as a whole'.

observances and human sacrifices.

gionibus, atque ob eam causam qui sunt adfecti 2
gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque
versantur aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se
immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia
druidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis 3
vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen
placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent
instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simu- 4
lacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra
vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circum-
venti flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum 5
qui in furto aut latrocinio aut aliqua noxia sint
comprehensi gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur;
sed cum eius generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium
supplicia descendunt.

The Gallic Pantheon.

Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt—huius sunt **17**

One might translate *Natio . . . religionibus* by 'The Gallic people, in general, are remarkably addicted to religious observances'.

§ 4. *Alii . . . homines.* This custom has left traces in modern times. See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii, 1890, pp. 280-3.

17, § 1. *Mercurium.* The great gods whom Caesar mentions were common to Gaul and Britain; but besides them there were a great many deities, local or national, whose names have been preserved, partly by ancient writers, but principally by inscriptions, almost all of which are later than the time of Caesar. The religion of the Celts was of course not merely the religion of the Celtic conquerors of Gaul and Britain: much of it was borrowed from Ligurians, Iberians, and others who had inhabited Gaul for thousands of years before the Celts arrived. Sun-worship, for instance, had arisen in the Bronze Age, when agriculture became important; and to this day omelettes are offered to the sun on the bridge in the village of Andrieux in Dauphiny, when, on the 10th of February, he reappears, after four months of gloom, above the mountains that imprison the valley. Springs, lakes, rivers, mountains, and forests were believed by the peoples of Gaul and Britain, as of many other lands, to be haunted or possessed by spirits: and these spirits were worshipped in Caesar's time, as they had been for centuries before, and as they continued to be after Christianity became the official creed. The reader will remember Macaulay's line, 'O Tiber, Father Tiber, to whom the Romans pray.' There was a *Dea Arduinna*, who, in the fancy of the people, hovered over the forest of the Ardennes, and a *Dea Bibracte*, originally the spirit of a spring reverenced by the peasants of Mont Beuvray, upon which the famous Aeduan town was built. The names of some of these deities are preserved in geographical names with which we are all familiar. The rivers Marne and

plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad

Dives were called after the goddesses Matrona and Deva: Épone in the department of the Seine-et-Oise commemorates the worship of Epona, the goddess of horsemanship; *Bourbon* and *La Bourboule* are derived from one of the spirits which suggested Caesar's description of the Celtic Apollo,—Borvo, or 'the boiling one', the god of healing springs.

It is hardly necessary to tell the reader that the Celts had their own names for the five great gods whom Caesar called Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. The Celtic names, if Caesar knew them, would have meant nothing to his Italian readers; but the Celtic gods whom he called by Roman names appeared to him to correspond, more or less closely, with the five great Roman gods. He learned what he could from the Gauls whom he consulted,—probably from the Druid, Diviciacus. But second-hand information must be received with caution. We are told that when the French musician, Félicien David, was invited by the Viceroy of Egypt to instruct his wives, etiquette compelled him to give the lessons to a eunuch, who passed them on as well as he could. Diviciacus was in the position of Félicien David, Caesar of the eunuch.

Even animal-worship, or a decaying remnant of animal-worship, has left traces in Celtic art. The boar was especially sacred. As we have seen (in the note on iv, 15, § 1), the Gauls, like the Romans, had military standards, which were in their eyes sacred: like the Romans also, they carried not a flag, but the figure of an animal, and with them this animal was commonly the boar. Traces of animal-worship, indeed, survive in Gallic tribal names: the Brannovices (vii, 75, § 2) were 'the people of the raven', the Eburones 'the people of the boar'. The worship of animals, which at first sight may appear merely unintelligible and absurd, had a meaning. Animals were worshipped by primitive tribes because they were formidable or wonderful or possessed powers that men had not; because men fancied that they were incarnations of deity; or because they might be possessed by the souls of ancestors.

This note is not intended to give an account of Celtic religion, which would require many pages, but only to let the reader understand that there is a great deal to be learned about the subject besides what Caesar has told us, and to put him in the way of informing himself (*A.B.*, pp. 271-86; *C.G.*, pp. 26–32).

huius . . . simulacra. No pre-Roman Celtic statues have ever been found; accordingly M. Salomon Reinach has suggested that Caesar was thinking of menhirs, or standing stones, like those which tourists may see in Cornwall and Brittany. Menhirs had been erected long before the first Celt set foot in Gaul; but M. Reinach thinks that, like the formless stones which the Greeks venerated as emblems of Hermes, they were believed by the Celts to be possessed by the spirit of Mercury. See *C. G.*, p. 32, n. 1.

viarum . . . ducem. *Viarum ducem* means *eum qui vias monstrat*,—the guide who shows what direction the roads are to take:

quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maxi-
mam arbitrantur—post hunc Apollinem et Martem 2
et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere quam
reliquae gentes habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos
depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia
tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem
bella regere. Huic, cum proelio dimicare constitue- 3
runt, ea quae bello ceperint plerumque devovent.
Cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant, reliquas
res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus 4
harum rerum extructos cumulos locis consecratis con-
spicari licet; neque saepe accidit ut neglecta quispiam 5
religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere
auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cru-
ciatu constitutum est.

Measurement of time.

Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant **18**
idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam 2
spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed noctium

itinerum ducem is the guide who enables travellers to make the journey safely. We might translate the words by 'the pioneer and guide of travellers'.

§ 2. *tradere* is here equivalent to *communicare* or *docere*.

§ 3. *Cum superaverunt* is the reading of the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*: *a f* have *quae superaverint*; β has *quae superarint*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 375) shows that in this clause the indicative is necessary, while the future perfect is of course impossible. The paragraph in which he argues the question is well worth reading.

§ 4. *cumulos* is an emendation, which first appeared in the Aldine edition, for the MS. reading, *tumulos*. It is supported by Livy (v, 39, § 1), who says of the Gauls *caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos est, coacervare*; but I feel some hesitation in adopting it, though there is no other instance of *tumulus* in this sense.

18, § 1. *Dite patre.* Dis Pater was conspicuous in the old Latin pantheon as the god of the dead, although in Caesar's time he had been ousted by Pluto, who was accepted by the Romans as a deity under Greek influence. Caesar recognized one of the Gallic gods as being like Dis Pater and called him by the Latin name. Several Gallo-Roman images represent a god holding a hammer, who is supposed to have been Dis Pater; and a bronze statue of the same deity has been found in England. But it must be remembered that in Caesar's time the Gauls did not make statues. See the second note on 17, § 1, *A. B.*, pp. 281–2, and *C. G.*, pp. 30–1.

§ 2. *non numero . . . finiunt.* The Germans had the same

finiunt; dies natales et mensum et annorum initia sic 3 observant ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverunt, ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris adsistere turpe ducunt.

A peculiar custom.

Dowries. **19** Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta 2 cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur; uter eorum vita superavit, ad eum pars utriusque cum 3 fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores sicuti in liberos vitae necisque habent potestatem; et cum pater familiae inlustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si

Status of wives.

notion, which survives in the word 'fortnight', about day and night (Tacitus, *Germania*, 11; *A. B.*, p. 296).

mensum. See the second note on i, 5, § 3.

§ 3. I do not see how *fere* can here be explained in the sense of *ferme* or *prope* (see Meusel's *L. C.*, i, 1286) unless it means 'somewhat'. Meusel groups it with *fere* in 17, § 2; but the meaning —'much (the same)'—is there different. Can *fere* here mean 'generally'?

suos liberos . . . ducunt. This custom would not seem absurd to readers who had studied the ways of primitive tribes. The word *militiae* gives the clue to the meaning. It shows that *in publico*—'openly'—means 'when the father *goes out* armed': at such a time a son who was too young to wear armour might not approach his father. But why? M. Salomon Reinach has given an explanation which is almost certainly right. Showing that an act regarded as disgraceful (*turpe*) by a people risen from barbarism would have been deemed *taboo*—forbidden by religious scruples—by their prehistoric ancestors, he observes that when armed the primitive Gauls were, so to speak, invested with a *taboo* which forbade them to appear in public except in company with other warriors. In Caesar's time the custom had become a matter of etiquette (*Tr.*, p. 185, n. 1).

19, § 1. *Viri . . . servantur.* *Pecunia* does not necessarily mean money: it may denote property of any or every kind; for it is derived from *pecus*, which in primitive times was a medium of exchange, and which, as Caesar says (35, § 6), 'uncivilized peoples greatly prize.' *Fructus* means the profits accruing from the joint property of husband and wife, which property may have been cultivated land, cattle, money lent at interest, and what not. These profits (except what the family lived on) were saved and added to the original capital (*C. G.*, pp. 509–11).

The German deities. The Germans a race of hunters and warriors. They honour continence, care little for agriculture, and have

21 Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, 2 neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam; reliquos ne 3 fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit; a parvis labori 4 ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc staturam ali, hoc vires nervosque confirmari putant. 5 Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur magna corporis parte nuda.

22 Agri culturae non student, maiorque pars eorum 2 victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios,

'through the medium of a public assembly.' But the preposition may be translated by 'in', which suggests the meaning.

21, § 2. *Deorum numero . . . Lunam.* The Germans were in an earlier stage of religious thought than the Gauls, and still worshipped the forces of Nature, which the Gauls, perhaps under the influence of the Greeks of Massilia, had personified. A hundred years later the Germans too had gods whom the Romans equated with Mars and Minerva (Tacitus, *Germania*, 9).

§ 4. *hoc . . . hoc.* The reading of *a* is *hoc alii staturam, alii,* which is obviously wrong; and that of *β*—*alii hoc staturam, alii hoc*—is no better. An emendation is therefore necessary; and, at first sight, that of Vascosanus—*hoc ali staturam, ali,* which only differs by the omission of a letter from the reading of *a*—seems quite satisfactory. But a Danish scholar, Prof. M. Cl. Gertz, conjectures that Caesar wrote *hoc staturam ali, hoc,* which brings the order of the words into harmony with the following clause.

§ 5. *Intra annum . . . nuda.* If the reader will ponder this passage, he will see that *Intra . . . vicesimum* can only refer to *feminae*; in other words, it must mean 'before *her* twentieth year'. With *in fluminibus . . . nuda* cf. iv, 1, § 10.

renonum. According to Isidore, a Spanish lexicographer of the seventh century (*Etymol.*, xix, 23, § 4), *renones* were hairy garments, intended to cover the shoulders and breast; and Sallust (*Hist. fragm.*, iii, 57, ii, 58 [vol. ii, p. 126 of R. Dietsch's ed.]) says that they were made of skins. The word *reno* also means a reindeer.

22, § 1. *Agri culturae non student.* See iv, 1, §§ 5–6 and the note on v, 29, § 1.

no private property in land.

sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum quique una coierunt quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque
anno post alio transire cogunt. Eius rei multas 3
adferunt causas: ne adsidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerendi agri cultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum 4
suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat.

§ 2. *magistratus ac principes.* The *magistratus* were evidently identical with the *principes regionum atque pagorum*—'the chiefs of the various districts and hundreds'—mentioned in 23, § 5; and perhaps Schneider is right in believing that the *magistratus* and the *principes* were the same. Klotz (*Rh. M.*, 1911, p. 631, n. 1) holds that *ac principes* was added in order to explain *magistratus*; but, as Schneider says, *magistratus* requires no explanation, and, if it did, the word *principes*, which sometimes denotes 'magistrates', sometimes simply 'leading men', would not make it clearer.

gentibus cognationibusque. Schneider thinks that Caesar did not intend to distinguish between *gentes* and *cognationes*, but that, having used the former in a narrower sense than elsewhere, e.g. in 17, § 2, he added the latter by way of explanation. *Gentibus* is apparently used in the same sense as the Roman *Iulia gens*; while *cognationibus* means men who were descended, or supposed to be descended, from a common ancestor. 'Clans and groups of kinsmen' would, I think, be a satisfactory translation.

quique is the reading of *β*: *α* has *qui cum*, which yields no sense. Heller conjectures that Caesar wrote *qui tum*; but *quique* is unobjectionable.

atque anno . . . cogunt. Cf. iv, 1, §§ 4–7.

§ 3. *potentioresque.* H. J. Müller conjectures that Caesar wrote (potentiores) *atque*, which would make it necessary to take *potentiores* as the subject of *aedificent* in the next sentence. See J. Lange's remarks in *N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 815.

accuratius. Jurinius supplied *quam*. The emendation, which is defended by R. Schneider (*J. B.*, 1895, pp. 141–2), may be right; but it seems to me gratuitous. Cf. iv, 1, § 10.

nascuntur. A. Polaschek (*Serta Harteliana*, 1896, p. 226) proposes *nascantur*. I agree with R. Schneider (*J. B.*, 1897, p. 235) that the emendation is not absolutely necessary; for the remark may have been Caesar's own.

§ 4. *aequitate* is instrumental ablative, for if it were local *in* would be required, and *continere* here means 'to keep in hand' or 'to keep quiet'. I translate *ut . . . contineant* by 'to keep the masses contented and therefore quiet'.

Tribal territories surrounded by desert land.

23 Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum
2 se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium
virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere
3 neque quemquam prope se audere consistere; simul
hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur repentinae incursionis

Military leaders.

4 timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut inlatum
defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint

Administration of justice.

5 et vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In
pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes
regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt con-

Predatory expeditions.

6 troversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent
infamiam quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt,
atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae
7 causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex principibus
in concilio dixit se ducem fore, qui sequi velint pro-
fiteantur, consurgunt ii qui et causam et hominem
probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur atque a mul-
8 titudine conlaudantur; qui ex his secuti non sunt
in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, om-

Hospitality.

9 niumque his rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospitem
violare fas non putant; qui quacumque de causa ad
eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent sanctosque habent,
hisque omnium domus patent victusque communi-
catur.

23, § 1. *Civitatibus . . . habere.* Cf. iv, 3, §§ 1-2.

§ 5. *nullus . . . magistratus.* We should say, 'there is no central magistracy.'

pagorum. The Suebi by themselves had 100 *pagi* (iv, 1, § 4), which must have been very much smaller than the four *pagi* of the Helvetii (i, 12, § 4); and the word here may, I think, be translated by 'hundreds', in the territorial sense. See W. Stubbs's *Constitutional Hist. of England*, i, 1874, p. 31. Schneider thinks that Caesar did not mean to discriminate between *regionum* and *pagorum*, but, as the former word was vague, added the latter to explain it; for, he says, as all the men who are described as *suos* belonged to *pagi*, they would naturally all have applied for redress to the *principes pagorum*. Probably he is right; but certain cases might have been decided by *principes pagorum* and others by *principes regionum*, just as with us certain cases are decided by a County Court Judge and others by a Judge of the High Court of justice.

§ 9. *Hospitem* here simply means 'a guest'.

Gauls formerly more warlike than Germans: their present degeneracy.

Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute **24**
superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum
multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias
mitterent. Itaque ea quae fertilissima Germaniae 2
sunt loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Erato-
stheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video,
quam illi Orcyniam appellant, Volcae Tectosages
occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt; quae gens ad 3
hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet summamque
habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem. Nunc, 4
quod in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia qua ⟨ante⟩
Germani permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis
utuntur, Gallis autem provinciarum propinquitas et 5
transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque
usus largitur, paulatim adsuefacti superari multisque 6

24, § 1. Every one who is familiar with Latin literature would miss *Ac* here if it were absent: a particle of transition is necessary, though *Ceterum* might have been used instead, showing that the writer, having finished his survey of the manners and customs of the Gauls and Germans, is passing on to notice the former relations between the two peoples. But every one who has a feeling for style would be offended by a translation of *Ac*: if Caesar could have written in English, he would have said merely 'Once there was a time', &c.

cum . . . superarent. Even in this passage *cum* does not tell us *only* 'how one action is related to another with regard to the time of its occurrence' (see the note on 1, 4, § 3). The meaning is (Once there was a time) 'when Gauls were [so brave that they were] more warlike than Germans'. But in English the words enclosed in square brackets must be omitted, and left to the imagination. See the first note on 1, 23, § 1.

§ 2. *Hercyniam silvam.* Judging from 25, § 1 (which was probably not written by Caesar), the Hercynian forest comprised the whole Danubian region from the source of the Danube to the Carpathians.

Eratosthenes was an Alexandrian geographer and poet, who lived in the third century B.C.

§ 4. *ante* was supplied by H. J. Heller. If it were omitted, the subject of *permanent* would be *Galli* or *Volcae Tectosages*, which is evidently impossible. The insertion of *ante* would be unnecessary if we could read *quoque*, which is found in *S*, instead of *quod*, and put a full stop after *utuntur*; but to critical readers this expedient will not commend itself.

§ 5. *provinciarum* means the provinces of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul. See the map and p. lxii.

ad copiam atque usus, 'for prosperity and the needs (of life)'. Having settled the precise meaning of the words, one must try to turn them into English; for the word for word translation

victi proeliis ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

The Hercynian forest and its fauna.

[25 Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo VIIII dierum iter expedito patet; non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum
2 noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione

is hideous. Perhaps this will do :—'(while the Gauls, from the proximity of the provinces and familiarity with sea-borne products, are abundantly supplied) with luxuries and articles of daily consumption.'

25–8 are condemned as an interpolation by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 26-9) and Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 50–4). Meusel's chief reasons are that even if Germany and the adjacent eastern lands were far more extensively wooded in Caesar's time than now, he would not have stated the breadth of the Hercynian forest (25, § 1) as a fact, but would have written *patere dicitur*, or some such phrase; that the Helvetii, in whose country the western end of this *German* forest is said to have been (§ 2), were on the western bank of the Rhine; that the Nemetes lived north, not, as one would infer from § 2, south of the Rauraci; that it is inconceivable that Caesar would have been so credulous as to state as facts the absurdities which abound in ch. 27; and finally that the chapters contain many expressions which Caesar would not have used :—for instance, he would not have written *demonstrata est* (25, § 1) in reference to a matter which he had only just mentioned (24, § 2), but *commemorata est*; he would not have used *summo* (26, § 2) as a noun, &c. It is unnecessary here to repeat Klotz's objections, some of which are identical with Meusel's. I cannot endorse all Meusel's comments : certainly the Helvetii were west of the Rhine, but *oritur ab Helvetiorum . . . finibus* means 'Starting from the [eastern] frontiers of the Helvetii', &c. (cf. i, 1, § 6,—*Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur*). Still, every critical reader must have suspected the authenticity of the chapters.

25, § 1. *Huius* shows, as Meusel remarks, that the interpolated chapters were originally written as a marginal note to 24, § 2 : when the note was incorporated in the text, the scribe felt it necessary to add *quae supra demonstrata est.*

neque . . . noverunt. The subject is left to be supplied by the reader's intelligence. But, says Meusel, though Caesar might have written *dicunt*, *tradunt*, or *ferunt*, without a subject expressed, he would have added *Germani* or *barbari* with *noverunt.* Is this quite certain? See the note on 9, § 2.

§ 2. *recta . . . regione* obviously means 'along the line of the Danube'; but Meusel observes that, according to vii, 46, § 1 and other passages, the words ought to mean 'at right angles to the Danube'. I do not think that this objection is valid. *E regione oppidi* means 'opposite the town'; but *regio*, in the sense in which it is used here, simply means 'line' or 'direction'. Cf. vii, 46, § 1, where *recta regione* means 'in a straight line'.

Danubii. C. W. Glück (*Die bei Cäsar vorkommenden kelt.*

pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit 3
sinistrorsus diversis a flumine regionibus multarum-
que gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit;
neque quisquam est huius Germaniae qui se aut 4
audisse aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat, cum
dierum iter LX processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur
acceperit; multaque in ea genera ferarum nasci con- 5
stat quae reliquis in locis visa non sint; ex quibus
quae maxime differant a ceteris et memoriae prodenda
videantur, haec sunt.

Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter **26**
aures unum cornu existit excelsius magisque de-
rectum his quae nobis nota sunt cornibus. Ab eius 2
summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur.
Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma 3
magnitudoque cornuum.

Sunt item quae appellantur alces. Harum est con- **27**
similis capris figura et varietas pellium, sed magni-
tudine paulo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus
et crura sine nodis articulisque habent, neque quietis 2

Namen, 1857, pp. 91–2) showed that the right form is *Danuvii*: but the question is what form was used by the writer of this chapter; and I see no reason to reject the authority of the MSS.

§ 4. *huius.* Think, and you will see (if it is not self-evident) what part of Germany is meant.

aut . . . acceperit. Meusel remarks that the writer, after stating in § 2 that the forest begins at the frontiers of the Helvetii, &c., says here that no one 'has heard whereabouts it begins'. But of course the writer was thinking of the opposite [eastern] extremity of the forest.

§ 5. *differant . . . videantur.* Meusel doubts whether the mood can be justified; and certainly no one could blame the writer if he had used the indicative. The subjunctive can only be explained by supposing that he meant *quae talia sunt ut maxime differant*, which seems a forced interpretation.

26, § 1. *Est bos . . . diffunduntur.* This animal was probably the reindeer, which, however, as the reader knows, has two antlers.

Instead of *sicut palmae* Caesar would probably have written *genus quoddam palmarum* or something of the kind.

27, § 1. *Sunt . . . appellantur.* See the note on iv, 10, § 5.

mutilae. Mr. A. Vassall (C. A. A. du Pontet, *Caesar—Gallic War, Books VI–VII*, 1901, p. 187) observes that the word is 'exactly descriptive of the appearance of the antlers, which look scraggy and as though they had been injured'.

causa procumbunt neque, si quo adflictae casu con-
3 ciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His
sunt arbores pro cubilibus; ad eas se adplicant atque
4 ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt. Qua-
rum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus
quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab
radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores, tantum ut
5 summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc
cum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores
pondere adfligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

28 Tertium est genus eorum qui uri appellantur. Hi
sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et
2 colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna
velocitas, neque homini neque ferae quam conspexe-
3 runt parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt.
Hoc se labore durant adulescentes atque hoc genere
venationis exercent, et qui plurimos ex his interfe-
cerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quae sint testi-
4 monio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad
homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti
5 possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species
6 multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec
studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt
atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.]

Caesar recrosses his bridge, but guards

29 Caesar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit
Suebos se in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti
veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime

§ 2. *aut.* Meusel prefers *ac*, the reading of *β*. But the movement described by *sublevare* would have preceded that described by *erigere*; and it seems to me that the writer meant to say 'they cannot stand up *or even* raise themselves'.

§ 4. *summa.* Schneider, who puts the comma after *tantum*, thinks that *tantum . . . relinquatur* means 'the look of standing (trees) remains *at the top*'; but I am inclined to think that Nipperdey was right in putting the comma before *tantum*, in which case the meaning is 'so that they *just* look as if they were standing'.

28, § 1. *uri.* The *urus*, or aurochs, was the ox known as *Bos primigenius*, which in our own country survived into the Bronze Age (*A.B.*, pp. 68, 88).

29, § 1. *ut supra demonstravimus.* See 22, § 1.

omnes Germani agri culturae student, constituit non
progredi longius; sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui 2
barbaris tolleret atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret,
reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas
Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum CC re-
scindit, atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum 3
IIII constituit praesidiumque cohortium XII pontis
tuendi causa ponit magnisque eum locum munitio-
nibus firmat. Ei loco praesidioque C. Volcacium
Tullum adulescentem praeficit. Ipse, cum mature- 4
scere frumenta inciperent, ad bellum Ambiorigis pro-
fectus, per Arduennam silvam [, quae est totius Galliae
maxima atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Treverorum
ad Nervios pertinet milibusque amplius D in longi-
tudinem patet,] L. Minucium Basilum cum omni

against German incursions.

He marches against Ambiorix, sending Basilus on ahead with the cavalry.

omnes. Meusel is, I think, mistaken in adopting Davies's conjecture, *homines*; for if Caesar had omitted *omnes*, surely he would have written *Germani* simply, not *homines Germani*. In ii, 30, § 4 *omnibus*, not *hominibus* (Gallis), is certainly the right reading. *Omnes* is not inconsistent with *agri culturae non student* (22, § 1), which, as we may infer from iv, 1, §§ 6–8, means no more than (the Germans) 'are not an agricultural people'.

§ 3. *cohortium XII.* Kraner thinks that these cohorts were composed of auxiliaries—archers and slingers (see p. lxiii)—because, as 33, §§ 1–3, compared with 32, § 6, prove, all the ten legions (see the note on 1, § 4) remained in the field. I doubt whether he is right, for Caesar would surely have called auxiliary cohorts *auxiliares*, as in *B. C.*, i, 63, § 1, or *alariae* (cf. i, 51, § 1; *B. C.*, i, 73, § 3; 83, § 1; ii, 18, § 1); and the mere fact that he mentions the presence in the field of the ten legions does not prove that cohorts had not been detached from them. Compare v, 8, § 2 with 9, § 1 and 11, § 1. I suppose that these cohorts were withdrawn from the Rhine when the army went into winter-quarters. They were certainly required in the seventh campaign.

adulescentem. See the note on i, 52, § 7.

§ 4. *profectus . . . patet.* These words were bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 31–2); but he now candidly admits (ib., 1911, p. 112) that Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 101), who puts a comma after *profectus*, is probably right in retaining *profectus . . . silvam* and taking *per Arduennam silvam* with *L. Minucium . . . praemittit*. The rest of the passage is condemned by Klotz (p. 53) as well as by Meusel. Meusel finds it incredible that Caesar should have so grossly exaggerated the extent of the forest; and Klotz (p. 101) argues that Strabo (iv, 3, § 5), who censures the exaggeration, was not referring to Caesar, but to Timagenes, from whom, in Klotz's opinion, the alleged interpolation was derived.

equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque
5 oportunitate temporis proficere possit; monet ut ignes
in castris fieri prohibeat, ne qua eius adventus procul
significatio fiat; sese confestim subsequi dicit.

Ambiorix narrowly escapes Basilus.

30 Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit. Celeriter contra-
que omnium opinionem confecto itinere multos in
agris inopinantes deprehendit; eorum indicio ad
ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis
2 equitibus esse dicebatur. Multum cum in omnibus
rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna; nam ⟨ut⟩
magno accidit casu ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque
imparatum incideret, priusque eius adventus ab ho-
minibus videretur quam fama ac nuntius adferretur,
sic magnae fuit fortunae omni militari instrumento
quod circum se habebat erepto, raedis equisque com-
3 prehensis, ipsum effugere mortem. Sed hoc factum
est quod aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere
domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa plerum-
que silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates,
comites familiaresque eius angusto in loco paulisper
4 equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. His pugnanti-
bus illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit; fugientem
silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum et
ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit.

The Eburones

31 Ambiorix copias suas iudicione non conduxerit,

Klotz also points out that in v, 3, § 4, where Caesar first mentions the Ardennes, he writes *in silvam Arduennam*, emphasizing *silvam*, because his readers were presumably ignorant of the existence of the forest; whereas in this passage the order of the words—*per Arduennam silvam*—shows that the word *Arduenna* was now known to his readers, and therefore the further description of the forest contained in the words *quae est ... patet* is superfluous. Although I bracket these words, I do not feel sure that they are spurious; for the numeral *D* may be wrong, and I can conceive that Caesar might have given the additional information which the words contain.

§ 5. *subsequi*. See the note on ii, 32, § 3.

30, § 2. *prius ... adferretur*. A purpose is not implied in this clause; but the verb is nevertheless put in the subjunctive by Attraction of Mood, that is to say, because *quam ... adferretur* depends upon a subjunctive clause.

magnae ... fortunae. The genitive is used as in v, 49, § 6,—*magni periculi res*.

resort to guerrilla warfare.

quod proelio dimicandum non existimaret, an tempore
exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum
reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est;
sed certe dimissis per agros nuntiis sibi quemque 2
consulere iussit. Quorum pars in Arduennam silvam,
pars in continentes paludes profugit; qui proximi 3
Oceano fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt, quas
aestus efficere consuerunt; multi ex suis finibus 4
egressi se suaque omnia alienissimis crediderunt.
Catuvolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una 5
cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate iam confectus, cum laborem belli aut fugae ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem, qui eius consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cuius magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

Suicide of Catuvolcus.

32 Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Treverosque, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt oratum ne se in hostium numero duceret neve omnium Germanorum qui essent citra Rhenum unam esse causam iudicaret: nihil se de bello cogitavisse, nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse.
Caesar explorata re [quaestione captivorum], si qui 2
ad eos Eburones ex fuga convenissent, ad se ut

Caesar posts a legion under Cicero at Atuatuca in charge of his heavy baggage,

31, § 1. *existimaret* is an emendation, proposed by W. Paul. The MSS. have *existimarit*; but in Oratio Recta the tense would be imperfect (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 370).

§ 2. *continentes* may possibly mean not 'unbroken' (stretches of morass), as in iii, 28, § 2, but 'adjacent' to the Ardennes. Cf. Schneider's note and *B. C.*, i, 54, § 3. I believe, however, that the former represents Caesar's meaning.

§ 5. *qui . . . fuisset.* The subjunctive is causal.

32, § 1. *Segni . . . Germanorum.* See pp. xxxi–xxxii.

omnium . . . Rhenum. See pp. xxx–xxxi.

§ 2. *quaestione captivorum.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 54) brackets these words, on the ground that, as no fighting had taken place, no prisoners could have been made. Also the startling use of the word *quaestio*, which is generally used (see 19, § 3) of the examination of slaves under torture, and the unusual order, *explorata . . . captivorum* instead of *re quaestione captivorum explorata*, suggest that the words are spurious. It is true that fighting *had* taken place with the Eburones, and that the prisoners may have been Eburonian; but the words look like a marginal addition made by a reader who knew that Caesar used to get information from prisoners.

reducerentur imperavit; si ita fecissent, fines eorum
3 se violaturum negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes
distributis impedimenta omnium legionum Atuatucam
4 contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in
mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurun-
5 culeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc cum re-
liquis rebus locum probabat, tum quod superioris
anni munitiones integrae manebant, ut militum la-
borem sublevaret. Praesidio impedimentis legionem
XIIII. reliquit, unam ex iis [tribus] quas proxime
6 conscriptas ex Italia traduxerat. Ei legioni castris-
que Q. Tullium Ciceronem praefecit ducentosque
equites ei attribuit.

and breaks up his force into three divisions.

33 Partito exercitu, T. Labienum cum legionibus
tribus ad Oceanum versus in eas partes quae Menapios
2 attingunt proficisci iubet; C. Trebonium cum pari
legionum numero ad eam regionem quae Atuatucis
3 adiacet depopulandam mittit; ipse cum reliquis III
ad flumen Scaldim, quod influit in Mosam, extre-
masque Arduennae partes ire constituit, quo cum
paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat.
4 Discedens post diem VII. sese reversurum confirmat,
quam ad diem ei legioni quae in praesidio relinque-

§ 5. *ut . . . sublevaret.* Doberenz-Dinter take this as a consecutive clause, meaning *qua re . . . sublevabatur.* I agree with Schneider and Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 2398) that the clause expresses a purpose.

iis . . . traduxerat. Cf. i, § 4. *Tribus,* which is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 72), is certainly suspicious. The MSS., except *h*, which has *iis*, have *his* (tribus); but as the three legions have never been mentioned since the first chapter, *his* before the relative sentence is not in order, and on the other hand Caesar nowhere else uses *is* with a numeral.

33, § 3. *Scaldim.* As the Scheldt does not flow into the Meuse, many commentators have altered *Scaldim* into *Sabim* (the Sambre). I retain *Scaldim*, partly because, according to Ortelius's map of 'Brabantia' in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (ed. 1573), the Old Meuse (Oude Maas) did communicate with the Scheldt near the island of Tholen, partly because Caesar may not have been well informed about the Scheldt and the lower Meuse (*C. G.*, pp. 734–5).

§ 4. *post diem VII.* See the notes on iv, 9, § 1; 28, § 1.

in praesidio here cannot mean 'in the garrison'; for the legion was itself the garrison. Just as *statio* sometimes, for

batur frumentum deberi sciebat. Labienum Trebo- 5
niumque hortatur, si rei publicae commodo facere
possint, ad eam diem revertantur, ut rursus commu-
nicato consilio exploratisque hostium rationibus aliud
initium belli capere possint.

Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, **34** **Difficulties of the campaign.**
non oppidum, non praesidium quod se armis defen-
deret, sed in omnes partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi 2
cuique aut valles abdita aut locus silvestris aut palus
impedita spem praesidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat,
consederat. Haec loca vicinitatibus erant nota, ma- 3
gnamque res diligentiam requirebat, non in summa
exercitus tuenda (nullum enim poterat universis ⟨a⟩
perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere), sed in
singulis militibus conservandis; quae tamen ex parte
res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat. Nam et praedae 4

instance in v, 16, § 4, means 'an outpost' or 'a piquet', sometimes, as in iv, 32, § 2, the position occupied by an outpost, so *praesidium* may mean the position occupied by a force. Perhaps, however, *in praesidio* may mean 'as a garrison', that is, 'on guard', though Caesar generally expresses this by the 'dative'. In vii, 62, § 8, where a Gallic force is said to have been left *in praesidio*, *praesidio* can hardly mean *loco munito*, for the Gauls would not have fortified the position occupied by a reserve; therefore *in praesidio* can only mean 'on guard'.

§ 5. *commodo* is ablative. Cf. i, 35, § 4 and v, 46, § 4.

34, § 1. *manus certa* means a band posted in a definite place for a definite purpose, and so an organized band. Cf. ii, 22, § 1 and vii, 16, § 2.

§ 3. *quae tamen . . . pertinebat.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 51–2), remarking that these words must mean 'this in some measure concerned the safety of the whole army', asks, 'how could the care which had to be exercised in order to secure the safety of individuals concern the safety of the whole army, which, as Caesar has just said, was in no way endangered?' I reply that Caesar might fairly qualify the words *non in summa . . . accidere* by remarking that the necessity of securing the safety of numerous individual soldiers in some measure concerned the safety of the whole army. But Meusel makes a point when he goes on to say that the clause *nam . . . evocabat* explains *in singulis militibus conservandis* and that the connexion between these two clauses is interrupted by *quae tamen . . . pertinebat.* I admit that these words are open to some suspicion; but I should not feel justified in bracketing them. It is to my mind as clear as daylight that *Nam* refers not only, as Kraner says, to *magnamque . . . conservandis*, but also to *quae . . . pertinebat.*

cupiditas multos longius evocabat et silvae incertis
occultisque itineribus confertos adire prohibebant.
5 Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum
interfici vellet, dimittendae plures manus diducendique
6 erant milites; si continere ad signa manipulos vellet,
ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani
postulabat, locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris, neque
ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi
7 singulis deerat audacia. Ut in eius modi difficulta-
tibus quantum diligentia provideri poterat provide-
batur, ut potius in nocendo aliquid praetermitteretur,
etsi omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam
8 cum aliquo militum detrimento noceretur. Dimittit
ad finitimas civitates nuntios Caesar: omnes evocat
spe praedae ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in
silvis Gallorum vita quam legionarius miles pericli-
tetur, simul ut magna multitudine circumfusa pro tali
9 facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur. Magnus
undique numerus celeriter convenit.

Caesar invites the neighbours of the Eburones to harry them.

35 Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur
diesque adpetebat VII., quem ad diem Caesar ad
2 impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic
quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos adferat
3 casus cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hosti-
bus, ut demonstravimus, manus erat nulla quae
4 parvam modo causam timoris adferret. Trans Rhe-
num ad Germanos pervenit fama diripi Eburones

The Sugambri respond to the invitation, but determine to attack Atuatuca.

§ 4. *incertis . . . itineribus* is ablative absolute. *Incertis* here means 'ill-defined'; and the exact meaning of *occultis* is, I think, that, owing to the undergrowth and the natural darkness of the woods, the paths were 'hidden' in the sense of 'difficult to follow' (or 'discern').

§ 5. *vellet* is only found in two inferior MSS.; but, after some hesitation, I adopt the reading, because the subject of *vellent* would be utterly uncertain: it might be *legati* or *tribuni militum* or *centuriones*. For the same reason I read *vellet*, which is found in β, in § 6. In regard to the mood see the note on v, 35, § 4.

§ 6. As to *manipulos* see p. lxiii.

singulis,—'individuals', who temporarily combined.

35, § 1. *quem ad diem*, compared with *quam ad diem* and *ad eam diem* (33, §§ 4–5), is remarkable.

atque ultro omnes ad praedam evocari. Cogunt 5
equitum duo milia Sugambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno,
a quibus receptos ex fuga Tencteros atque Usipetes
supra docuimus. Transeunt Rhenum navibus rati- 6
busque XXX milibus passuum infra eum locum ubi
pons erat perfectus praesidiumque a Caesare relictum;
primos Eburonum fines adeunt; multos ex fuga
dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt
cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati praeda lon- 7
gius procedunt. Non hos paludes bello latrociniis-
que natos, non silvae morantur. Quibus in locis sit
Caesar ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius re-
periunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt.
Atque unus ex captivis, 'quid vos', inquit, 'hanc 8
miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet
iam esse fortunatissimos? Tribus horis Atuatucam
venire potestis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus

§ 5. *Cogunt... Sugambri.* Probably the cavalry were accompanied, according to German custom (i, 48, §§ 5–7), by a number of light-armed footmen. For Caesar says (vi, 39, § 4) that when the Sugambri saw the foraging party which Cicero had allowed to go out of camp (36, §§ 2–3) returning, they advanced to attack them, 'seeing that they were a mere handful' (*despecta paucitate*): the foraging party consisted of 5 cohorts, 300 convalescents, a large number of camp-followers, and about 200 horsemen,—altogether considerably more than 2,000 men; and as the Germans despised the smallness of this force, it is reasonable to infer that they outnumbered it.

supra. See iv, 16, § 2.

§ 8. *Atque.* See the first note on iv, 25, § 3.

A German critic, named Max Eichheim, who has brought a great many absurd charges of falsehood against Caesar, asks how he learned that an Eburonian captive guided the Sugambri to Atuatuca, since not one of the Sugambri fell into his hands, and 'the guide could hardly have come back to him for a tip'. Now if none of the Sugambri fell into Caesar's hands, some of their prisoners may have escaped; but Eichheim's joke is not bad, and perhaps for once he has hit a nail on the head. Caesar may have assumed that the Sugambri must have been guided by some one; and the little speech which he puts into the mouth of the guide may have been an invention. But if it was, such a trifle does not affect the general trustworthiness of his narrative. Ancient historians were not scrupulous about inventing speeches; but Caesar, as one of his assailants admits, allowed himself far less latitude in this respect than other writers.

fortunatissimos. See the note on v, 41, § 6.

9 Romanorum contulit; praesidii tantum est ut ne murus quidem cingi possit neque quisquam egredi
10 extra munitiones audeat.' Oblata spe Germani quam nacti erant praedam in occulto relinquunt; ipsi Atuatucam contendunt usi eodem duce cuius haec indicio cognoverant.

Cicero allows five cohorts to leave camp in quest of corn.

36 Cicero, qui omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, VII. die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius progressum audiebat neque ulla de reditu eius fama
2 adferebatur, simul eorum permotus vocibus qui illius patientiam paene obsessionem appellabant, si quidem ex castris egredi non liceret, nullum eius modi casum expectans quo, VIIII oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu, dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus, in milibus passuum tribus offendi posset, V cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes mittit, quas inter et castra
3 unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relicti; ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter CCC, sub vexillo una mittuntur; magna praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis iumentorum, quae in castris subsederat, facta potestate sequitur.

The Sugambri

37 Hoc ipso tempore [et] casu Germani equites interveniunt protinusque eodem illo quo venerant cursu

36, § 1. *qui . . . continuisset.* The reader is already familiar with the use of *qui* with the subjunctive in a causal sense. Here the sense is what is called concessive, and the meaning is '*although* he had been most careful to keep', &c. But in translating it would be better not to say 'although': the sense can be expressed better in another way. Break up the long sentence (§§ 1-2) into two or three English sentences.

quemquam. This is the only instance in which Caesar uses *quisquam* adjectivally.

§ 3. *sub vexillo.* This standard belonged to the three hundred convalescents only; so the words may be translated by 'under a separate command'. The convalescents were under a separate command because they belonged to various legions, not to the 14th (32, § 5).

37, § 1. If *et* is genuine, *hoc . . . casu* is equivalent to *hoc ipso*

ab decumana porta in castra inrumpere conantur, nec 2 surprise Atuatuca.
prius sunt visi, obiectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris
adpropinquarent, usque eo ut qui sub vallo tenderent
mercatores recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent.
Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix pri- 3
mum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circum- 4
funduntur hostes ex reliquis partibus, si quem aditum
reperire possint. Aegre portas nostri tuentur, reliquos 5
aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis 6
trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam tumultus
quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur neque quam in
partem quisque conveniat provident. Alius castra 7
iam capta pronuntiat, alius deleto exercitu atque
imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit; ple- 8
rique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt Cottaeque
et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem castello occi-
derint, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus 9
perterritis confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo
audierant, nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere 10
nituntur seque ipsi adhortantur ne tantam fortunam
ex manibus dimittant.

tempore et hoc ipso casu, and means 'at this very time and in these startling circumstances' (or 'at this crisis'); and I should translate it by 'just at this critical moment': but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 68) insists that '*hoc ipso casu* yields no sense, for there is no question of any *casus* with which what is described in the following narrative can be identified'. Accordingly he deletes *et*. I bracket the word, but very doubtfully; for G. Long may be right in saying, 'the sense requires "et", for it was at this very time, and at the time when things happened to be in this state, that the Germans suddenly arrived.'

Germani equites. See the note on i, 23, § 2.

§ 2. *adpropinquarent*. See the note on iii, 26, § 3.

What is the object of *tenderent*? For an explanation of the mood see the note on v, 33, § 6. In regard to *mercatores* see p. lxv.

§ 6. *conveniat*. Meusel proposes *contendat*; but is not the MS. reading justified by *B. C.*, ii, 19, § 2?

§ 8. *religiones* here means 'superstitious fancies'.

qui . . . occiderint. See 32, § 4 and v, 37, §§ 2, 4. Several words are needed in English to bring out the force of the subjunctive,—(who,) 'as they imagined, had perished' (in the same fort). Cotta and Titurius really perished not in but near the fort.

Baculus saves the camp.

38 Erat aeger in praesidio relictus P. Sextius Baculus,
qui primum pilum apud Caesarem duxerat, cuius
mentionem superioribus proeliis fecimus, ac diem iam
2 quintum cibo caruerat. Hic diffisus suae atque
omnium saluti inermis ex tabernaculo prodit; videt
imminere hostes atque in summo rem esse discrimine:
3 capit arma a proximis atque in porta consistit. Con-
sequuntur hunc centuriones eius cohortis quae in
statione erat; paulisper una proelium sustinent.
4 Relinquit animus Sextium gravibus acceptis vulneri-
5 bus; aegre per manus traditus servatur. Hoc spatio
interposito reliqui sese confirmant tantum ut in muni-
tionibus consistere audeant speciemque defensorum
praebeant.

The Sugambri attack the foragers,

39 Interim confecta frumentatione milites nostri cla-
morem exaudiunt; praecurrunt equites, quanto res
2 sit in periculo cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio
est quae perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque
usus militaris imperiti ad tribunum militum centu-
rionesque ora convertunt; quid ab his praecipiatur
3 expectant. Nemo est tam fortis quin rei novitate
4 perturbetur. Barbari signa procul conspicati oppu-
gnatione desistunt; redisse primo legiones credunt,
quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant;
postea despecta paucitate ex omnibus partibus im-
petum faciunt.

38, § 1. Here again, as in 33, § 4, *in praesidio* is generally taken to mean *in loco munito*, Kraner remarking that it cannot mean 'in the garrison', as the preposition *in* proves. But if *in legione* (v, 44, § 1) and *in exercitu* (i, 21, § 4) are right, why not *in praesidio*? I have no doubt that *in praesidio* here means 'in the garrison'.

qui . . . duxerat. See the note on v, 35, § 6.

cuius . . . fecimus,—in the description of the battle with the Nervii (ii, 25, § 1) and of the assault of Octodurus (iii, 5, § 2).

§ 4. *traditus* is an emendation, proposed by R. Schneider, instead of the MS. reading, *tractus*. Cf. vii, 25, § 2, *B. C.*, i, 68, § 2, and *L. C.*, ii, 542.

39, § 3. *Nemo . . . perturbetur* is not a general reflexion, but a particular statement.

§ 4. *despecta*, the MS. reading, is supported by iii, 2, § 3; and I see no reason for adopting W. Paul's conjecture, *dispecta* (*Z. G.*, 1878, p. 168).

Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt. Hinc **40** and kill many of them.
celeriter deiecti se in signa manipulosque coiciunt;
eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii cuneo 2
facto ut celeriter perrumpant censent: quoniam tam
propinqua sint castra, etsi pars aliqua circumventa
ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse [confidunt]; alii, 3
ut in iugo consistant atque eundem omnes ferant
casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub 4
vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se
cohortati duce C. Trebonio, equite Romano, qui iis
erat praepositus, per medios hostes perrumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt.
Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem impetu mi- 5
litum virtute servantur. At ii qui in iugo consti- 6
terant, nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris percepto,
neque in eo quod probaverant consilio permanere [, ut
se loco superiore defenderent,] neque eam quam
profuisse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant imitari
potuerunt, sed se in castra recipere conati iniquum
in locum demiserunt. Centuriones, quorum non nulli 7
ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis
causa in superiores erant ordines huius legionis traducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent,
fortissime pugnantes conciderunt. Militum pars, ho- 8
rum virtute submotis hostibus, praeter spem incolumis
in castra pervenit, pars a barbaris circumventa periit.

Germani desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod **41** Continued panic in
nostros iam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum

40, § 1. *in signa manipulosque*. Cf. v, 17, § 2 (*ab signis legionibusque*). Do not translate the words by 'on to the standards and maniples', but try to think of an English phrase which will convey the meaning.

§ 2. *confidunt* is deleted, rightly I think, by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 70). He remarks that on *censent* depend (1) *ut . . . perrumpant* and (2) *ut . . . casum*, and that between the two another independent sentence with *confidunt* would be impossible unless it were introduced by *nam*.

§ 5. *equitesque*. Cf. 32, § 6. Caesar omitted to mention them in 36, § 3.

§ 6. *ut . . . defenderent*. These words are superfluous, and, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 37), Caesar would not have written *loco superiore*, but *loci oportunitate*.

the camp after the departure of the Sugambri.

ea praeda quam in silvis deposuerant trans Rhenum
2 sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum
hostium terror ut ea nocte, cum C. Volusenus missus cum
equitatu in castra venisset, fidem non faceret adesse
3 cum incolumi Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnium animos
timor occupaverat ut paene alienata mente deletis
omnibus copiis equitatum se ex fuga recepisse dicerent,
neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugna-
4 turos fuisse contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris
adventus sustulit.

Caesar returns to Atuatuca and temperately reprimands Cicero.

42 Reversus ille eventus belli non ignorans unum,
quod cohortes ex [statione et] praesidio essent emissae,
questus—ne minimo quidem casui locum relinqui
debuisse—multum fortunam in repentino hostium
2 adventu potuisse iudicavit, multo etiam amplius, quod
paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros
3 avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum maxime admi-
randum videbatur quod Germani, qui eo consilio
Rhenum transierant ut Ambiorigis fines depopula-
rentur, ad castra Romanorum delati optatissimum
Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerant.

41, § 2. *Ac.* See the first note on iv, 25, § 3. The best way of translating *ac* here is to omit it.

42, § 1. *quod . . . essent emissae.* Any one can see that *quod*, as in 18, § 3, means 'namely that'; but why does it here take the subjunctive? Because Caesar is not merely stating that the cohorts had been allowed to leave their proper place, but stating it as the ground of his complaint. Similarly, as Mr. Pantin observes (*Macmillan's Latin Course: Third Part*, p. 178), *queritur quod fecerim* means 'he complains that [i.e. because, *as he says*,] I have done it'.

statione et. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 48) may be right in bracketing these words; for, as he says, *statio* can here only mean the place in which the cohorts on guard were posted, and we may infer from 37, § 3 and 38, § 3 that no such cohorts had been allowed to leave their places. But would there not have been 3 or at least 2 other *stationes*? Cf. iv, 32, §§ 1–2. It must, however, be admitted that it is unlikely that Cicero would have left them unoccupied, and unless he did, *ex statione* could only be defended if it meant the place entrusted to each man for protection,—a meaning for which there is no warrant in classical prose.

praesidio (see the notes on 33, § 4 and 38, § 1) means, I think, *loco munito*.

Caesar rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus equites, **43**
magno coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus, in
omnes partes dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia 2
aedificia quae quisque conspexerat incendebantur;
praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur; frumenta non 3
solum a tanta multitudine iumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore atque
imbribus procubuerant, ut, si qui etiam in praesentia
se occultassent, tamen his deducto exercitu rerum
omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe in 4
eum locum ventum est tanto in omnes partes diviso
equitatu, ut [non] modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in
fuga circumspicerent captivi nec plane etiam abisse
ex conspectu contenderent, ut, spe consequendi inlata 5
atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam a Caesare gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio
vincerent semperque paulum ad summam felicitatem
defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se 6
eriperet et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque

He relentlessly harries the Eburones.

Escape of Ambiorix.

43, § 1. *equites* was supplied by Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 208); and it seems better than (magno) *equitum* (coacto), which Madvig suggested. That Caesar wrote one or the other may, I think, be inferred from § 4. J. Lange (*N. J.*, cli, 1895, p. 208) proposes *magno coacto numero ⟨equitum⟩ ex finitimis civitatibus ⟨eos⟩ . . . dimittit,*—a construction which, as we have seen (i, 40, § 1), Caesar often used.

§ 3. *praeda.* The word *agebatur* shows what the booty was.

anni tempore. The learner can think out for himself what is to be inferred from these words.

in praesentia. See the note on i, 15, § 4.

§ 4. *diviso.* Meusel has *dimisso,* an emendation proposed by W. Paul; but, as Schneider points out, Livy (xxxvii, 45, § 19) writes *consul in hiberna exercitum . . . divisit,* where *divisit* is equivalent to *misit divisum.*

circumspicerent. G. Long actually brackets this picturesque and vigorous word, remarking that 'no sense can be made out of it'! Who can mistake the sense,—*circumspiciendo quaererent*? Nipperdey (p. 87 of his edition) lucidly analyses the meaning.

§ 6. Meusel conjectures that Caesar wrote *occultatus* immediately after *saltibus*; but surely he meant that Ambiorix escaped under cover of night.

regiones partesque is a pleonasm, such as Caesar was prone to use notwithstanding his terse style. The long sentence comprised in §§ 4–6 is, I think, the most difficult passage in the *Commentaries* to translate into English.

peteret non maiore equitum praesidio quam IIII, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

Execution of Acco.

44 Tali modo vastatis regionibus, exercitum Caesar
duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum
deduxit, concilioque in eum locum Galliae indicto de
coniuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem ha-
2 bere instituit et de Accone, qui princeps eius consilii
fuerat, graviore sententia pronuntiata more maiorum
3 supplicium sumpsit. Non nulli iudicium veriti pro-
fugerunt. Quibus cum aqua atque igni interdixisset,
duas legiones ad fines Treverorum, duas in Lingoni-
bus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agedinci in
hibernis conlocavit frumentoque exercitui proviso, ut
instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos profec-
tus est.

44, § 1. *coniuratione . . . Carnutum.* Cf. ch. 4.
§ 2. *more maiorum.* Acco was flogged to death.
§ 3. *fines* here, as in v, 26, § 2, 46, § 4, and 54, § 2, evidently means 'frontier'.

C. IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS SEPTIMUS

The Gauls encouraged by news of disturbances at Rome, following the murder of Clodius: conspiracy of chiefs.

QUIETA Gallia Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad 1
conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi cognoscit de
P. Clodii caede ⟨de⟩ senatusque consulto certior factus,
ut omnes iuniores Italiae coniurarent, dilectum tota
provincia habere instituit. Eae res in Galliam Trans- 2
alpinam celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsi et adfingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur,
retineri urbano motu Caesarem neque in tantis dis-

1, § 1. *P. Clodii caede.* Clodius was a turbulent politician who played a conspicuous part in the riots which occurred frequently in and near Rome in these years of anarchy. He was murdered on January 18, 702 of the unreformed calendar, which corresponded with December 7, 53 B.C. of the Julian calendar, by a gang of bullies in the pay of Milo, one of the supporters of Pompey.

ut . . . coniurarent. There are two other instances in Caesar (*B. C.*, i, 2, § 6; iii. 10, § 4) of *ut* depending only upon a substantive. *Iuniores* means all able-bodied males whose age was between 17 and 46.

coniurarent (equivalent to *una iurarent*),—'should conjointly take the [military] oath'. We should say 'should be sworn in'. Caesar nowhere else uses the word in this sense.

provincia means here Cisalpine Gaul only. See p. lxii. Long (*D. R. R.*, iv, 287) says 'it does not appear whether he [Caesar] raised them on the authority of the Senate by assuming that his province was comprehended in the term Italia, or that he did not trouble himself about any authority'. Anyhow he had raised troops in his province before without special authority from the Senate (*C. G.*, p. 557). There is certainly a causal connexion between *de senatusque consulto certior factus* and *dilectum . . . instituit*; and, although Caesar raised no new legions but only a fresh draft (7, § 5) to fill up losses in his army, Schneider may be right in supposing that he raised troops partly in order to help Pompey. No doubt, as P. Geyer says (*J. B.*, 1885, p. 140), it would, in a sense, have been against his interest to do this; but if Pompey had really wanted troops from Cisalpine Gaul, Caesar would not have been so short-sighted as to refuse to send them.

§ 2. *rumoribus* is ablative. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 53, § 2,—*multa rumor adfingebat.*

3 sensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi
occasione qui iam ante se populi Romani imperio
subiectos dolerent liberius atque audacius de bello
4 consilia inire incipiunt. Indictis inter se principes
Galliae conciliis silvestribus ac remotis locis queruntur
de Acconis morte; hunc casum ad ipsos recidere posse
5 demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam;
omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt qui
belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam
6 in libertatem vindicent. In primis rationem esse
habendam dicunt, prius quam eorum clandestina consilia
efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur.
7 Id esse facile, quod neque legiones audeant absente
imperatore ex hibernis egredi neque imperator sine
8 praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit; postremo in
acie praestare interfici quam non veterem belli gloriam
libertatemque, quam a maioribus acceperint, recuperare.

The Carnutes undertake

2 His rebus agitatis profitentur Carnutes se nullum
2 periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque
ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur et,

§ 3. *qui . . . dolerent.* See the note on i, 36, § 4.

liberius . . . incipiunt. These words suggest that the news of the murder of Clodius only gave the final stimulus to a movement which was already in being; in other words, that the Gallic conspirators had begun to form their plans soon after Caesar quitted Gaul in the autumn of 53 B.C. Moreover, the murder occurred, as we have seen, on December 7, 53 B.C.; and if the conspirators had only begun to act after the news reached them, there would hardly have been time for the events which Caesar describes in ch. 1–32, § 2 (*C. G.*, p. 736).

§ 4. *principes* (see the notes on i, 3, § 5, 19, § 3) seems to mean simply 'leading men'; it does not, as for instance in 65, § 2, denote magistrates.

remotis. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.*, vii, 20, § 2. But I am rather inclined to think that Meusel is right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *semotis.*

§ 6. *eorum* (see the first note on i, 5, § 4) is used instead of *sua*,—probably because the nominative of *suus* is hardly ever found. There are only two instances in Caesar (*B. C.*, i, 85, § 5; ii, 17, § 2).

2, § 1. *His rebus . . . Carnutes.* Schneider takes the meaning to be 'After these matters had been discussed [in various meetings] the Carnutes [in a final meeting] declared', &c.; and I have adopted this view in *C. G.*, pp. 129–30.

§ 2. *principes* is evidently accusative.

quoniam in praesentia obsidibus cavere inter se non possint, ne res efferatur, at iure iurando ac fide sanciatur petunt, conlatis militaribus signis, quo more eorum gravissima caerimonia continetur, ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur. Tum, conlaudatis 3
Carnutibus, dato iure iurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore eius rei constituto a concilio disceditur.

to strike the first blow.

Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes Cotuato et Conconneto- **3**
dumno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Cenabum signo dato concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant, in his C. Fufium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama 2
perfertur. Nam ubi quae maior atque inlustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. Nam quae Cenabi oriente sole gesta 3

Massacre of Roman citizens at Cenabum.

in praesentia. See the note on i, 15, § 4.
possint. See the last note on v, 3, § 5.
at . . . sanciatur is the object of *petunt*.
militaribus signis. See the note on iv, 15, § 1.
quo does not agree with *more*.

3, § **1**. *negotiandi causa.* See p. xlii. *Negotiatores* were generally money-lenders.

qui . . . praeerat. Cenabum was hard by one of the great corn-growing districts of France,—the monotonous plain of La Beauce. Mount one of the towers of Chartres Cathedral on a sunny day in August, and you will see such a wealth of yellow corn as you never saw before.

§ 2. *Celeriter . . . tum accidit.* Napoleon III insists that 'criers had been posted beforehand from Cenabum to Gergovia': but if he is right, criers must have been 'posted beforehand' *along every route* leading from Cenabum; for Caesar says that the news flew rapidly to *all* the states of Gaul. Could anything be more grotesque than this notion of criers 'posted beforehand', standing expectant on all the great thoroughfares of Gaul, and bawling out news from one to another? As George Long sensibly remarked, 'What Caesar describes is simple enough. The country was populous, and great news was quickly carried from one spot to another' (*C. G.*, pp. 736–7).

fama. R. Sydow is, I dare say, right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *ea fama*.

incidit. See the second note on v, 56, § 2.

agros regionesque. Schneider is perhaps right in thinking that *regiones* is equivalent to *pagos*.

§ 3. *quae . . . gesta essent.* It was midwinter (cf. the first note

essent ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt, quod spatium est milium passuum circiter CLX.

Vercingetorix arouses the Arverni, gains over numerous tribes, and is elected commander-in-chief. His stern measures.

4 Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius,
Arvernus, summae potentiae adulescens, cuius pater
principatum totius Galliae obtinuerat et ob eam
causam, quod regnum adpetebat, a civitate erat inter-
fectus, convocatis suis clientibus facile incendit.
2 Cognito eius consilio ad arma concurritur. Pro-
hibetur a Gobannitione, patruo suo, reliquisque princi-
pibus, qui hanc temptandam fortunam non existima-
3 bant; expellitur ex oppido Gergovia; non desistit
tamen atque in agris habet dilectum egentium ac
perditorum. Hac coacta manu, quoscumque adit ex
4 civitate ad suam sententiam perducit; hortatur ut
communis libertatis causa arma capiant, magnisque
coactis copiis adversarios suos, a quibus paulo ante
5 erat eiectus, expellit ex civitate. Rex ab suis appel-
latur. Dimittit quoque versus legationes; obtestatur
6 ut in fide maneant. Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios,
Pictones, Cadurcos, Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices,
Andes reliquosque omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt,
7 adiungit; omnium consensu ad eum defertur im-
perium. Qua oblata potestate omnibus his civitatibus

on 1, § 1 with 8, § 2, 10, § 1, and 32, § 2), and the sun rose at eight o'clock or thereabouts. The meaning implied in the subjunctive is, according to Meusel (*L.C.*, iii, 1499), concessive: in other words, the sense is, 'although the massacre at Cenabum had only occurred that morning,' &c. Anyhow *Nam quae* is equivalent to *Namque cum haec*.

ante . . . vigiliam. At this time the first watch ended about eight o'clock.

4, § 1. *principatum totius Galliae* does not denote a definite office, such as that of a king or an emperor, but simply a loose supremacy. The position of Celtillus was not unlike that of the Bretwaldas in early English history. See p. lvii.

ob eam causam evidently does not refer to *cuius pater . . . obtinuerat*, but is explained by *quod regnum adpetebat*.

§ 7. *omnium . . . imperium*. Caesar does not say that the conspirators (1, §§ 4-8; 2) chose Vercingetorix as their head, though his narrative suggests that they did. Perhaps mutual jealousy may have prevented them from choosing any one: if they chose Vercingetorix, their choice was evidently confirmed by a general council.

obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad se celeriter adduci iubet, armorum quantum quaeque 8 civitas domi quodque ante tempus efficiat constituit; in primis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae sum- 9 mam imperii severitatem addit; magnitudine supplicii dubitantes cogit. Nam maiore commisso delicto igni 10 atque omnibus tormentis necat, leviore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

The Bituriges join the insurrection.

His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu, Lucterium **5** Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit; ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. Eius adventu Bituriges ad Haeduos, quorum 2 erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Haedui 3 de consilio legatorum, quos Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. Qui cum ad flumen Ligerim venissent, 4 quod Bituriges ab Haeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati neque flumen transire ausi domum revertuntur legatisque nostris renuntiant se Biturigum perfidiam 5 veritos revertisse, quibus id consilii fuisse cognoverint ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent. Id eane de causa quam 6 legatis pronuntiaverint an perfidia adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse ponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim se cum 7 Arvernis coniungunt.

Caesar returns to Gaul: how

His rebus in Italiam Caesari nuntiatis, cum iam **6** ille urbanas res virtute Cn. Pompei commodiorem

5, § 2. *in fide* is here nearly equivalent to *in tutela* (cf. ii, 3, § 2), whereas in 4, § 5 it means 'in allegiance', i.e. 'loyal'. *Quorum erant in fide* might be translated by 'whose overlordship they acknowledged' or 'whose dependants they were'.

§ 3. *ad exercitum.* See vi, 44, § 3.

§ 5. *cognoverint.* See the note on i, 31, § 8. I believe that the primary tense is used here because the Aedui had *recently* ascertained the intentions of the Bituriges. Cf. ii, 4, §§ 2, 4, 7.

6, § 1. *Cn. Pompei.* Pompey had just been elected sole consul.

shall he rejoin his army?

in statum pervenisse intellegeret, in Transalpinam
2 Galliam profectus est. Eo cum venisset, magna diffi-
cultate adficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire
3 posset. Nam si legiones in provinciam arcesseret, se
absente in itinere proelio dimicaturas intellegebat;
4 si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem eo
tempore qui quieti viderentur suam salutem recte
committi videbat.

Lucterius threatens the Province.

7 Interim Lucterius Cadurcus in Rutenos missus eam
2 civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitio-
broges et Gabalos ab utrisque obsides accipit et magna
coacta manu in provinciam Narbonem versus inru-
3 ptionem facere contendit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar
omnibus consiliis antevertendum existimavit, ut Nar-
4 bonem proficisceretur. Eo cum venisset, timentes
confirmat, praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis
Arecomicis, Tolosatibus circumque Narbonem, quae
5 loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit, partem copia-
rum ex provincia supplementumque, quod ex Italia
adduxerat, in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum con-
tingunt, convenire iubet.

Caesar checkmates him,

8 His rebus comparatis represso iam Lucterio et
remoto, quod intrare intra praesidia periculosum
2 putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur. Etsi mons Cebenna,

7, § 2. *inruptionem* is a conjecture, proposed by H. Hartz (*Coniect. Caes.*, p. 11). The MS. reading is *eruptionem*; but *eruptio* in every other passage in which Caesar uses it, means 'breaking out'.

§ 4. *Rutenis provincialibus.* Some of the Ruteni were independent; others belonged to the Roman Province. See the map.

§ 5. *supplementum,*—'a fresh draft', i.e. recruits not yet embodied in any legion, but destined to fill up gaps in existing legions, caused by disease or losses in the field.

8, § 1. *His rebus . . . remoto.* The second ablative absolute clause expresses the result of the first. One might translate thus,—'As a result of these measures, Lucterius was checked and in fact forced to retire.'

§ 2. *Etsi . . . pervenit.* Coming from the country of the Helvii, Caesar must have moved up the valley of the Ardèche; and probably he crossed the Cevennes by the Col du Pal (*C.G.*, p. 135, n. 1).

mons Cebenna . . . discludit. The Helvii were really separated by the Cevennes from the Vellavii, who, as Caesar says

crosses the Cevennes into the land of the Arverni, and thus forces Vercingetorix to return thither:

qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore
anni altissima nive iter impediebat, tamen discussa
nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis
summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit.
Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cebenna ut 3
muro munitos existimabant ac ne singulari quidem
umquam homini eo tempore anni semitae patuerant,
equitibus imperat ut quam latissime possint vagentur
et quam maximum hostibus terrorem inferant. Cele- 4
riter haec fama ac nuntii ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur; quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt
atque obsecrant ut suis fortunis consulat neu se ab
hostibus diripi patiatur, praesertim cum videat omne
ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus per- 5
motus castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos
versus.

then seizes the opportunity to rejoin his legions.

At Caesar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec **9**
de Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat,
per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab
exercitu discedit, Brutum adulescentem his copiis 2
praeficit; hunc monet ut in omnes partes equites
quam latissime pervagentur; daturum se operam ne

(75, § 2), were 'habituated to the sway of the Arverni' (*qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt*): so it is clear that in this passage he included the Vellavii under the Arverni (*C. G.*, pp. 344–5).

durissimo. I agree with Meusel (*L. C.*, iii, 983) in taking this to mean 'most rigorous'. Schneider thinks that it is equivalent to *difficillimo.*

sex in altitudinem pedum. The reading of β—*in altitudinem pedum VI*—which Meusel follows, would mean that the heaps of snow which the soldiers shovelled aside were 6 feet deep. But would Caesar have thought it necessary to mention this? Surely he meant that the snow-drift was 6 feet deep. There is a photograph in the *Revue des études anciennes* (1910, p. 85) of a snow-drift, taken in the Col du Pal, which shows that we need not suspect Caesar of exaggeration.

9, § 1. *usu ventura*—'would come about in practice', i.e. 'would happen'—is equivalent to *eventura.* Cicero (*Cato Maior*, 3, § 7) has a similar phrase.

per causam in Caesar always means *per causam fictam.*

§ 2. *adulescentem.* See the note on i, 52, § 7.

daturum . . . absit. Presumably this was a public announcement which Caesar made for fear his design might get abroad. No doubt he confided his real purpose to Brutus.

3 longius triduo a castris absit. His constitutis rebus suis inopinantibus quam maximis potest itineribus 4 Viennam pervenit. Ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso per fines Haeduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salute ab Haeduis 5 iniretur consilii, celeritate praecurreret. Eo cum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit priusque omnes in unum locum cogit quam de eius adventu Arvernis 6 nuntiari posset. Hac re cognita Vercingetorix rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit atque inde profectus Gorgobinam, Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat Haeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

Vercingetorix besieges Gorgobina.

10 Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium capiendum adferebat: si reliquam partem hiemis uno loco legiones contineret, ne stipendiariis Haeduorum expugnatis cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis

Caesar marches from Agedincum to relieve it,

§ 4. *equitatum.* This corps had certainly not been raised from the independent Gallic tribes, many of whom were in revolt; nor was it part of the cavalry (Spanish and perhaps German) which Caesar had had in the campaign of the previous year, for he had not yet rejoined his army. Probably, then, it belonged to the Province. Cf. 7, § 5 and *C. G.*, p. 581.

etiam goes closely with *de sua salute*, not with *ab Haeduis*. If its significance is not obvious, the reader will seize it after he has re-read 5, §§ 3–6.

celeritate praecurreret. If Caesar was accompanied by his cavalry, his speed was limited by theirs. I conjecture that he took the risk of pushing on in advance and travelling by relays of horses, as he did when he crossed the Alps. Money will always procure horses, and similar risks were taken repeatedly in the Indian Mutiny.

§ 5. *priusque . . . posset.* See the note on iii, 26, § 3.

omnes . . . cogit. Six of the ten legions had been quartered at Agedincum (Sens) in the country of the Senones (vi, 44, § 3); and as Caesar marched from Agedincum to relieve the Boi (vii, 10, § 4), it has been supposed that he concentrated the ten legions there. But as he sent messages from the camp of the two legions in the country of the Lingones to the other two divisions in the country of the Treveri and at Agedincum respectively, and concentrated them in one spot, it seems unlikely that that spot was Agedincum; and if it had been, he would probably have written *omnes in oppidum Agedincum* (instead of *in unum locum*) *cogit* (*C. G.*, pp. 737-8).

in eo praesidium positum videret; si maturius ex
hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria duris sub-
vectionibus laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen 2
omnes difficultates perpeti quam tanta contumelia
accepta omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque 3
cohortatus Haeduos de supportando commeatu, prae-
mittit ad Boios qui de suo adventu doceant hortentur-
que ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno
animo sustineant. Duabus Agedinci legionibus atque 4
impedimentis totius exercitus relictis, ad Boios pro-
ficiscitur.

Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodu- **11** captures Vellaunodunum.
num venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret,
quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare
instituit eoque biduo circumvallavit; tertio die missis 2
ex oppido legatis de deditione arma conferri, iumenta
produci, sescentos obsides dari iubet. Ea qui confi- 3
ceret, C. Trebonium legatum relinquit; ipse, ut quam

10, § 1. *videret.* The subjunctive is used because Caesar is suggesting the reason which would probably influence the Gauls.

duris subvectionibus. The Gauls who would be called upon to supply the Roman army with grain used heavy wagons (18, § 3); and, owing to the bad state of the roads in winter, the difficulty of transport would be great.

§ 2. *suorum.* Kraffert, whom Meusel follows, conjectures (*J. B.*, 1891, p. 335) that Caesar wrote *sociorum*; and he may be right, for I can find no other instance in which Caesar uses the plural of *suus* in the sense of *socii.* On the other hand, he may have intended to emphasize the meaning 'those who were on his side'; and I never adopt an emendation unless it seems absolutely necessary.

§ 4. *impedimentis* means the heavy baggage, or rather so much of it as was not indispensable in a campaign. Cf. 35, § 3 and v, 49, § 7.

11, § 1. *Altero die* means 'Next day', as we may infer from *B. C.*, iii, 19, § 3, not 'On the second day after' (*C. G.*, pp. 138–40).

quo. It does not seem to me necessary to insert *et* before *quo*, as Meusel does; for *quo . . . uteretur* explains Caesar's motive for having determined to avoid leaving an enemy in his rear. Still, 'and' is required in English.

eoque biduo. The pronoun is used because Caesar is emphasizing the fact that the contravallation was completed not only in two days, but within the two days that immediately followed his arrival.

§ 3. *ut . . . conficeret.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 53) remarks that it would be ridiculous to say that the motive for Caesar's march

primum iter conficeret, Cenabum Carnutum proficiscitur. 4 Qui tum primum adlato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, cum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Cenabi tuendi causa, quod 5 eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo pervenit. Castris ante oppidum positis, diei tempore exclusus in posterum oppugnationem differt quaeque ad eam 6 rem usui sint militibus imperat, et quod oppidum

recaptures Cenabum,

to Cenabum was *ut quam primum iter conficeret*,—the desire to finish his march as soon as possible. Accordingly he brackets the words. Does this translation sound ridiculous?—'He left Gaius Trebonius to give effect to these orders, and, being anxious to finish his march as soon as possible, pushed on for Cenabum,' &c. The march which Caesar wished to finish was the whole march from Agedincum to Gorgobina. (Iter) *faceret*, the reading of *a*, is pointless, indeed absurd.

§ 4. *praesidium . . . comparabant.* Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 208) regards *tuendi causa* as an interpolation, and explains *eo* as referring to Vellaunodunum. As if the Carnutes were so quixotically unselfish as to collect troops for the protection of a town which belonged to another tribe! But Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 53; 1912, pp. 71-2) insists that Mommsen was right. Referring to 2, § 1, he says that the Carnutes had already proved that they were capable of altruism; that if the *praesidium* had been collected for the defence of Cenabum, Caesar would not have added the words *quod eo mitterent*, and *cum longius . . . existimarent* would be meaningless. The Carnutes, he adds, had no fear for Cenabum: otherwise they would have long before taken steps to defend it, and they would have assembled their troops in Cenabum itself, not at any other place with the object of sending them to Cenabum. I fear that this defence will not avail Mommsen. Certainly the Carnutes had promised to strike the first blow, and they had fulfilled their promise by murdering Roman citizens: but that was a very different thing from sending an army out of their own country to help another tribe; and every one who knows the ways of half-barbarous tribes will admit that they would never have done such a thing (cf. *A. B.*, p. 617). Besides, the supposition that the Carnutes fancied that they could, by their own unaided efforts, compel Caesar to raise the siege of Vellaunodunum is out of the question. As to the words *quod eo mitterent*, if it were necessary to bracket anything, I would bracket them; but they yield perfect sense: the *praesidium* could not be raised at Cenabum itself; it was raised piecemeal in different parts of the country, and sent to Cenabum. The Carnutes could hardly have expected that, after the outrage which they had committed, they would be left unmolested; but, believing that the siege of Vellaunodunum would be protracted, they had delayed preparing to defend themselves.

§ 5. *sint.* In iv, 31, § 2 Caesar writes *et quae ad eas res erant usui ex continenti comparari iubebat.* Kraner thinks that *quaeque*

Cenabum pons fluminis Ligeris contingebat, veritus
ne noctu ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in
armis excubare iubet. Cenabenses paulo ante mediam 7
noctem silentio ex oppido egressi flumen transire
coeperunt. Qua re per exploratores nuntiata, Caesar 8
legiones quas expeditas esse iusserat portis incensis
intromittit atque oppido potitur, perpaucis ex hostium
numero desideratis quin cuncti caperentur, quod
pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitudini fugam
intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, prae- 9
dam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerim traducit
atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit, **12** and captures Noviodunum,
oppugnatione desistit atque obviam Caesari profici-
scitur. Ille oppidum Biturigum positum in via No- 2
viodunum oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido 3
cum legati ad eum venissent oratum ut sibi ignosceret
suaeque vitae consuleret, ut celeritate reliquas res
conficeret, qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma conferri,
equos produci, obsides dari iubet. Parte iam obsidum 4
tradita, cum reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus
et paucis militibus intromissis, qui arma iumentaque
conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est, qui
agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserat. Quem simul 5
atque oppidani conspexerunt atque in spem auxilii
venerunt, clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere,
murum complere coeperunt. Centuriones in oppido, 6
cum ex significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab iis
iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis destrictis portas
occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.

Caesar ex castris equitatum educi iubet proe- **13** which Vercingetorix
liumque equestre committit; laborantibus iam suis

usui sint imperat is equivalent to *quaeque usui sint indicat eaque imperat.*

§ 8. *exploratores.* See the first note on i, 12, § 2.

expeditas here means 'ready for action'.

itinerum,—the narrow streets of Cenabum (*C. G.*, p. 138 and n. 1).

12, § 6. *significatione,*—'behaviour'. Perhaps you can think of a better word.

vainly attempts to relieve.

Germanos equites circiter CCCC submittit, quos ab 2 initio secum habere instituerat. Eorum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt atque in fugam coniecti multis amissis se ad agmen receperunt. Quibus profligatis, rursus oppidani perterriti comprehensos eos quorum opera plebem concitatam existimabant ad Caesarem 3 perduxerunt seseque ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est, quod eo oppido recepto civitatem Biturigum se in potestatem redacturum confidebat.

Caesar marches against Avaricum (Bourges).

Vercingetorix persuades the Bituriges to burn their towns and homesteads.

14 Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Cenabi, Novioduni acceptis, suos ad concilium 2 convocat. Docet longe alia ratione esse bellum gerendum atque antea gestum sit. Omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabulatione et commeatu Romani 3 prohibeantur. Id esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abun- 4 dent et quod anni tempore subleventur. Pabulum secari non posse, necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere; hos omnes cotidie ab equitibus deleri 5 posse. Praeterea salutis causa rei familiaris commoda neglegenda: vicos atque aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio [a Boia] quoque versus quo pabulandi causa

13, § 1. *Germanos equites.* See the note on i, 23, § 2 (*equitum Gallorum*).

ab initio. Caesar had no German cavalry in his first campaign; but he had perhaps begun to raise them before the winter of 54 B.C. (v, 26, § 3), having learned in his campaign against Ariovistus (i, 48, §§ 5-7) how good they were. *Ab initio*, therefore, either means 'from the outset' of the seventh campaign, or from the time when Caesar first employed German cavalry.

14, § 5. *Boia* means the country of the Boi. *A Boia* was, however, rightly bracketed by Scaliger. Why should Vercingetorix have decided to burn the towns all round Boia, and yet to spare Boia itself, from which the Romans expected supplies (17, § 2)? Besides, if the country on all sides of Boia was devastated, the Aedui, in whose country Boia was situated (i. 28, § 5), must have burned their own towns; but it is certain that they did not, for they had not yet joined Vercingetorix. Madvig ingeniously conjectured that Caesar had written *ab via* (quoque versus)—'all round the road'—and that it was carelessly altered by a copyist into *aboia*; but Caesar never, as far as we know, wrote *ab* before *v* (*C. G.*, pp. 740-2).

adire posse videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam 6
suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur,
eorum opibus subleventur; Romanos aut inopiam non 7
laturos aut magno cum periculo longius a castris
processuros; neque interesse ipsosne interficiant im- 8
pedimentisne exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non
possit. Praeterea oppida incendi oportere quae non 9
munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta,
ne suis sint ad detrectandam militiam receptacula neu
Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedam-
que tollendam. Haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, 10
multo illa gravius aestimari debere, liberos, coniuges
in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici, quae sit necesse
accidere victis.

Omnium consensu hac sententia probata, uno die **15** The Bituriges, contrary to his advice, resolve to defend Avaricum.
amplius XX urbes Biturigum incenduntur. [Hoc
idem fit in reliquis civitatibus.] In omnibus partibus 2
incendia conspiciuntur; quae etsi magno cum dolore
omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solacii proponebant,
[quod] se prope explorata victoria celeriter amissa
recuperaturos [confidebant]. Deliberatur de Avarico 3

§ 8. *impedimentisne* is the MS. reading. Meusel adopts a conjecture proposed by H. J. Müller,—*an impedimentis*; and *impedimentisne* can hardly be defended except in poetry (see *L. C.*, i, 257), though Schneider is perhaps right in suggesting that it might have been used in the language of conversation. Müller's emendation is probable; but I should not feel quite justified in rejecting the MS. reading. There is a somewhat colloquial expression in i, 39, § 6—*magnitudinem silvarum . . . aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant*—where the object of the principal verb becomes the subject of the subordinate clause.

15, § 1. *amplius.* See the note on i, 38, § 5.

urbes. Every Gallic *oppidum* was also an *urbs*; but in Caesar, when an *oppidum* is called an *oppidum*, the fact of its being a stronghold is prominent; when it is called an *urbs* it is regarded rather as an inhabited town.

Hoc idem . . . civitatibus was rightly bracketed by Mommsen. The following sentence—*In omnibus partibus incendia conspiciuntur*—can only refer to the Bituriges, in whose country Caesar was, as fires in the territories of other tribes could not have been seen from the neighbourhood of Avaricum (*C. G.*, p. 741, n. 6).

§ 2. *quod . . . confidebant.* *a* omits *quod se prope*, and *β* has *sperabant* instead of *confidebant.* A moment's thought will convince any one that *hoc . . . proponebant* can only be followed by

in communi concilio, incendi placeat an defendi. 4 Procumbunt omnibus Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae et praesidio et ornamento sit civitati, suis manibus suc-5 cendere cogantur; facile se loci natura defensuros dicunt, quod prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circumdata unum habeat et perangustum 6 aditum. Datur petentibus venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et precibus ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

[V]ercin[g]etorix [e]ncamps [o]utside [A]varicum [a]nd

16 Vercingetorix minoribus itineribus Caesarem subsequitur et locum castris deligit paludibus silvisque 2 munitum, ab Avarico longe milia passuum XVI. Ibi per certos exploratores in singula diei tempora quae

an accusative and infinitive and therefore that *quod* and *confidebant* are spurious (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 70).

§ 4. *cogantur* was substituted by Whitte for the MS. reading, *cogerentur*. See the note on i, 8, § 2 (*conentur*).

§ 6. *misericordia vulgi* means 'pity felt *by* (not '*for*') the *vulgus*', as is proved by 28, § 6 and 29, § 4, with which cf. i, 20, § 3,—*Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri*. If *vulgi* does not simply mean the mass of the chiefs present at the council, the sense must be that Vercingetorix was influenced by the general sympathy which was felt for the Bituriges (*C. G.*, pp. 535, 742).

16, § 1. *locum castris . . . XVI.* Caesar's narrative points to the conclusion that Vercingetorix encamped north or north-east of Avaricum. After the assault which terminated the siege the garrison 'made a rush for the furthest quarter of the town' (*ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu petiverunt* [28, § 2]); and as Caesar attacked from the south (see the note on 17, § 1), the few Gauls who escaped the massacre and rejoined Vercingetorix presumably got out of the town on the north. M. Jullian points out that Vercingetorix could have communicated with the garrison, as he did every day (16, § 2), more easily from the north-east than from the north-west, because on the former side the marshes (17, § 1) are broken and comparatively small, whereas on the latter the road is often inundated (*C. G.*, pp. 742–3).

§ 2. *certos exploratores* means 'organized patrols', *certus* being used here, as in ii, 22, § 1 and vi, 34, § 1, in the sense of *constitutus* or *definitus*.

in singula diei tempora. This accusative of time with a preposition is commonly compared with the same construction in v, 22, § 4 (*quid in annos singulos vectigalis . . . Britannia penderet*); but it is not so easy to understand. It is, I think, to be accounted for by the fact that the patrols were told off for—that is to say,

ad Avaricum gererentur cognoscebat et quid fieri vellet
imperabat. Omnes nostras pabulationes frumenta- 3
tionesque observabat dispersosque, cum longius neces-
sario procederent, adoriebatur magnoque incommodo
adficiebat, etsi quantum ratione provideri poterat ab
nostris occurrebatur, ut incertis temporibus diversis-
que itineribus iretur.

harasses Caesar's foragers.

Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis Caesar, quae **17**
intermissa [a] flumine et palude aditum, ut supra
diximus, angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas
agere, turres duas constituere coepit; nam circumval-
lare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios 2
atque Haeduos adhortari non destitit; quorum alteri,
quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adiuvabant,
alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat
exigua et infirma, celeriter quod habuerunt consum-
pserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae ad- 3
fecto exercitu tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Hae-
duorum, incendiis aedificiorum, usque eo ut complures
dies frumento milites caruerint et pecore ex longin-
quioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarint,

Siege of Avaricum.

with a view to—service at stated hours. The words may be translated by 'hourly'.

§ 3. *procederent.* See the note on i, 25, § 3.

ut is equivalent to *ita ut*, and explains the intention implied in *quantum . . . occurrebatur.*

17, § 1. *Castris . . . Caesar.* Meusel may be right in putting *Caesar* at the beginning of the sentence, though Schneider refers to 81, § 1,—*uno die intermisso Galli*, &c.; and he might have added 24, § 1, 47, § 1, iii, 14, § 1, iv, 20, § 1, and v, 49, § 4.

intermissa [*a*] *flumine.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 317; 1910, p. 60) remarks that *a* is probably spurious, as in 70, § 1 all the MSS. have (in ea planitie quam) *intermissam collibus* (. . . patere demonstravimus). Caesar is describing the southern side of Avaricum.

aggerem . . . coepit. See the note on ii, 30, § 3.

circumvallare means to form what is technically called a contravallation, and might be translated by 'to invest the position'. A circumvallation is an outer ring of works, enclosing a contravallation, and destined to repel an enemy from without. Such an entrenchment, as the reader will see (74, § 1), was constructed at Alesia.

§ 2. (quorum) *alteri* refers to *Haeduos.*

§ 3. *caruerint . . . sustentarint.* See the second note on i, 26, § 2.

sustentarint is an emendation, proposed by Whitte and defended by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 357-8), for the MS

nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita populi Romani
4 maiestate et superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin
etiam Caesar cum in opere singulas legiones appel-
laret et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum
oppugnationem diceret, universi ab eo ne id faceret
5 petebant: sic se complures annos illo imperante
meruisse ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, numquam
6 infecta re discederent; hoc se ignominiae loco latu-
7 ros, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent; prae-
stare omnes perferre acerbitates quam non civibus
Romanis qui Cenabi perfidia Gallorum interissent
8 parentarent. Haec eadem centurionibus tribunisque
militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Caesarem defer-
rentur.

Vercingetorix plans to entrap Caesar's foragers.

18 Cum iam muro turres adpropinquassent, ex captivis
Caesar cognovit Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo
castra movisse propius Avaricum atque ipsum cum
equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites proeliari
consuessent, insidiandi causa eo profectum quo nostros

Caesar marches to attack his infantry in his absence,

2 postero die pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. Quibus
rebus cognitis media nocte silentio profectus ad ho-
3 stium castra mane pervenit. Illi celeriter per explo-
ratores adventu Caesaris cognito carros impedimen-

reading *sustentarent*. Meusel remarks that if the sentence had not been dependent, Caesar would certainly have written *sustentarunt*—not *sustentabant*—as well as *caruerunt*; for, in regard to time, the two verbs are exactly parallel. His discussion of the passage deserves careful study.

§ 5. *infecta*. *a* has *incepta*, which may have been written because the scribe saw *inceptam* in the next line.

§ 7. *parentarent*. Cf. 10, § 2, where Caesar writes *praestare visum est tamen omnes difficultates perpeti quam . . . suorum voluntates alienare*. I will try to explain the difference. Suppose that Caesar had given the actual words of the soldiers: would they not have expressed their resolve with much more energy if instead of saying *praestat omnes perferre acerbitates quam non parentare* they had said (quam non) *parentemus*,—'than that *we* should fail to avenge'?

18, § 1. *Cum . . . adpropinquassent*. The towers were now close to the wall of Avaricum because the *agger* on which they stood was nearly complete.

expeditisque . . . consuessent. The Germans, as we have seen (i, 48, §§ 4–7), had the same custom.

§ 3. *carros*. Cf. viii, 14, § 2, where Hirtius says that 'the

taque sua in artiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnes
in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re 4
nuntiata Caesar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma
expediri iussit.

Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis. Hunc ex **19**
omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita
cingebat non latior pedibus L. Hoc se colle inter- 2
ruptis pontibus Galli fiducia loci continebant ge-
neratimque distributi [in civitates] omnia vada ac
†saltus† eius paludis obtinebant sic animo parati ut,
si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur,
haesitantes premerent ex loco superiore; ut qui 3
propinquitatem loci videret paratos prope aequo
Marte ad dimicandum existimaret, qui iniquitatem
condicionis perspiceret inani simulatione sese ostentare

but finds them too strongly posted.

Gauls are usually accompanied by a great multitude of wagons, even when they are campaigning', and *B. C.*, i, 51, § 1.

19, § 1. *Collis . . . pedibus L.* If I am right in concluding that Vercingetorix's first camp (16, § 1) was north or north-east of Avaricum, the hill was of course on the same side; but it cannot be located exactly (*C. G.*, pp. 743–4).

Dr. Paul Menge has argued that in the affair which is described in ch. 18–19 Caesar was outwitted by Vercingetorix. He seems to have acted simply on the statements of prisoners (18, § 1); and Menge insists that if he had ascertained beforehand the strength of the hill which the Gauls had occupied, he would never have dreamed of attacking it. Clearly, Menge remarks, the object of Vercingetorix was to entice Caesar to attempt an attack in order that the Gauls might be encouraged by his ignominious failure; and the speech which is reported in ch. 20 proves that he had set a trap for his enemy (*C. G.*, pp. 744–5).

§ 2. *pontibus* here means 'causeways'.

generatim,—in tribal groups.

in civitates is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 37). After *generatim*, of which it was evidently a marginal explanation, it is superfluous. Cf. i, 51, § 2.

saltus. I obelize the word rather than adopt the very doubtful emendation, *transitus*. *Saltus* must either mean 'thickets', which would have afforded cover to the Gauls, or 'glades', that is to say, open spaces, by which the Romans would have tried to cross the marsh. I do not see how it can mean the latter; for if so, *saltus* and *vada* would be identical, and *saltus* would be superfluous. On the other hand, the thickets, if they existed, were surely on the hill. If, then, *saltus* is right, *saltus eius paludis* must mean 'the thickets that bordered the marsh'; and I am not sure that such a meaning can be got out of the Latin.

§ 3. *qui . . . videret : qui . . . perspiceret.* According to Meusel

4 cognosceret. Indignantes milites Caesar, quod con-
spectum suum hostes ferre possent tantulo spatio
interiecto, et signum proelii exposcentes edocet quanto
detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse
5 sit constare victoriam; quos cum sic animo paratos
videat ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent,
summae se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum
6 vitam salute sua habeat cariorem. Sic milites con-
solatus eodem die reducit in castra reliquaque quae
ad oppugnationem oppidi pertinebant administrare
instituit.

They accuse Vercingetorix of treachery: his reply.

20 Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditionis in-
simulatus, quod castra propius Romanos movisset,
quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio
tantas copias reliquisset, quod eius discessu Romani
2 tanta oportunitate et celeritate venissent: non haec
omnia fortuito aut sine consilio accidere potuisse;
regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris concessu quam
ipsorum habere beneficio—tali modo accusatus ad

(*L. C.*, iii, 1506–7), the subjunctives are due to Attraction of Mood. To my mind the necessity of the mood is obvious; and I should say that it is used because Caesar is stating a hypothetical case. The meaning of the sentence *ut qui . . . cognosceret* is clear enough, but to translate it into English is extraordinarily difficult. Examine this version critically:—'Seeing the proximity of the two forces, one would have thought that the Gauls were ready to fight and that the chances were nearly even; but any one who detected the disparity in the conditions would have known that their defiant attitude was mere bravado' (or 'a mere sham').

§ 4. *quod . . . possent.* The subjunctive shows that Caesar meant to express the thought that was in the soldiers' minds: if he had written *poterant*, he would *merely* have been stating the fact that the enemy had the hardihood to look the Roman soldiers in the face.

§ 5. *salute*, if the word is genuine, can only be explained in a very extended sense,—'well-being', which in this case would evidently be 'reputation'. Meusel adopts Davies's emendation, *laude*; but the MS. reading can, I think, be defended on the analogy of *B. C.*, iii, 26, § 1—*ipsis militibus hortantibus neque ullum periculum pro salute Caesaris recusantibus.*

20, § 1. *quod.* See the second note on i, 14, § 3.

§ 2. *ad.* Though I have not bracketed this word, I admit that, following *tali modo*, it seems superfluous. Cf. *J. B.*, 1910, p. 72.

haec respondit: quod castra movisset, factum inopia 3
pabuli etiam ipsis hortantibus; quod propius Romanos
accessisset, persuasum loci oportunitate, qui se ipse
sine munitione defenderet; equitum vero operam 4
neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse et illic
fuisse utilem quo sint profecti. Summam imperii 5
se consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is
multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui
rei propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret,
quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. Romani si 6
casu intervenerint, fortunae, si alicuius indicio vocati,
huic habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum
ex loco superiore cognoscere et virtutem despicere
potuerint, qui dimicare non ausi turpiter se in castra
receperint. Imperium se a Caesare per proditionem 7
nullum desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quae
iam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata; quin

§ 3. *quod.* See the note on i, 13, § 5.

sibi esse was supplied by W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 776) before *persuasum*. I do not feel quite sure that the emendation is necessary. Cf. ii, 4, § 10, where *se* is omitted before *arbitrari*. Still, with the perfect infinitive the omission is hardly ever found.

ipse sine is Th. Bentley's emendation of the MS. reading, *ipsum*, which Schneider defends. Vercingetorix, he argues, meant that the hill (19, § 1) was so strongly situated that it defended not only Avaricum (indirectly) but also itself, whereas, if *ipse* were right, we should be left in doubt how the fact that the hill required no defenders induced Vercingetorix to approach nearer Avaricum. As far as I can see, Vercingetorix was not thinking of Avaricum at all; and in such phrases Caesar generally uses the nominative of *ipse*.

§ 4. *sint profecti.* See the notes on 5, § 5 and i, 31, § 8. Meusel, in his school edition (1908), reads *essent*, but in 5, § 5 and other analogous sentences he retains the primary tense.

§ 5. *diutius.* See the note on iii, 9, § 5.

§ 6. *intervenerint.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 364) thinks that the primary tense may be explained by the fact that a present infinitive, *habendam*, follows the perfect infinitives of §§ 3–5. See § 4 and the note on 5, § 5.

§ 7. *posset.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 364) is perhaps right in adopting the reading of β, *possit*, and therefore also in changing the following *esset* into *sit*.

I am not quite sure whether the first *sibi* is singular or, as Schneider thinks, plural, meaning Vercingetorix himself and the troops who were then under his command. He says that if it is singular, it is difficult to understand why Caesar added *atque*

etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere
8 quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. 'Haec ut
intellegatis', inquit, 'a me sincere pronuntiari, audite
9 Romanos milites.' Producit servos, quos in pabu-
latione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vincu-
10 lisque excruciaverat. Hi iam ante edocti quae
interrogati pronuntiarent, milites se esse legionarios
dicunt; fame atque inopia adductos clam ex castris
exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire
11 possent; simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec
iam vires sufficere cuiusquam nec ferre operis laborem
posse; itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in op-
pugnatione oppidi profecisset, triduo exercitum de-
12 ducere. 'Haec', inquit, 'a me', Vercingetorix, 'bene-
ficia habetis, quem proditionis insimulatis, cuius opera
sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem fame
paene consumptum videtis; quem turpiter se ex hac
fuga recipientem ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat
a me provisum est.'

They receive it with acclamation.

21 Conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis
concrepat, quod facere in eo consuerunt cuius ora-
tionem adprobant: summum esse Vercingetorigem
ducem, nec de eius fide dubitandum, nec maiore ra-
2 tione bellum administrari posse. Statuunt ut X milia
hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum sub-
3 mittantur, nec solis Biturigibus communem salutem
committendam censent, quod penes eos, si id oppi-

omnibus Gallis. I do not feel the difficulty; and the context seems to show that the pronoun is singular.

videantur. See the note on ii, 11, § 5 (*viderentur*).

§ 9. *servos.* The slaves were also called *calones.* See ii, 24, § 2, vi, 36, § 3, and p. lxv.

§§ 10–11. *Hi iam ante . . . deducere.* A careful reader will conclude that in the army of Vercingetorix there were individuals who understood Latin.

§ 12. *Vercingetorix* is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 63), who remarks that its position in the sentence is more unnatural than that of *Sabinus* in v, 30, § 1 (*vincite, inquit, si ita vultis, Sabinus*), and that whereas the mention of the subject is there required in order to avoid misunderstanding, it is here unnecessary. The word seems to me open to some suspicion; but I should not feel quite justified in bracketing it.

21, § 3. *penes eos* is the reading of *X*: *paene in eo,* which

dum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intellegebant.

Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cuius- **22** Ingenious activity of the garrison of Avaricum.
que modi Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus
sollertiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda quae
a quoque traduntur aptissimum. Nam et laqueis 2
falces avertebant, quas cum destinaverant, tormentis
introrsus reducebant, et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque
usitatum est. Totum autem murum ex omni parte 3
turribus contabulaverant atque has coriis intexerant.
Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut 4
aggeri ignem inferebant aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur et nostrarum turrium altitudinem,

Meusel prefers, is only found in two inferior MSS. and in the Aldine edition (1513). If it is right, the meaning is that the Gauls reinforced the garrison 'because they realized that final success depended almost entirely upon their holding the town'. This would have been a reasonable motive: but we are told that the Gauls generally, not Vercingetorix, were responsible for the reinforcement; and, according to the reading which is most strongly supported by MS. evidence, the Gauls were actuated, as they may well have been, by jealousy.

22, § 2. *falces.* See the note on iii, 14, § 5.

destinaverant. See the second note on iii, 12, § 1.

tormentis here means 'windlasses'. The word is used in a different sense in 41, § 3 and 81, § 4.

§ 3. *turribus contabulaverant* is equivalent, not exactly to *turribus contabulatis instruxerant* (for the towers were erected before they were furnished with stories [v, 40, § 6]), but to *turribus instruxerant turribusque extructis tabulationem effecerant.*

coriis. The hides were of course raw, and probably soaked in water; for they were intended as a protection against fire.

§ 4. *nostrarum . . . adaequabant* means that as the Roman towers rose daily higher, owing to the rise in the height of the terrace on which they stood, the Gauls matched their height by adding new stories to their own towers. Some writers, indeed, have supposed that *agger* does not here mean the terrace, but the material (timber) which was used for increasing the height of the Roman towers. But in all the other passages in which *agger* means 'material' the meaning is unmistakable; and, besides, Caesar would not have denoted the operation of building additional stories by the word *expresserat* (*C. G.*, p. 746).

It has been inferred from this passage that the terrace must have sloped gradually upward as it approached the wall; and a bas-relief found at Khorsabad in Asiatic Turkey does represent

quantum has cotidianus agger expresserat, commissis 5 suarum turrium malis adaequabant, et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur moenibusque adpropinquare prohibebant.

Description of Gallic walls.

23 Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. Trabes derectae perpetuae in longitudinem paribus intervallis distantes inter se binos pedes in solo 2 conlocantur. Hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur; ea autem quae diximus intervalla

an *agger* forming an inclined plane: but perhaps the towers were mounted upon the rear part of the *agger*, before it reached its full height and before the front part had been begun, in order that the artillery might protect the workers by playing upon the garrison, and then temporarily withdrawn when the time came to add a fresh layer, so to speak, to the structure (*C.G.*, p. 606).

commissis . . . malis. The *mali* were the four uprights, one at each angle, which formed the principal part of the skeleton, so to speak, of each tower; and the tops of the uprights, which projected above the highest story, were connected by planking so as to form a new story. M. Jullian (*H. G.*, iii, 450) infers from §§ 3–4 that the uprights of adjacent towers were connected by platforms (cf. viii, 9, § 3 — *turres excitari . . . pontibus traiectis constratisque coniungi*), so that the series of towers formed one continuous work. This meaning cannot be got out of *contabulaverant* (see the first note on § 3) nor out of *commissis . . . malis*, which merely explains how the height of the towers was increased.

§ 5. *apertos cuniculos.* What these *cuniculi* were is not certain. Prof. F. Fröhlich believes that they were subterranean galleries, by which Caesar intended to undermine the enemy's wall; and this view is supported by a passage in Curtius (*De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, iv, 6, § 21): but if it is correct, *apertos* is evidently not an adjective: it must be a participle; and the sense can only be that the Gallic miners, *opening into* the Roman mines, prevented them from approaching the wall. Ciacconius, on the other hand, contrasting *apertos cuniculos* with the *tectos cuniculos*, or 'covered galleries', which were driven into the rock at Uxellodunum, in order to divert a spring (viii, 41, § 4), maintained that the former were open trenches; and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi, 12, § 6) describes besiegers as attempting under the protection of mantlets to undermine a wall: but I can find no evidence that *cuniculus* ever meant an open trench, and the passages quoted in *Th. l. L.*, iv, 1407–8, show that generally it meant an underground gallery (*C. G.*, pp. 600–2).

23, § 1. *derectae* evidently means 'at right angles' (to the line of the wall).

perpetuae, which is misunderstood by G. Long, means 'in unbroken succession'.

§ 2. *aggere* here may be translated by 'rubble'.

grandibus in fronte saxis efferciuntur. His conlocatis 3
et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo additur, ut idem
illud intervallum servetur neque inter se contingant
trabes, sed paribus intermissis spatiis singulae singulis
saxis interiectis arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne 4
opus contexitur, dum iusta muri altitudo expleatur.
Hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non 5
est alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos
ordines servant, tum ad utilitatem et defensionem
urbium summam habet oportunitatem, quod et ab
incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae
perpetuis trabibus pedum quadragenum plerumque
introrsus revincta neque perrumpi neque distrahi
potest.

§ 3. *His conlocatis . . . arte contineantur.* Schneider believes that *trabes* here denotes, not any two balks, but the several vertical [?] lines of balks, which were prevented from touching each other by intervening courses of rubble. Long, on the other hand, pointing out in his edition (p. 347) that *ut idem illud intervallum servetur* 'expresses the intervals between the balks in the second tier', argues that *neque inter se contingant trabes* 'is unnecessary unless it means something else'. Accordingly he supposes that the balks in the second tier were laid on the stones of the first. The arrangement may or may not have been what he describes; but he fails to see that if his interpretation of the Latin is right, either the *trabes* which are the subject of *contineantur* denote something different from the *trabes* which are the subject of *contingant*, the latter denoting the balks both of the first and the second row, the former those of the second only; or, if in both cases *trabes* denotes the balks both of the first and the second row, *paribus spatiis* does not mean intervals similar to those in the first row, but intervals similar to one another. Such an interpretation seems to me wrong.

Remains of Gallic walls have been discovered at Mursceint in the department of the Lot, and elsewhere. At Mursceint there are three or four stones between the balks of each layer, and three layers of stones between every two layers of mingled stones and balks. But the walls which have been discovered are not all alike; and as Caesar does not mention any layer of stones, perhaps the wall of Avaricum had no such layer (*C. G.*, pp. 746–8).

intermissis. The MS. reading is *intermissae*; but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 321–2) shows that this could only mean (balks) 'free from' (equal intervals)!

§ 5. *ariete.* See the note on ii, 32, § 1.

perpetuis trabibus . . . revincta. These *trabes* were beams laid in the direction of the wall and mortised into the balks (the *trabes* of § 1). See *C. G.*, p. 748.

Desperate sortie from Avaricum repulsed.

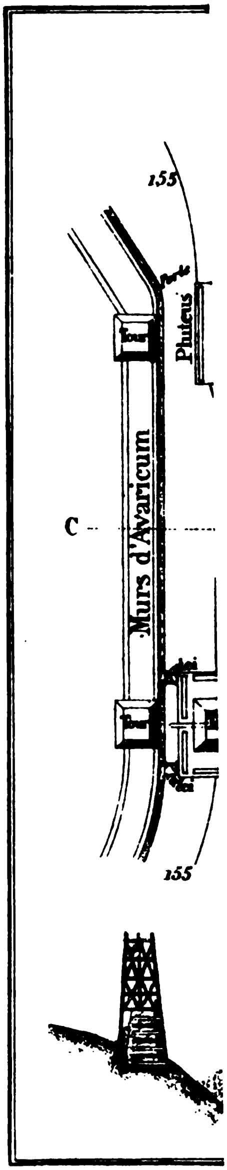
24 His tot rebus impedita oppugnatione milites, cum toto tempore frigore et adsiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV aggerem latum pedes CCCXXX, altum
2 pedes LXXX extruxerunt. Cum is murum hostium paene contingeret et Caesar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque hortaretur ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur, paulo ante tertiam
3 vigiliam est animadversum fumare aggerem, quem cuniculo hostes succenderant, eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato duabus portis ab utroque latere
4 turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam materiam de muro in aggerem eminus iaciebant, picem reliquasque res quibus ignis excitari potest fundebant, ut quo primum occurreretur aut cui rei ferretur
5 auxilium vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod instituto Caesaris duae semper legiones pro castris excubabant pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

25 Cum in omnibus locis consumpta iam reliqua parte

24, § 1. *latum pedes CCCXXX* denotes the extension of the *agger* parallel with the wall of Avaricum. The great height—80 feet—is accounted for by a depression of the ground in front of the wall: the hinder part of the *agger* was of course much lower (*C. G.*, pp. 748-9). The *agger* was necessarily very broad, because it not only carried two towers, on the right and on the left, but also served as a platform, over which the legionaries advanced to storm the town (27, §§ 2-3). The question arises whether the platform filled the entire space between the viaducts along which the towers moved, or only the front part of that space. General de Reffye, whose explanation was accepted by Napoleon III, adopted the latter view, and suggested that the troops ascended the platform from the rear by steps. This seems to me quite probable; for we may be sure that labour was saved as much as possible; and the platform perhaps occupied only so much space as was requisite to afford room for the leading companies of the columns of assault. Any reader who finds himself in Paris may go and see a model of the *agger* at Avaricum by General de Reffye in Salle XIII of the Musée de St. Germain (*C. G.*, pp. 603-4).

§ 3. *turrium*. Perhaps the reader has already seen whose towers are meant. If not, let him think.

To face page 294



2

3

4

Ac

Desperate sortie from Avaricum repulsed. 24

2

3

4

5

25

noctis pugnaretur semperque hostibus spes victoriae
redintegraretur, eo magis quod deustos pluteos tur-
rium videbant nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum
animadvertebant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis
succederent omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio
temporis positam arbitrarentur, accidit inspectantibus
nobis quod dignum memoria visum praetereundum
non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi 2
Gallus per manus sebi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem
e regione turris proiciebat; scorpione ab latere dextro
traiectus exanimatusque concidit. Hunc ex proximis 3
unus iacentem transgressus eodem illo munere funge-
batur; eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato altero
successit tertius et tertio quartus, nec prius ille est 4
a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus quam restincto
aggere atque omni parte submotis hostibus finis est
pugnandi factus.

25, § 1. *pluteos turrium.* The *pluteus*, as described by Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 15), which was used to protect soldiers when they were constructing siege works (see the note on ii, 30, § 3), was a convex wicker shield with an arched roof and running on three rollers; but *plutei* of another kind, which were breastworks used occasionally to strengthen earthworks, are mentioned in 41, § 4 and 72, § 4. To which kind did the *plutei turrium* belong? Some writers think that they were mantlets which screened the men who moved the towers; others that they were breastworks attached to the towers for the protection of the artillerymen inside (cf. v, 40, § 6). I am inclined to adopt the former view; for if breastworks attached to the towers had been burned, would not the flames have consumed the towers themselves (*C. G.*, pp. 600–1)?

ipsi has the sense of *ipsorum*, which, however, would be a weak substitute:—'*in their own ranks* fresh men were continually relieving,' &c. Cf. ii, 27, § 1,—*ut nostri, etiam qui . . . procubuissent, scutis innixi, proelium redintegrarent.*

§ 2. *sebi . . . traditas.* Meusel believes that Caesar wrote *traditas sebi ac picis*, and this order is better; but that seems hardly a sufficient reason for disregarding the MSS.

e regione,—'opposite'. *Regio* here means 'line' or 'direction'; and the meaning of *e regione*, which is explained by Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*, ii, 40, § 103), is self-evident in other passages of this book,—35, §§ 1-2; 36, § 5; 58, § 6. See *C. G.*, pp. 779–80.

scorpione. This was, so to speak, a quick-firing weapon, which shot bolts or small arrows at point-blank range. The nature of its construction is not exactly known (*C. G.*, pp. 582–3); but no doubt the principle was the same as that of *tormenta* in general. See the second note on ii, 8, § 4.

Abortive attempt of the garrison to escape by night.

26 Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere
2 hortante et iubente Vercingetorige. Id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant et palus perpetua, quae intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat.
3 Iamque hoc facere noctu apparabant, cum matres familiae repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque proiectae ad pedes suorum omnibus precibus petierunt ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium
4 infirmitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare
5 de fuga Romanis coeperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

Assault of Avaricum.

27 Postero die Caesar, promota turri perfectisque operibus quae facere instituerat, magno coorto imbri, non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus, quod paulo incautius custodias in

26, § 2. *conati.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 322) supplies *si essent* after *Id*, arguing that without these words the meaning would be that the Gauls began to hope after they made their attempt, whereas it was of course the hope that inspired the attempt. But, even if *conati* cannot mean *si essent conati* (see the note on v, 39, § 4), is it not possible that Caesar was anticipating the description of the attempt which he gave in § 3, and that he meant 'As they made (or 'By making) the attempt in the stillness of night, they hoped', &c.?

§ 3. *naturae . . . infirmitas.* As we have seen, Caesar, notwithstanding his terse style, is fond of using two nearly synonymous or closely related words, where another writer might have been content with one of the two. *Naturae infirmitas* is the weakness which was inherent in the sex of the women and the tender age of the children; then Caesar adds *virium* to indicate the kind of weakness—not mental weakness—that he meant.

27, § 1. *perfectis* has the support of two good MSS.,—*a* and *f*. If *derectis* (*ap*) were read, *operibus* would mean the sheds (*vineae*) and artillery (*tormenta*), a meaning for which there is little or no authority; and, moreover, the words *quae facere instituerat* would be meaningless.

custodias,—not 'sentries', but 'guards'.

muro dispositas videbat, suos quoque languidius in
opere versari iussit et quid fieri vellet ostendit;
legionibusque intra vineas in occulto expeditis cohor- 2
tatus ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum vic-
toriae perciperent, iis qui primi murum ascendissent
praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. Illi 3

§ 2. *legionibusque . . . expeditis.* In β we find *legiones* (without *que*) and *expeditas.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 326–8) rejects the reading of α because if, as he concludes, *in occulto* is spurious and *expeditus* is here used adjectivally, the ablative absolute, *legionibus expeditis*, would plainly be inadmissible. *Intra vineas in occulto* is the reading of β. The readings of α are *extra vineas* (in χ), *extra castra vineas* (in φ), and *extra castra vineasque* in L, *in occulto* being omitted in both χ and φ but not in *L*. None of these three readings can be right; for the first and the third are pointless and the second is nonsense. Meusel says that *expeditas* can hardly be a participle, because *expeditus* in connexion with *legiones*, *cohortes*, &c., is regularly an adjective; and that, if it is an adjective, *in occulto* is impossible. He points out that *intra vineas* must mean either inside individual *vineae* or within a space enclosed by *vineae*, and that troops could only have been concealed by *vineae* if they had been inside them; and he scoffs at the notion that *vineae* would have sufficed for the concealment of eight legions. Accordingly he brackets *intra vineas in occulto.* But Caesar did not always write with precision; and though only the foremost part of the force could have been simultaneously concealed *intra vineas*, he might perhaps have spoken loosely of the legions as *intra vineas.* The reading *intra vineas in occulto* derives some support from the statement, which Caesar makes in the next sentence, that the soldiers 'suddenly *darted forth from* every point and swiftly lined the wall' (*subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt murumque celeriter compleverunt*); but I do not deny that Meusel is justified in bracketing the words.

Whatever the right reading may be, this much is clear. Caesar intended to surprise the enemy; and therefore he concealed his troops somehow. If they had only been concealed behind the *agger* and had become visible as soon as they set foot upon it, the enemy would have had warning. Therefore the head of the column, at all events, was probably formed up *on* the *agger*; and the only means of concealing them was to place them inside the *vineae* or within a space enclosed by *vineae* or both. The rest of the troops would have been concealed either in the space between the viaducts (if Napoleon is right in believing that the central portion of the *agger* occupied only the front of that space) or in the space between the *agger* and the camp (*C. G.*, pp. 749–51).

aliquando does not exactly mean *tandem.* The sense is 'now, if at any time'; and one might translate *ut aliquando . . . perciperent* by 'that now was the moment to repay themselves', &c.

subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt murumque celeriter compleverunt.

Indiscriminate massacre.

28 Hostes re nova perterriti muro turribusque deiecti in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo ut, si qua ex parte obviam [contra] veni-
2 retur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abiectis armis ultimas oppidi partes conti-
3 nenti impetu petiverunt, parsque ibi, cum angusto exitu portarum se ipsi premerent, a militibus, pars iam egressa portis ab equitibus est interfecta. Nec
4 fuit quisquam qui praedae studeret. Sic et Cenabensi caede et labore operis incitati non aetate confectis,
5 non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex omni numero, qui fuit circiter milium XL, vix DCCC, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido eiecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt.
6 Quos ille multa iam nocte silentio sic ex fuga excepit, veritus ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oriretur, ut procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum disparandos deducendosque ad suos curaret, quae cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

28, § 1. *contra* is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 66) as a marginal note, written by some one who wished to show—what is obvious—that *obviam veniretur* was here used in the sense of a hostile, not a friendly encounter. Schneider, referring to i, 31, § 1, defends *contra*; but it is at least suspicious.

§ 5. *Denique* is not here equivalent to *demum*, but to *omnino* or *quid multa?*—'in short'. I deliberately leave the word untranslated. If it is sometimes necessary, in translating from English into Latin, to supply a particle, the converse is also true.

§ 6. *silentio . . . curaret.* The reading of α is *silentio*, of β *sic*. Meusel originally accepted the reading of α, added *et* after *excepit*, and, following R. Menge (who, however, proposed *veritusque*), deleted *ut*, and accordingly changed *curaret* into *curavit*. R. Sydow, however (*Festschrift J. Vahlen*, 1900, pp. 254–5), pointing out that the only essential difference between α and β is that the former has *silentio* and the latter *sic*, adopts the reading which I reproduce. Klotz (*Rh. M.*, 1909, p. 232) changes *ut* into *et*, and of course follows Menge in changing *curaret* into *curavit*.

Vercingetorix promises to repair the disaster.

Postero die concilio convocato, consolatus cohortatusque **29**
est ne se admodum animo demitterent neve
perturbarentur incommodo. Non virtute neque in 2
acie vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia
oppugnationis, cuius rei fuerint ipsi imperiti. Errare 3
si qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus expectent.
Sibi numquam placuisse Avaricum defendi, 4
cuius rei testes ipsos haberet, sed factum imprudentia
Biturigum et nimia obsequentia reliquorum uti hoc
incommodum acciperetur. Id tamen se celeriter ma- 5
ioribus commodis sanaturum. Nam quae ab reliquis 6
Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adiuncturum
atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum,
cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit
obsistere; idque se prope iam effectum habere. In- 7
terea aequum esse ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari
ut castra munire instituerent, quo facilius repentinos
hostium impetus sustinere possent.

His speech received with enthusiasm.

Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, et maxime quod **30**
ipse animo non defecerat tanto accepto incommodo
neque ⟨se⟩ in occultum abdiderat et conspectum
multitudinis fugerat; plusque animo providere et 2
praesentire existimabatur, quod re integra primo
incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum censuerat.
Itaque ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversae au- 3
ctoritatem minuunt, sic huius ex contrario dignitas
incommodo accepto in dies augebatur. Simul in
spem veniebant eius adfirmatione de reliquis adiungendis
civitatibus, primumque eo tempore Galli 4

29, § 2. *fuerint*. See the note on i, 31, § 8. Professor Postgate (*C. R.*, 1903, p. 443) remarks that 'a recognized use of the Primary Tenses is the one in . . . Universal Statements', and apparently regards *fuerint* and *possit* (§ 6) as examples.

§ 6. *possit*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 363) remarks that as Caesar occasionally puts relative clauses in the perfect subjunctive even when secondary tenses of the subjunctive precede and follow, a relative clause may stand in the present subjunctive although an imperfect precedes and follows it. In his school edition (1908), however, he has altered *possit* into *posset*.

30, § 3. *Itaque . . . augebatur*. No finer compliment was ever paid by a conqueror to his adversary.

castra munire instituerunt; et sic sunt animo consternati homines insueti laboris ut omnia quae imperarentur sibi patienda existimarent.

He gains over new tribes and raises fresh levies.

31 Nec minus quam est pollicitus Vercingetorix animo laborabat ut reliquas civitates adiungeret, atque earum
2 principes donis pollicitationibusque adliciebat. Huic rei idoneos homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione subdola aut amicitia facillime capere posset.
3 Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestien-
4 dosque curat; simul, ut deminutae copiae redintegrarentur, imperat certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam ante diem in castra adduci velit, sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat permagnus in Gallia numerus, conquiri et ad se mitti iubet. His rebus celeriter id quod Avarici deperierat expletur.
5 Interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobrogum, cuius pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno numero equitum suorum et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat ad eum pervenit.

Caesar, at the request of the Aedui, decides between rival claimants for the office of Vergobret.

32 Caesar Avarici complures dies commoratus summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus
2 nactus exercitum ex labore atque inopia reficit. Iam prope hieme confecta, cum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere sive obsidione premere posset, legati ad eum principes Haeduorum veniunt oratum ut maxime necessario
3 tempore civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem, quod, cum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari

§ 4. *imperarentur*. The subjunctive is due to Attraction of Mood.

31, § 4. *quem . . . velit*. In governing this clause *imperat* has the sense of *constituit* in 4, § 8. Vercingetorix 'levied a definite number of recruits from the tribes, fixing the strength of each contingent and the date by which he required them to arrive at head-quarters', &c.

§ 5. *amicus*. See the first note on i, 3, § 4.

32, § 1. *commoratus*. See the note on v, 7, § 3.

§ 2. *principes*. See the notes on i, 3, § 5, 19, § 3.

§ 3. *singuli magistratus*. The magistrate was called the Vergobret. See p. liv, and i, 16, § 5.

As Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 365), *consuessent*, between

atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent,
duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus
creatum dicat. Horum esse alterum Convictolitavem, 4
florentem et inlustrem adulescentem, alterum Cotum,
antiquissima familia natum atque ipsum hominem
summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cuius frater
Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum ges-
serit. Civitatem esse omnem in armis, divisum sena- 5
tum, divisum populum, suas cuiusque eorum clientelas.
Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore uti pars cum
parte civitatis confligat. Id ne accidat, positum in
eius diligentia atque auctoritate.

Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detri- **33**
mentosum esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans quan-
ta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent,
ne tanta et tam coniuncta populo Romano civitas,
quam ipse semper aluisset omnibusque rebus ornasset,
ad vim atque arma descenderet atque ea pars quae
minus sibi confideret auxilia a Vercingetorige arces-
seret, huic rei praevertendum existimavit, et, quod 2
legibus Haeduorum iis qui summum magistratum
obtinerent excedere ex finibus non liceret, ne quid
de iure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur,

subveniat and *gerant*, is at first sight suspicious; but as *consuevi* has a present meaning and *antiquitus* requires a past tense, *consuessent*, in default of a perfect with a past meaning, is required. In Oratio Recta the sentence would be *singuli magistratus antiquitus creari . . . consuerant.*

eorum goes with *uterque*, not with *legibus*.

§ 5. *eorum* refers to Cotus and Convictolitavis.

33, § 1. *sibi* refers to *pars*.

praevertendum has been wrongly explained as equivalent to *occurrendum*. The meaning is (he thought that) 'attention should be turned first' (to this): translated into English, this would be 'he regarded it as his first duty to', &c.

§ 2. *quod . . . liceret.* See the note on i, 47, § 4 (*quod . . . esset*). The subjunctive is necessary because Caesar means to call attention to the thought which influenced his decision,—'because' (as he reflected, &c.).

ne quid . . . videretur. I translate these words by 'in order to avoid the semblance of slighting their rights or their laws'.

de iure aut. I am not satisfied that these words are spurious, although Mommsen (see *J.B.*, 1910, p. 48) remarked that the variation between α and β, which has *de legibus aut de iure*, pointed to their being a gloss, and Meusel adds that while

ipse in Haeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem et quos inter controversia esset ad se Decetiam evo-
3 cavit. Cum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset doceretur que paucis clam convocatis alio loco, alio tempore atque oportuerit, fratrem a fratre renuntiatum, cum leges duo ex una familia vivo utroque non solum magistratus creari vetarent sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent, Cotum imperium deponere coegit,
4 Convictolitavem, qui per sacerdotes more civitatis intermissis magistratibus esset creatus, potestatem obtinere iussit.

He levies troops from the Aedui,

34 Hoc decreto interposito, cohortatus Haeduos ut controversiarum ac dissensionis obliviscerentur atque omnibus omissis [his] rebus huic bello servirent eaque

Caesar nowhere else couples *ius* and *leges* by *aut*, in 32, § 3 and 33, §§ 2–3 he speaks only of *leges* and not of *ius*.

esset. The subjunctive shows that Caesar was not making the statement from his own knowledge: the meaning is 'those between whom, *as he learned from the Aeduan magnates*, the dispute existed'. But to express the force of the mood in English without intolerable clumsiness is impossible: it must be left to the imagination. We should say 'summoned the whole council and the disputants themselves', &c.

§ 3. *oportuerit*. See the last sentence of the note on 5, § 5.

§ 4. *intermissis magistratibus* means, I think, 'when magistrates were not in office', that is to say, when the magistracy—the office of Vergobret (see i, 16, § 5)—was vacant; but how Convictolitavis was elected is not clear. Schneider explains *intermissis magistratibus* in the sense that at the end of each Vergobret's term of office there was *regularly* a period of *interregnum*, in which the priests appointed his successor; but Caesar's words seem to mean that the right of appointment did not ordinarily belong to the priests, and, besides, *per sacerdotes* is not quite the same as *a sacerdotibus*: it implies that the appointment of the Vergobret could not be completed without the priests, but it does not necessarily imply that they chose him. M. Jullian (*H. G.*, ii, 48) seems to think that the right of appointment belonged to the magistrates of the various clans, and that as they did not exercise their right, it passed to the priests. But I cannot see why the magistrates should have waived their right, and, moreover, M. Jullian gives to *intermissis* a meaning which clashes with Caesar's use of the word (see Meusel's *L. C.*, ii, 221–2). Who the regular electors were is, however, doubtful.

34, § 1. *his* is, I think, rightly bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 60), who remarks that it could only refer to *controversiarum ac dissensionis* and would involve an intolerable tautology. I hold with him that *omnibus omissis rebus* means 'putting aside everything else'.

sends Labienus against the Senones and Parisii, and marches in person against Gergovia.

quae meruissent praemia ab se devicta Gallia expecta-
rent equitatumque omnem et peditum milia X sibi
celeriter mitterent, quae in praesidiis rei frumentariae
causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit:
quattuor legiones in Senones Parisiosque Labieno 2
ducendas dedit, sex ipse in Arvernos ad oppidum
Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver duxit; equitatus
partem illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. Qua re 3
cognita Vercingetorix omnibus interruptis eius flu-
minis pontibus ab altera fluminis parte iter facere
coepit.

Vercingetorix marches parallel with him on the opposite bank of the Allier.

Caesar crosses the Allier by a stratagem,

Cum uterque utrique exercitus esset in conspectu 35
fereque e regione cast⟨rorum Caesa⟩ris castra ⟨Ver-
cingetorix⟩ poneret, dispositis exploratoribus necubi
effecto ponte Romani copias traducerent, erat in
magnis Caesari difficultatibus res, ne maiorem aestatis
partem flumine impediretur, quod non fere ante
autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. Itaque, ne 2
id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis e regione
unius eorum pontium quos Vercingetorix rescindendos
curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in oc-
culto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impedi- 3
mentis, ut consuerat, misit, †captis† quibusdam co-

quae refers only to *peditum milia X*.

praesidiis. See the second note on vi, 33, § 4.

35, § 1. *Cum uterque . . . poneret*. The reading of *α* is *cum uterque utrimque exisset exercitus, in conspectu fereque e regione castris castra ponebant*; of *β*, *cum uterque utrique esset exercitui in conspectu, fereque e regione castris castra poneret*. The dative, *castris*, is ungrammatical; and accordingly Meusel, who otherwise follows *α*, adopts Paul's emendation, *Caesaris*, and therefore also Beroaldus's emendation, *ponebat*. The reading of *α* is, however, utterly pointless; and if, as seems to be the case, the daily marches of the two armies are referred to, *exisset* ought, as Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 257) observes, to be *exiret*. On the other hand, the reading of *β* is open to the objection that Caesar nowhere else makes *exercitus* the subject of any verb of which the object is *castra*; while it is very unlikely that he would have used such an expression as *castra ponere e regione Caesaris*. I have therefore adopted Klotz's emendation.

non fere . . . solet. In the spring and the summer the Allier was swollen by the melting of the snow on the Cevennes.

§ 3. Almost all editors agree that *captis* (quibusdam cohortibus) is corrupt: for if it were genuine, it could only mean that

hortibus, ut numerus legionum constare videretur. 4 His quam longissime possent progredi iussis, cum iam ex diei tempore coniecturam caperet in castra perventum, isdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior in-
5 tegra remanebat, pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque traductis et loco castris
6 idoneo delecto, reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

and encamps before Gergovia.

36 Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit equestrique eo die proelio levi facto, perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnes

certain cohorts of the four legions which Caesar sent on were 'picked out' in order that they might be rearranged and the four legions might look like six; but after a careful examination of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (iii, 335) I can only conclude that *capio* was not used in this sense. Of the numerous emendations that have been offered only one—*carptis*—seems at all satisfactory. *Carptis quibusdam cohortibus* would mean 'breaking up certain cohorts' (into their constituent parts, namely maniples); and if Caesar wrote this, we might suppose that three of the four legions marched in their usual formation, while the 10 cohorts of the remaining one were broken up into their 30 maniples, each of which was so extended that, seen from a considerable distance, it might be taken for a cohort. But it is doubtful whether *carpo* could be used in the sense of *discerpo* unless it were joined with *in* (partes, &c.). I have therefore not attempted to amend the passage (*C. G.*, pp. 751-4).

§ 4. *pontem reficere coepit.* A road must have led to this bridge; and as Caesar came from Décize (Decetia), we may conclude that it was either at Moulins, or at Varennes, or at Vichy. Caesar reached Gergovia from the bridge in five marches. Vichy is only about 33 miles from Gergovia, and must therefore be rejected. Probably the army began its march not at Décize, but at Nevers (Noviodunum), where, as we learn from 55, §§ 1-3, Caesar established an important depot; and if so, it may have crossed the Allier at Moulins. But Caesar's remark (35, § 1) that 'patrols were thrown out to prevent the Romans from making a bridge' suggests that he had been obliged to pass one of the broken bridges, and therefore that the bridge which he repaired was at Varennes. This town is only about 48 miles from Gergovia: but the first of the five marches may have been short, because four of the legions had done double work on the previous day; and so may the last, because Caesar perhaps reached Gergovia early (*C. G.*, pp. 754-5).

36, § 1. *equestri . . . levi.* See the note on i, 18, § 10.

altissimo monte. If the reader ever finds himself at Clermont Ferrand, and will walk southward down the Route Nationale which leads to Issoire, he will approach this hill,



Reference
C. Col des Goules
P.O. Gates
A. Hill abandoned by Gauls
D.E. Line fortified by Gauls
The numbers denote the heights in metres above the level of the sea.
Le Crest is at the eastward termination of the Montagne de la Serre.
Ancien Lac de Sarlièves
GERGOVIA
Wall of O. Town
Outer Wall
Romagnat
Opme
Puy Giroux
Hauteurs de Risolles
Jussat
Puy de Jussat
Gergovie
10th Legion
Puy de Marmant
Parallel trenches
Donnezat
la Roche-Blanche
Puy de Chignat
Large Camp
Pt. Orcet
Orcet
Route Impériale de Paris en Espagne par Perpignan
March of the Aedui
Auzon R.
Chanonat
Detached Legion
Montagne de la Serre
le Crest
Scale

Defensive measures of Vercingetorix.

aditus difficiles habebat, de oppugnatione desperavit,
de obsessione non prius agendum constituit quam rem
frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix castris 2
prope oppidum in monte positis mediocribus circum
se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias
conlocaverat, atque omnibus eius iugi collibus occu-
patis, qua dispici poterat, horribilem speciem prae-
bebat; principesque earum civitatum quos sibi ad 3
consilium capiendum delegerat prima luce cotidie ad
se convenire iubebat, seu quid communicandum seu
quid administrandum videretur; neque ullum fere 4
diem intermittebat quin equestri proelio interiectis
sagittariis quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis
suorum periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis 5
sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus atque ex
omni parte circumcisus; quem si tenerent nostri, et
aquae magna parte et pabulatione libera prohibituri

which is now called the Plateau de Gergovie, from the side from which Caesar approached it, and will be abreast of it in about an hour's time.

desperavit, de obsessione. These words are omitted in *a*; and Schneider objects to them: but his objection is based upon ignorance of the military situation.

§ 2. *castris . . . occupatis.* The tribal camps of the Gauls occupied the higher terraces of the southern side of the mountain, outside the town, and also the outlying heights of Risolles, which are linked by a saddle, called the Col des Goules, to the south-western angle of the plateau: *eius iugi* denotes the whole range formed by the mountain and by the heights of Risolles.

dispici. The MS. reading is *despici*; but, as W. Paul says (*Z. G.*, 1878, p. 168), the words *qua . . . praebebat* were written from the standpoint of the observer,—Caesar. It would be irrelevant here to say that the hills commanded a view over the plain.

§ 5. *Erat . . . circumcisus.* This was a low but steep hill, now called La Roche Blanche, which projects southward at right angles from the foot of the mountain of Gergovia, and terminates in an almost sheer precipice. The small camp which Caesar constructed on it (§ 7), and also the pair of parallel trenches by which he connected it with the larger camp, were discovered by Colonel Stoffel. The trenches, however, which, according to Caesar, were 'each 12 feet broad', were really 6 feet wide and 4 feet deep. The Roche Blanche has lost its former abruptness on the sides owing to landslips; but the southern part of the western side is still extremely steep (*C. G.*, pp. 756-7).

munitus,—by nature. Cf. 20, § 3.

[illegible]

collibus circumdabatur. Sed is locus praesidio ab his non 6 nimis firmo tenebatur. Tamen silentio noctis Caesar ex castris egressus, prius quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, deiecto praesidio potitus loco duas ibi legiones conlocavit fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a maioribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

[illegible]

37 Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitavis Haeduus, cui magistratum adiudicatum a Caesare demonstravimus, sollicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia cum quibusdam adulescentibus conloquitur, quorum erat princeps Litaviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima 2 familia nati adulescentes. Cum his praemium communicat hortaturque ut se liberos et imperio natos 3 meminerint. Unum esse Haeduorum civitatem quae certissimam Galliae victoriam distineat; eius auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua traducta locum consi- 4 stendi Romanis in Gallia non fore. Esse non nullo se Caesaris beneficio adfectum, sic tamen ut iustissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit; sed plus communi 5 libertati tribuere. Cur enim potius Haedui de suo iure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem quam 6 Romani ad Haeduos veniant? Celeriter adulescentibus et oratione magistratus et praemio deductis, cum se vel principes eius consilii fore profiterentur, ratio perficiendi quaerebatur, quod civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum adduci posse non confidebant.

§ 6. *nimis firmo.* Meusel reads *infirmo*,—an emendation proposed by A. [illegible], which seems to me hardly necessary. The meaning of the MS. reading is (they held the place, though) with an inadequate force. (Notwithstanding, Caesar moved out of his camp, &c.)

§ 7. *ex castris.* Caesar's original camp, which Stoffel also discovered, was on a low plateau north of the little river Auzon, about half a mile north-west of the village of Orcet, and 2,000 yards from the south-eastern corner of the town of Gergovia (C. G., pp. 756–7).

minora of course means the camp which had just been constructed, or was in process of construction, on the Roche Blanche.

37, § 5. *suis* is inserted, perhaps rightly, before *legibus* by J. Lange (*N. J.*, cliii, 1896, p. 714), who cites many parallels.

Placuit ut Litaviccus X illis milibus quae Caesari ad 7
bellum mitterentur praeficeretur [atque ea ducenda
curaret] fratresque eius ad Caesarem praecurrerent.
Reliqua qua ratione agi placeat constituunt.

Litaviccus accepto exercitu, cum milia passuum **38**
circiter XXX a Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito
militibus lacrimans 'quo proficiscimur', inquit, 'mi- 2
lites? Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit;
principes civitatis, Eporedorix et Viridomarus, insi-
mulati proditionis ab Romanis indicta causa interfecti
sunt. Haec ab his cognoscite, qui ex ipsa caede 3
fugerunt; nam ego fratribus atque omnibus meis
propinquis interfectis dolore prohibeor quae gesta
sunt pronuntiare.' Producuntur ii quos ille edocuerat 4
quae dici vellet, atque eadem quae Litaviccus pro-
nuntiaverat multitudini exponunt: omnes equites 5
Haeduorum interfectos, quod conlocuti cum Arvernis
dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum
occultasse atque ex media caede fugisse. Concla- 6
mant Haedui et Litaviccum obsecrant ut sibi consulat.
'Quasi vero', inquit ille, 'consilii sit res ac non ne- 7
cesse sit nobis Gergoviam contendere et cum Arvernis
nosmet coniungere. An dubitamus quin nefario fa- 8
cinore admisso Romani iam ad nos interficiendos
concurrant? Proinde, si quid in nobis animi est, per-
sequamur eorum mortem qui indignissime interierunt
atque hos latrones interficiamus.' Ostendit cives 9

who marches with the Aeduan contingent for Gergovia, persuades them to join Vercingetorix, and inflames the Aeduan populace to revolt.

atque . . . curaret. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 56) brackets these words, remarking that their meaning is sufficiently expressed by *praeficeretur*, and that, as Litaviccus was himself to lead the troops, and not to entrust them to a subordinate officer, *duceret* would be much better than *ducenda curaret.* The words were doubtless originally written as a marginal explanation of *praeficeretur*.

38, § 1. *cum milia . . . abesset.* See the second note on 40, § 4.

§ 2. *nobilitas.* See the second note on i, 31, § 6.

principes civitatis may be translated by 'two of our leading citizens'. See the notes on i, 3, § 5, 19, § 3.

§ 3. *fugerunt.* W. Paul (*Z. G.*, 1878, p. 162) proposes *effugerunt* and in § 5 *effugisse*, because the men whom Litaviccus 'had schooled in their parts' (§ 4) were supposed to have escaped, not merely fled.

Romanos, qui eius praesidii fiducia una erant. Continuo magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit. Nuntios tota civitate Haeduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio de caede equitum et principum permovet; hortatur ut simili ratione atque ipse fecerit suas iniurias persequantur.

Eporedorix informs Caesar of Litaviccus's design.

39 Eporedorix Haeduus, summo loco natus adulescens et summae domi potentiae, et una Viridomarus, pari aetate et gratia, sed genere dispari, quem Caesar ab Diviciaco sibi traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero conve-
2 nerant nominatim ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitave, alter pro Coto
3 summis opibus pugnaverat. Ex his Eporedorix cognito Litavicci consilio media fere nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat ne patiatur civitatem pravis adulescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi Romani deficere, quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus coniunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui neglegere neque civitas levi momento aestimare possit.

40 Magna adfectus sollicitudine hoc nuntio Caesar, quod semper Haeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas IIII
2 equitatumque omnem ex castris educit, nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res
3 posita in celeritate videbatur; C. Fabium legatum cum legionibus duabus castris praesidio relinquit.

§ 9. *erant.* Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 209) conjectures that Caesar wrote *ierant*, but gives no reason. The alteration seems to me unnecessary. Cf. ii, 24, § 1,—*equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant.*

39, § 1. *traditum* is here used in the sense of *commendatum.*

§ 2. *de principatu.* See the note on i, 3, § 5.

§ 3. *possit.* The MSS. have *posset*; but see the note on iii, 11, § 5 (*possit*). In Oratio Recta the word would become *potest.*

40, § 1. *expeditas.* See the note on 11, § 8.

§ 3. *castris* here, as in 46, § 3, 82, § 2, and 83, § 1, evidently means 'camps', not 'camp'; for I need hardly say that Caesar

Fratres Litavicci cum comprehendi iussisset, paulo
ante reperit ad hostes profugisse. Adhortatus milites 4
ne necessario tempore itineris labore permoveantur,
cupidissimis omnibus progressus milia passuum XXV,
agmen Haeduorum conspicatur; immisso equitatu iter
eorum moratur atque impedit, interdicitque omnibus
ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedorigem et Viri- 5
domarum, quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter
equites versari suosque appellare iubet. His cognitis 6
et Litavicci fraude perspecta Haedui manus tendere
[deditionem significare] et proiectis armis mortem
deprecari incipiunt. Litaviccus cum suis clientibus, 7
quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema
fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

Caesar nuntiis ad civitatem Haeduorum missis, qui **41**
suo beneficio conservatos docerent quos iure belli

Caesar, by a forced march,

did not leave the smaller camp on the Roche Blanche undefended. Vercingetorix would have rejoiced if he could have recovered it; but the position was so strong that a few resolute men could hold it (*C. G.*, pp. 757-8).

§ 4. *permoveantur*. Not without hesitation I have retained the MS. reading despite the attractiveness of J. H. Schmalz's emendation, *permoverentur* (*J. B.*, 1897, p. 243). It is true that in a clause which depends upon a past participle Caesar almost always uses the imperfect subjunctive even when the principal verb is historic present (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 356); but there are exceptions, e.g. in iii, 18, § 8.

progressus . . . conspicatur. Litaviccus evidently marched along the western bank of the Allier, and therefore when he halted about 30 Roman miles from Gergovia (38, § 1), he was near Serbannes: Caesar, who had started soon after midnight and marched 25 miles, probably encountered him near Randan (*C. G.*, pp. 767-8).

§ 6. *deditionem significare* is most probably an interpolation. Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 40) that the omission of *et* before *deditionem* in *a* is enough to show that *deditionem significare* was a marginal note on *manus tendere*. On the other hand, the only valid reason for bracketing the words is the omission of *et* in *a*; for ii, 13, § 2 (*omnes maiores . . . manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt sese in eius fidem ac potestatem venire*) proves that *deditionem significare* is not necessarily superfluous, and the omission of *et* might perhaps be justified by regarding *deditionem significare* and *proiectis . . . deprecari* as intimately connected, the Aedui having, as we may suppose, expressed their wish to surrender by words and not merely by signs.

§ 7. *quibus . . . patronos*. Cf. iii, 22, §§ 2-3.

intercepts the Aeduan contingent: Litaviccus escapes to Gergovia. Fabius, in Caesar's absence, barely repels an attack on the camp.

interficere potuisset, tribusque horis [noctis] exercitui
2 ad quietem datis castra ad Gergoviam movet. Medio fere itinere equites a Fabio missi quanto res in periculo fuerit exponunt. Summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant, cum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrosque adsiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo
3 esset isdem in vallo permanendum. Multitudine sagittarum atque omnis generis telorum multos vulneratos; ad haec sustinenda magno usui fuisse tor-
4 menta. Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis portis obstruere ceteras pluteosque vallo addere et se in
5 posterum diem ad similem casum apparare. His rebus cognitis Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

41, § 1. *noctis*, as von Göler (*G. K.*, 1880, p. 274, n. 3) has pointed out, was certainly interpolated,—by a dunce. If a three hours' rest had been taken in the night, there would not have been time to march back to Gergovia (see § 5). The interpolator was doubtless misled by the words *ad quietem datis* and did not pause to think. See *J. B.*, **1910**, pp. 64–5.

ad Gergoviam. See the note on i, **7**, § 1 (*ad Genavam*).

§ 2. *Summis*, as in v, 17, § 5, is equivalent to *universis* or *cunctis*.

succederent . . . defatigarent . . . esset. See the second paragraph of the note on i, 35, § 2.

§ 3. *omnis generis.* Meusel (*J. B.*, **1894**, p. 285) adopts the reading of β—*omni genere*—remarking that Caesar writes *omni genere telorum* (*B. C.*, i, 26, § 1), *omni genere armorum* (*B. G.*, ii, 14, § 2), *commeatus omni genere* (*B. C.*, iii, 49, § 6), and *omne genus cuniculorum* (*B. G.*, vii, 22, § 2), but nowhere else speaks of *arma*, *tela*, &c., *omnis generis*. But these passages are irrelevant if, as I believe, *telorum* depends upon *multitudine*.

tormenta. See the second note on ii, 8, § 4.

§ 4. *eorum* is generally and, I think, rightly taken as meaning 'the enemy'—the Gauls who had been attacking Fabius—not the horsemen.

duabus . . . ceteras. See the notes on iii, 19, § 2 and v, 49, § 7. Fabius's motive for leaving two of the gates open was evidently a resolve to make a sortie if the worst should come to the worst.

pluteos. These were breastworks used as an extraordinary defence. Cf. 25, § 1 and 72, § 4 (where *plutei* which strengthened the earthworks that Caesar constructed during the blockade of Alesia are described).

ad similem casum. The reading of α is *similemque casum*, of β *similem ad casum*. That which I have adopted is suggested by Meusel.

Outrages of the Aedui against Roman citizens.

Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Haedui primis **42**
nuntiis ab Litavicco acceptis nullum sibi ad cogno-
scendum spatium relinquunt. Impellit alios avaritia, 2
alios iracundia et temeritas, quae maxime illi hominum
generi est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro
re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, 3
caedes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. Adiuvat 4
rem proclinatam Convictolitavis plebemque ad furorem
impellit, ut facinore admisso ad sanitatem reverti
pudeat. M. Aristium, tribunum militum, iter ad 5
legionem facientem fide data ex oppido Cavillono
educunt; idem facere cogunt eos qui negotiandi causa
ibi constiterant. Hos continuo ⟨in⟩ itinere adorti 6
omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes diem
noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis
maiorem multitudinem ad arma concitant.

Interim nuntio adlato omnes eorum milites in po- **43**
testate Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium, nihil
publico factum consilio demonstrant; quaestionem de 2
bonis direptis decernunt, Litavicci fratrumque bona
publicant, legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia
mittunt. Haec faciunt recuperandorum suorum causa; 3
sed contaminati facinore et capti compendio ex direptis
bonis, quod ea res ad multos pertinebat, et timore
poenae exterriti consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt
civitatesque reliquas legationibus sollicitant. Quae 4
tametsi Caesar intellegebat, tamen quam mitissime
potest legatos appellat: nihil se propter inscientiam
levitatemque vulgi gravius de civitate iudicare neque
de sua in Haeduos benevolentia deminuere. Ipse 5
maiorem Galliae motum expectans, ne ab omnibus
civitatibus circumsisteretur, consilia inibat quem
ad modum a Gergovia discederet ac rursus omnem

Anxiety of Caesar.

42, § 2. *illi hominum generi*: not the Aedui only, but the Gauls generally are meant. One might translate *quae maxime . . . innata* by (rashness) 'an innate quality of the race'.

43, § 2. *sui purgandi*. See the second note on iii, 6, § 1.

§ 5. *a Gergovia*,—not 'from Gergovia' (which would be expressed by the ablative alone) but 'from the neighbourhood of Gergovia'.

rursus . . . contraheret. Cf. 34, §§ 1-2.

exercitum contraheret, ne profectio nata a timore defectionis similisque fugae videretur.

He discerns a chance of striking an effective blow,

44 Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene gerendae rei. Nam cum in minora castra operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix prae multitudine cerni poterat.
2 Admiratus quaerit ex perfugis causam, quorum ma-
3 gnus ad eum cotidie numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod iam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse eius iugi prope aequum, sed silvestre et angustum qua esset aditus ad alteram
4 partem oppidi; huic loco vehementer illos timere ne

ne. W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1887, p. 562) proposes *nec.*

44, § 1. *qui . . . tenebatur* is bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 19[illegible] p. 55), who remarks that it is contradicted by *nudatum hominibus*. But the hill still remained in possession of the enemy, just as an empty room in my house is in my possession. Still, the words are hardly necessary, for *qui . . . potuerat* shows that the hill had been occupied by the enemy.

The reader will not be able to decide what this hill was until he has read §§ 3-5. The *iugum* mentioned in § 3 must be either (as in 36, § 2) the whole range formed by the mountain of Gergovia and the heights of Risolles, or, more probably, the latter only: the *dorsum eius iugi*, or rather that part of it which was wooded and narrow, was the Col des Goules, which I have mentioned in the note on 36, § 2. I agree with Napoleon III in identifying the hill that was 'completely deserted' (*collem . . . nudatum hominibus*) with a hill, marked A in the plan, which forms a part of the mass of Risolles, and is about 550 yards south-west of the nearest part of the plateau of Gergovia. M. Jullian identifies it with that part of the southern slope of the mountain of Gergovia which was occupied by the Gallic camps (36, § 2). I am obliged to differ from him, first because Caesar would have seen that the southern slope of Gergovia was abandoned before he ascended the Roche Blanche, and secondly because he says in the next chapter (45, § 6) that, in consequence of the stratagem which he devised after he saw that the *collis* was abandoned, all the Gallic troops were withdrawn [from their former positions] by Vercingetorix to assist in fortifying [the approach to Risolles and the Col des Goules]. Does not this show that the southern slope of Gergovia had not been abandoned before (*C. G.*, pp. 758-60)?

potuerat was proposed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 348) instead of *poterat*. In relative clauses which contain a statement of time coupled with the word *superior* Caesar regularly uses the pluperfect.

§ 4. *huic . . . illos* is the reading of β: a has *vehementer huic illos loco.* Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 258) remarks that both *vehementer*

iam aliter sentire uno colle ab Romanis occupato si alterum amisissent, quin paene circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur. Ad 5
hunc muniendum locum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

Hac re cognita Caesar mittit complures equitum **45** *and devises a stratagem.*
turmas eo de media nocte; imperat ut paulo tumultuosius omnibus locis pervagentur. Prima luce ma- 2
gnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque produci deque his stramenta detrahi mulionesque cum cassidibus equitum specie ac simulatione collibus circumvehi iubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius 3
ostentationis causa vagentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes iubet petere regiones. Haec procul ex oppido 4
videbantur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra, neque tanto spatio certi quid esset explorari poterat.

and *huic* should be emphasized, but that the emphasis of *huic* is nullified by placing it after *vehementer*: on the other hand, in β, which rightly gives prominence to *huic*, the emphasis of *vehementer* is weakened by placing the word before *illos*. Accordingly he conjectures, perhaps rightly, that Caesar wrote *huic illos loco vehementer timere*.

viderentur. See the second note on i, 40, § 5. In English one would say (they now felt sure that . . . they would be . . .) 'fairly cut off', &c.

§ 5. *Ad hunc muniendum locum*. The place which the Gauls fortified and which commanded the western approach (where alone the ascent was practicable) to the saddle that connected the heights of Risolles with the plateau of Gergovia, is marked on the plan facing p. 305.

45, § 1. *de media nocte*. See the note on ii, 7, § 1.

§ 2. *impedimentorum*. If Caesar wrote this, and not, as Ciacconius conjectured, *iumentorum*, the word here can only mean 'baggage-cattle' (cf. ii, 29, § 4); and it has this meaning in Frontinus, ii, 1, § 11. Schneider thinks that Caesar added *mulorumque* to explain what kind of baggage-cattle he meant, just as in ii, 19, § 1 he wrote *ratio ordoque agminis*. Other editors suppose that *impedimentorum* means 'pack-horses'.

collibus. These hills must have been the lower slopes of the Montagne de la Serre, south of the Auzon. The only other hills with which *collibus* could conceivably be identified are the lower southern slopes of the mountain of Gergovia; but if the cavalry had moved along them, how could Caesar have said (§ 4) that although 'these movements could be seen, far off, from the town . . . it was impossible, at such a distance, to make out exactly what they meant' (*C. G.*, p. 760)?

§ 3. *easdem . . . regiones*,—the outskirts of the spot which Vercingetorix was fortifying.

5 Legionem unam eodem iugo mittit et paulum pro-
gressam inferiore constituit loco silvisque occultat.
6 Augetur Gallis suspicio, atque omnes illo ad muni-
7 tionem copiae traducuntur. Vacua castra hostium
Caesar conspicatus tectis insignibus suorum occulta-
tisque signis militaribus raros milites, ne ex oppido
animadverterentur, ex maioribus castris in minora
8 traducit legatisque, quos singulis legionibus praefe-
cerat, quid fieri velit ostendit; in primis monet ut con-
tineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe praedae
9 longius progrediantur; quid iniquitas loci habeat in-
commodi proponit; hoc una celeritate posse vitari;
10 occasionis esse rem, non proelii. His rebus expositis
signum dat et ab dextra parte alio ascensu eodem
tempore Haeduos mittit.

Several legions ascend the mountain of Gergovia and pass the outer line of defence.

46 Oppidi murus a planitie atque initio ascensus recta regione, si nullus anfractus intercederet, MCC passus
2 aberat; quicquid huc circuitus ad molliendum clivum
3 accesserat, id spatium itineris augebat. A medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis VI pedum murum, qui nostrorum

§ 5. *Legionem . . . occultat.* *Eodem iugo* evidently means along the same line of high ground by which the horsemen had gone, that is to say, the lower slopes of the Montagne de la Serre. Stoffel thought that the *inferior locus* on which the legion halted was just north of the village of Chanonat; but we cannot be sure, and the question is unimportant (C. G., pp. 760–1).

§ 6. *munitionem* is here equivalent to *opus muniendi.*

§ 7. *insignibus.* See the note on i, 22, § 2.

animadverterentur. See the first note on 40, § 4.

§ 10. *ab dextra . . . mittit.* The object of this movement is explained in 50, § 1.

46, § 1. *initio ascensus.* The clue is given in 45, § 7,—*milites . . . traducit.* The ascent began either in the hollow between the Roche Blanche and the hill of Gergovia or, more probably, from the low ground, which might fairly be called a *planities*, east of the Roche Blanche and just north of Donnezat (C. G., p. 765, n. 1).

regione. See the note on 25, § 2.

MCC. Klotz (*Rh. M.*, 1909, p. 27) thinks that *CC*, the (obviously wrong) reading of β, may have been traceable to a badly written ꟾ (=*mille*), and that the true reading is *M*; but, as Meusel (*J. B.*, 1912, p. 19) remarks, it is equally possible that *MCC* is right and that *M* dropped out through a mistake of the first writer of β.

impetum tardaret, praeduxerant Galli atque inferiore
omni spatio vacuo relicto superiorem partem collis
usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris comple-
verant. Milites dato signo celeriter ad munitionem 4
perveniunt eamque transgressi trinis castris potiuntur;
ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis celeritas ut Teuto- 5
matus, rex Nitiobrogum, subito in tabernaculo oppres-
sus, ut meridie conquieverat, superiore parte corporis
nuda vulnerato equo vix se ex manibus praedantium
militum eriperet.

Consecutus id quod animo proposuerat Caesar **47** Caesar sounds a recall: the
receptui cani iussit, legionisque X., quacum erat,

§ 3. *densissimis castris.* Cf. 36, § 2.

§ 5. *ut.* See the note on ii, 19, § 6.

47, § 1. *Consecutus . . . iussit.* Mr. W. C. Compton (*Caesar's Seventh Campaign in Gaul*, 1889, p. 95) says, 'it cannot be seriously believed that Caesar never intended to do more than capture three empty encampments . . . is it to be credited that the retreat was sounded before Caesar saw the hopelessness of his undertaking? If the signal was really given at this juncture, it must have been because he already knew that the alarm would be given and his attempt frustrated.' These remarks are in substance the same as the criticisms of Napoleon III and the German historian, Drumann.

Let us examine Caesar's narrative impartially. (1) As he sent the Aedui to climb the mountain by a different path, in order to effect a diversion (45, § 10), it is clear that he intended to do something more than capture the three camps. We may perhaps conclude that he hoped either to take Gergovia by a sudden assault while the Gallic troops were fortifying the western approach to the heights of Risolles, or to plant his force on the saddle which connected those heights with the plateau of Gergovia, and thus to cut off the Gauls from the town. The only alternative seems to be that he knew that it would be impossible to seize either the town or the saddle before the Gauls came to the rescue, and merely intended to attack Vercingetorix on the upper hill-side while the Aedui distracted his attention. (2) As he ordered his officers beforehand not to let the men advance too far (45, § 8), it is clear that he did not wish them to advance, at least in the first instance, as far as the town or the saddle: probably he intended that, as soon as they had captured the encampment, they should push on *if there were then reason to believe that they were likely to succeed.* (3) As he gave the signal for recall when they had only captured three of the tribal camps, he must have seen that it would be impossible either to take the town by a sudden assault or to seize the saddle before the Gauls returned; for the only chance of gaining either of these objects would have been to push on with all possible speed. Unless the Gauls in the town

legions get out of hand and

2 continuo signa constiterunt. At reliquarum legionum milites non audito sono tubae, quod satis magna valles

kept a very bad look-out, they must have sent warning to their comrades the moment they saw the legions ascending the hill. On the other hand, by capturing the three camps the Romans had gained an advantage if only they could follow it up: it would perhaps have been impossible to dislodge them; Caesar may perhaps have intended, when he sounded the recall, to form them again in order; and it would be rash to deny that if he had then thought it wise to advance higher up the slope, he would have had a fair chance of beating Vercingetorix in a fight under the walls of the town.

Everything turns upon the meaning of the words *consecutus id quod animo proposuerat* and *receptui cani iussit*. The obvious meaning of the former is 'having achieved his purpose': the latter may either mean 'ordered a retreat to be sounded' or 'ordered a recall to be sounded'. Now, as we have already seen, Caesar had not achieved the whole of his purpose: the question, then, is whether, at the time when he *receptui cani iussit*, he had achieved the first step towards the accomplishment of his real object. If so, *receptui cani iussit* means 'ordered a recall to be sounded', Caesar's intention being to re-form the legionaries, who had scattered over the camps. That he should have expected any one to believe that he had accomplished the whole of his purpose is hardly credible. But if he did already see 'the hopelessness of his undertaking', we can only suppose that he used the vague expression *consecutus id quod animo proposuerat* in the hope that his readers might credit him with having intended to follow up his trivial success. It may, however, be said that he had in some measure achieved his purpose; for it was better to try and fail than to sneak away without trying at all (*C. G.*, pp. 245–8).

Kraner suggests that *animo* may be dative. I am sure that it is ablative, and Meusel (*L. C.*, i, 267) agrees with me.

continuo. The MS. reading is *contionatus*, which Schneider defends, remarking that Caesar addressed the 10th legion in a speech like that which he had just made to his generals (45, § 8); while Nipperdey (p. 95), who puts a comma after *erat*, and therefore takes *contionatus* absolutely, says that Caesar announced that, as he had achieved his purpose, he intended to retreat. But if Caesar had made a speech on this occasion he would not have mentioned it in his narrative, for it would have been irrelevant. With Dittenberger, Meusel, and others I have adopted von Göler's emendation.

§ 2. *satis magna valles.* This valley is generally identified with the hollow, or depression, which, M. Jullian tells me, has been largely filled up, west of the village of Gergovie. Nobody who has seen the ground will admit that it was the broken valley, or gorge, east of Gergovie; but M. Jullian believes that it was the hollow between the Roche Blanche and the mountain of Gergovia. I adhere to the general opinion, for the following reasons. Caesar says (ch. 49) that when he saw his men in difficulties he ordered Sextius, whom he had left in charge of the camp on the Roche Blanche, to take up a position at the

intercedebat, tamen a tribunis militum legatisque, ut
erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur. Sed elati 3
spe celeris victoriae et hostium fuga et superiorum
temporum secundis proeliis nihil adeo arduum sibi
existimabant quod non virtute consequi possent,
neque finem prius sequendi fecerunt quam muro oppidi
portisque adpropinquarent. Tum vero ex omnibus 4
urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant re-
pentino tumultu perterriti, cum hostem intra portas
esse existimarent, se ex oppido eiecerunt. Matres 5
familiae de muro vestem argentumque iactabant et
pectore nudo prominentes passis manibus obtesta-
bantur Romanos ut sibi parcerent neu, sicut Avarici
fecissent, ne a mulieribus quidem atque infantibus
abstinerent; non nullae de muro per manus demissae 6
sese militibus tradebant. L. Fabius, centurio legionis 7
VIII., quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat excitari
se Avaricensibus praemiis neque commissurum ut
prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres suos nactus

press on up to the wall of the town,

foot of the mountain [of Gergovia], and that he himself advanced a little with his own legion from the position which he had occupied (*ad T. Sextium legatum . . . misit, ut cohortes ex* [minoribus] *castris celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret . . . Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum legione progressus ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae expectabat*). According to M. Jullian, Sextius was to take the place which Caesar had vacated. It appears to me, on the other hand, that *sub infimo colle* is contrasted with *eo loco ubi constiterat.* Moreover, when Caesar says, just before mentioning the *satis magna valles*, that after the capture of the three Gallic camps he 'immediately halted the 10th legion, which he commanded in person' (47, § 1), he evidently implies that the legion had up to that moment been in motion; whereas, if the column of assault had started, as M. Jullian says, from the smaller camp, and if, as he also maintains, the legion, at the moment when Caesar sounded the recall, was immediately north of the smaller camp, it would surely have been at rest. Look at the plan and think this out.

retinebantur. The imperfect denotes that the officers *tried* to keep the men in hand.

§ 3. *non.* See the note on iv. 7, § 5.

adpropinquarent. See *J. B.*, 1894, p. 373 and the note on iii, 26, § 3. I can see no sign of a purpose here.

§ 5. *neu . . . ne . . . abstinerent.* The double negative may be expressed in English by saying 'and not to refuse quarter', &c.

§ 7. *Avaricensibus praemiis.* Cf. 27, § 2.

suos . . . manipulares. See the first note on i, 52, § 5.

manipulares atque ab iis sublevatus murum ascendit; hos ipse rursus singulos exceptans in murum extulit.

48 Interim ii qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nuntiis incitati oppidum a Romanis teneri, praemissis equitibus magno
2 cursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat suorumque pugnantium
3 numerum augebat. Quorum cum magna multitudo convenisset, matres familiae, quae paulo ante Romanis de muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare liberosque in con-
4 spectum proferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco nec numero aequa contentio; simul et cursu et spatio pugnae defatigati non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

49 Caesar cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque copias augeri videret, praemetuens suis ad T. Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat, misit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret, ut,
2 si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere
3 hostes insequerentur terreret. Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum legione progressus ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae expectabat.

50 Cum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco

48, § 1. *ut supra demonstravimus*,—in 44, § 5.
munitionis. See the note on 45, § 6.
oppidum . . . teneri. The town was not in the possession of the Romans; but the exaggeration is natural. Still, the words are open to some suspicion (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 37), though Schneider compares them with *nuntio adlato omnes eorum milites in potestate Caesaris teneri* (43, § 1). This passage, however, is hardly parallel, for it is required to make sense, whereas *oppidum . . . teneri* could be dispensed with. But if Caesar had not written *oppidum . . . teneri*, would he have written *eo*?

49, §§ 1-2. *ad T. Sextium . . . terreret*. The position which Caesar ordered Sextius to take up is unmistakable: it was the hollow between the Roche Blanche and the mountain of Gergovia (*C. G.*, p. 765).
§ 3. *legione*. W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 777) may be right in supplying *X.*; but cf. v, 46, §§ 3-4; 47, § 3.

et numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt
Haedui visi ab latere nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab
dextra parte alio ascensu manus distinendae causa
miserat. Hi similitudine armorum vehementer nostros 2
perterruerunt, ac tametsi dextris umeris exertis ani-
madvertebantur, quod insigne pacatorum esse con-
suerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites
ab hostibus factum existimabant. Eodem tempore 3
L. Fabius centurio quique una murum ascenderant
circumventi atque interfecti de muro praecipitabantur.
M. Petronius, eiusdem legionis centurio, cum portam 4
excidere conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac
sibi desperans multis iam vulneribus acceptis mani-
pularibus suis, qui illum secuti erant, 'quoniam',
inquit, 'me una vobiscum servare non possum, vestrae
quidem certe vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriae
adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos data facultate
vobis consulite.' Simul in medios hostes inrupit duo- 5

50, § 1. *ab latere nostris aperto.* See the last note on i, 25, § 6.

alio ascensu. The Aedui would not have fulfilled their mission of creating a diversion (*manus distinendae*) unless they had penetrated the space between Gergovia and the outer wall (46, § 3); and, moreover, it is very unlikely that if they had been below the outer wall when they were descried, the Romans would have mistaken them for Vercingetorix's troops, for the latter could have had no object in voluntarily descending from their strong position. My survey of the ground (I spent nine afternoons in examining it in 1896 and 1898) led me to believe that the Aedui climbed the mountain by the route which I have traced on the plan (*C. G.*, pp. 766–7).

§ 2. *dextris . . . animadvertebantur.* This ablative of quality may be compared with that in i, 28, § 5,—*quod egregia virtute erant cogniti.*

pacatorum was proposed by K. E. Georges (*Ph.*, 1873, p. 91) instead of the MS. reading, *pacatum*, which Schneider defends. He argues that Caesar might fairly call the *insigne pacatum*, as it denoted the condition of those who were *pacati.* Virgil might certainly have used such an expression, but not, I think, Caesar; and the passage on which Schneider relies—Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 5, § 12—does not seem to me parallel.

sui fallendi. See the second note on iii, 6, § 1.

§ 4. *portam* is an emendation, due to M. Cl. Gertz. The MS. reading, *portas*, can hardly be defended on the analogy of *ripas*, meaning various parts of one bank (i, 54, § 1, &c.), and the gate which Petronius tried to destroy is denoted in § 5 by the singular, *porta.*

busque interfectis reliquos a porta paulum submovit. 6 Conantibus auxiliari suis 'frustra', inquit, 'meae vitae subvenire conamini, quem iam sanguis viresque deficiunt. Proinde abite, dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite.' Ita pugnans post paulum concidit ac suis saluti fuit.

but are repulsed with heavy loss.

51 Nostri, cum undique premerentur, XLVI centurionibus amissis deiecti sunt loco. Sed intolerantius Gallos insequentes legio X. tardavit, quae pro sub-
2 sidio paulo aequiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus XIII. legionis cohortes exceperunt, quae ex castris minoribus eductae cum T. Sextio legato ceperant
3 locum superiorem. Legiones, ubi primum planitiem attigerunt, infestis contra hostem signis constiterunt.
4 Vercingetorix ab radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. Eo die milites sunt paulo minus DCC desiderati.

Caesar reprimands them.

52 Postero die Caesar contione advocata temeritatem cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi iudicavissent quo procedendum aut quid agendum videretur neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent neque a tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuis-

51, § 1. *XLVI centurionibus amissis*. Cf. § 4. As often happens, the loss of officers was proportionately far greater than that of privates.

paulo aequiore loco here means 'comparatively favourable' (not necessarily level) 'ground'.

§ 2. *exceperunt* is used here in the sense of *successerunt*,—'supported'.

The positions of the various legions which I have marked on the plan, except the first position of Sextius, which is certain, are merely conjectural. M. Jullian, who differs from me and everybody else about the *satis magna valles* (47, § 2), of course also differs from me about the successive positions of the legions. I will not trouble the reader with further details, but will only observe that the choice which M. Jullian makes for the second position of Sextius—east of the village of Gergovie, at the point the height of which is marked on the plan 536 metres—presents a difficulty. If he is right, Caesar, who had before stationed Sextius 'on the enemy's right flank, so as to check their pursuit in case he saw the Romans driven from their position' (49, § 2), must have deliberately transferred him for the same purpose to their left (*C. G.*, pp. 761–6).

52, § 1. *quod*. See the second note on i, **14**, § 3.

sent. Exposuit quid iniquitas loci posset, quod ipse 2
ad Avaricum sensisset, cum sine duce et sine equitatu
deprehensis hostibus exploratam victoriam dimisisset
ne parvum modo detrimentum in contentione propter
iniquitatem loci accideret. Quanto opere eorum animi 3
magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non castrorum mu-
nitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare
potuisset, tanto opere licentiam arrogantiamque re-
prehendere, quod plus se quam imperatorem de victoria
atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent; nec minus 4
se a milite modestiam et continentiam quam virtutem
atque animi magnitudinem desiderare.

After a successful cavalry skirmish he abandons Gergovia and recrosses the Allier.

Hac habita contione et ad extremum [oratione] **53**
confirmatis militibus, ne ob hanc causam animo per-
moverentur neu quod iniquitas loci attulisset id virtuti
hostium tribuerent, eadem de profectione cogitans
quae ante senserat legiones ex castris eduxit aciemque
idoneo loco constituit. Cum Vercingetorix nihilo 2
magis in aequum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri
proelio atque eo secundo in castra exercitum reduxit.
Cum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam 3
ostentationem minuendam militumque animos con-
firmandos factum existimans in Haeduos movit castra.
Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus tertio die ad flumen 4

§ 2. *quod . . . dimisisset.* See 19, § 4.

§ 3. *potuisset.* Caesar would have used the subjunctive even if he had given the actual words of his speech. See the note on i, 36, § 4.

53, § 1. *oratione* is deleted by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 67). The reading of *α* is *ad extremam orationem*, of *β ad extremum oratione*. Meusel remarks that the latter would do if it were not immediately preceded by *hac habita contione*, and that the former ought to be *extrema oratione*. Probably, he suggests, *oratione* in *β* was a gloss upon *contione*. I am inclined to think that he is right; for although in 52, § 1 and in v, 52, § 5 *contione* means 'a parade', the word *Hac* seems to show that here it refers to the whole of the preceding chapter, and that *Hac habita contione* means 'After this harangue'.

§ 4. *Ne tum . . . hostibus.* Vercingetorix was of course too wary to hazard the fruits of his victory by attacking the legions in the plain. See *C. G.*, p. 159.

tertio die means on the third day of Caesar's march: Schneider is certainly wrong in supposing that it means the day after *postero die* (§ 3), for the nearest point to Gergovia at which the

Elaver ⟨venit⟩; pontem refecit exercitumque traduxit.

He permits Eporedorix and Viridomarus to try to keep the Aedui steady, but is not deceived.

54 Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedorige Haeduis appellatus discit cum omni equitatu Litaviccum ad sollicitandos Haeduos profectum; opus esse ipsos
2 antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis iam rebus perfidiam Haeduorum perspectam habebat atque horum discessu maturari defectionem civitatis existimabat, tamen eos retinendos non censuit, ne aut inferre iniuriam videretur aut daret timoris aliquam
3 suspicionem. Discedentibus iis breviter sua in Haeduos merita exposuit: quos et quam humiles accepis-
4 set, compulsos in oppida, multatos agris, omnibus ereptis sociis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis, et quam in fortunam quamque in amplitudinem duxisset, ut non solum in pristinum statum redissent sed omnium temporum dignitatem et gratiam antecessisse viderentur. His datis mandatis eos ab se dimisit.

55 Noviodunum erat oppidum Haeduorum ad ripas
2 Ligeris oportuno loco positum. Huc Caesar omnes

Gauls would have bridged the Allier is Vichy, which is about 33 miles off.

venit is a necessary addition, made by H. J. Müller. Caesar could hardly have written *ad flumen Elaver pontem refecit*. If he had omitted *venit*, he would surely have said *in flumine*. I do not think that the passage which Schneider quotes from *B. C.*, i, 61, § 4—*ad eum locum fluminis navibus iunctis pontem imperant fieri*—is really parallel.

pontem refecit. Cf. 34, § 3, 35, §§ 3–5.

54, § 1. *cum omni . . . profectum*. It will be remembered that Litaviccus had joined Vercingetorix (40, § 7). I am not sure whether *cum omni equitatu* means 'with all (Vercingetorix's) cavalry' or 'with all the (Aeduan) cavalry' which had been under Caesar's command (34, § 1; 39, § 1) or both. Most probably Caesar's Aeduan cavalry deserted after the open defection of the Aedui which is recorded in the next chapter; and the Aeduan infantry, who are not mentioned after 50, § 2, must have done the same. See the first note on 67, § 7.

§ 3. *quos* is nearly equivalent to *quales*, perhaps exactly equivalent to *quo statu*. *Quos . . . extortis* describes the position of the Aedui after they had been humbled by the Sequani and their German ally, Ariovistus. Cf. p. lix, i, 31, §§ 3–9, and vi, 12, §§ 1–5.

obsides Galliae, frumentum, pecuniam publicam [, suo-
rum atque exercitus impedimentorum magnam par-
tem] contulerat; huc magnum numerum equorum 3
huius belli causa in Italia atque Hispania coemptum
miserat. Eo cum Eporedorix Viridomarusque venis- 4
sent et de statu civitatis cognovissent, Litaviccum
Bibracte ab Haeduis receptum, quod est oppidum
apud eos maximae auctoritatis, Convictolitavem magi-
stratum magnamque partem senatus ad eum con-
venisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace et amicitia
concilianda publice missos, non praetermittendum
tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque inter- 5
fectis Novioduni custodibus quique eo negotiandi
causa convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se
partiti sunt, obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistra- 6
tum deducendos curaverunt, oppidum, quod a se 7
teneri non posse iudicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis,
incenderunt, frumenti quod subito potuerunt navibus 8
avexerunt, reliquum flumine atque incendio corru-
perunt, ipsi ex finitimis regionibus copias cogere, 9
praesidia custodiasque ad ripas Ligeris disponere
equitatumque omnibus locis iniciendi timoris causa
ostentare coeperunt, si ab re frumentaria Romanos
excludere aut adductos inopia in provinciam expellere
possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adiuvabat quod 10

55, § 2. *suorum . . . partem.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 43) brackets these words, because Caesar has already told us (10, § 4, with which cf. 57, § 1, 62, § 10) that he left the heavy baggage of the whole army at Agedincum, and because in §§ 5–8, where we are told what became of the hostages, corn, money, and horses, nothing is said about the baggage. Some baggage, however, was necessarily carried in the field: indeed Caesar mentions the baggage which he took to Gergovia (35, § 3); and it is just possible that when he marched for Gergovia he may have left as much as he could dispense with at Noviodunum. Still Meusel's arguments justify suspicion.

§ 9. *ipsi ex finitimis . . . expellere possent.* The reading *in provinciam* is an old emendation which several editors have adopted: *a* has *ex provincia expellere*; *β* has *provincia excludere.* The reading of *a* is impossible, because the Aedui could not have hoped to expel the Romans from the Province; so also is the reading of *β*, because it would be absurd to say that the Aedui hoped to *exclude* the Romans *under stress of destitution*

Liger ex nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

He saves his army by a series of extraordinary marches.

56 Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar maturandum sibi censuit, si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut prius quam essent maiores eo coactae copiae di-
2 micaret. Nam ne commutato consilio iter in provinciam converteret, ut ⟨non⟩ nemo tum quidem necessario faciundum existimabat, cum infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cebenna viarumque difficultas impediebat tum maxime quod abiuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus quas una miserat vehe-
3 menter timebat. Itaque admodum magnis diurnis

(*adductos inopia*) from the Province, and because the repetition of *excludere* in the same sentence would be intolerably harsh. Accordingly several editors have bracketed *aut adductos inopia ex provincia expellere* as an interpolation. I am not sure that this is necessary. The following sentence—*Quam ad spem . . . videretur*—proves that the Aedui wished to prevent Caesar from reaching the Province and to starve him out between the Loire and the Allier; but doubtless they hoped, if they could not prevent him from reaching the Province, to force him to go by the hardest way,—across the Cevennes. That is my reason for adopting the emendation *in provinciam*. Klotz, who does the same, suggests that Caesar wrote, not *ab re frumentaria Romanos excludere*, but *re frumentaria Romanos intercludere*; for he believes that *excludere ab* was only used of places (*C. G.*, pp. 769–71).

56, § 1. *si esset . . . periclitandum.* Caesar foresaw that he might be unable to find a ford, and that while he was bridging the river he might be obliged to fight.

§ 2. *Nam ne . . . timebat.* All the MSS. have (Nam) *ut* (commutato): *α* has *ut ne metu* (quidem), *β* has *ut nemo tunc*, and certain inferior MSS. have *id ne metu*. The reading of *α* does not make sense. That of *β* has little or no point: but it was amended by Ciacconius, who inserted *non* after *nemo*; and a later editor, who saw that (Nam) *ut* (commutato, &c.), followed by *impediebat*, was ungrammatical, argued that Caesar must have written *ne*. Schneider made a further alteration by inserting *non* before, instead of after, *nemo*; for, he remarked, 'it is more likely that the course which to Caesar appeared to involve shame and humiliation as well as great difficulty should have appeared inevitable to *some* of those whom he was accustomed to consult than to all'. Perhaps, however, he did not consult anybody, but only recorded what he knew to be the general opinion; and if he wrote *ut nemo non . . . existimabat*, he may have been alluding to the opinion not of his officers only, but of the Gauls as well. If we accept the reading *id ne metu* (quidem), it is of course unnecessary to change (Nam) *ut* into *ne*: but, on the other hand, it is necessary to supply *quod*

LABIENUS'S CAMPAIGN AGAI

To face page 325.



nocturnisque itineribus confectis contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim venit, vadoque per equites 4 invento pro rei necessitate oportuno, ut bracchia modo atque umeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu perturbatis incolumem exercitum traduxit, frumentumque in agris 5 et pecoris copiam nactus repleto his rebus exercitu iter in Senones facere instituit.

57 **Labienus opposed by Camulogenus.**

Dum haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento quod nuper ex Italia venerat relicto Agedinci, ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum IIII legionibus Luteciam proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum positum in insula fluminis Sequanae. Cuius adventu ab hostibus cognito magnae ex fini- 2 timis civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii 3 traditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui prope confectus

('because') between *cum* and *infamia*; and it seems unlikely that Caesar would have said that he had not thought it necessary, 'even under the pressure of fear,' to retreat to the Province. Klotz conjectures that Caesar wrote *Nam ne commutato . . . ut metu quidam existimabant*,—'as some under the influence of fear thought' (that it would be necessary to do), &c. The general sense of this is identical with that of the emendation which I have adopted; and I believe that one or the other hits the mark (*C. G.*, pp. 771-4).

§ 4. *vadoque . . . invento.* Caesar crossed the Allier three days after he left Gergovia (53, § 4): therefore we may be sure that he did not cross it at any point nearer than Vichy. After he had crossed, Eporedorix and Viridomarus left him, hurried off to Noviodunum, and burned it. Noviodunum is not more than 70 miles, in a straight line, from Vichy; and Caesar was not standing still while Eporedorix and Viridomarus were riding thither. Not until he heard that they had burned the town did he determine to hurry; and he did not reach the Loire until he had made 'forced marches by day and night'. We must therefore look for the ford as far from Vichy as possible in the direction in which he was marching to rejoin Labienus. Most probably it was close to Noviodunum (*C. G.*, p. 774).

disposito . . . refringeret. I am inclined to infer from *B. C.*, i, 64, §§ 5-6 that the cavalry may have been formed in two lines, one above the infantry, the other below, to rescue any soldiers who might be carried off their feet.

57, § 1. *supplemento.* Cf. 7, § 5.

Luteciam . . . Sequanae. This little Gallic town – the nucleus of Paris – was situated on the island in the Seine on which now stands the cathedral of Notre-Dame.

aetate tamen propter singularem scientiam rei mili-
4 taris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is cum animad-
vertisset perpetuam esse paludem, quae influeret in
Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere
impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere
instituit.

Finding his route barred, he crosses the Seine at Meclosedum and marches for Lutecia.

58 Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere
2 paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Post-
quam id difficilius fieri animadvertit, silentio e castris
tertia vigilia egressus eodem quo venerat itinere
3 Meclosedum pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum in
insula Sequanae positum, ut paulo ante de Lutecia
4 diximus. Deprehensis navibus circiter L celeriterque
coniunctis atque eo militibus impositis et rei novitate

§ 4. *paludem . . . Sequanam.* Labienus had of course marched from Agedincum down the left bank of the Seine; for otherwise he would have been obliged, in order to reach Lutecia, to cross first the Seine and then the Marne; and, besides, Camulogenus would not have been so foolish as to cross the Marne and post himself behind the marsh which Caesar describes, when he need only have drawn up his army behind the Marne itself, to hinder Labienus from crossing. The marsh, or rather marshy stream, was therefore on the left bank; and it is now generally and rightly identified with the Essonne, which enters the Seine about 15 miles, in a straight line, above Paris. The Bièvre, which once entered the Seine exactly opposite the eastern extremity of the island on which Lutecia stood, is out of the question; for Caesar says (58, § 6) that when the Gauls who were posted behind the marsh heard that Labienus had crossed the Seine at Meclosedum (Melun), they sent a message to Lutecia, ordering that the town should be burned, and then marched thither themselves; and this proves that when they sent the message they were at a considerable distance from Lutecia. The Orge, which is between the Bièvre and the Essonne, has two branches; and a marsh formed by them would have been so broad that it would have been hopeless for Labienus to attempt to make a causeway across it (*C. G.*, pp. 776–8).

58, § 2. *Meclosedum.* In regard to the orthography see *C. G.*, pp. 845–6.

§ 4. *coniunctis.* Meusel reads *conductis*, an emendation of his own, which seems to me unnecessary. If Caesar had meant this, I am inclined to think that he would have written *contractis*, as in iv, 22, § 3; and I do not believe that he would have thought it necessary to give the self evident information that Labienus had brought the barges together. The meaning of the MS. reading is of course that he made a bridge of boats over the western arm of the Seine, which he could have done in

perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars erat ad
bellum evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur.
Refecto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes re- 5
sciderant, exercitum traducit et secundo flumine ad
Luteciam iter facere coepit. Hostes re cognita ab 6
iis qui Meclosedo profugerant, Luteciam incendi
pontesque eius oppidi rescindi iubent; ipsi profecti
a palude in ripa Sequanae e regione Luteciae contra
Labieni castra considunt.

Threatened in front and rear, he is forced to contrive a plan of retreat.

Iam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur, iam **59**
de Haeduorum defectione et secundo Galliae motu
rumores adferebantur, Gallique in conloquiis inter-
clusum itinere et Ligeri Caesarem inopia frumenti
coactum in provinciam contendisse confirmabant.
Bellovaci autem defectione Haeduorum cognita, qui 2
iam ante erant per se infideles, manus cogere atque
aperte bellum parare coeperunt. Tum Labienus tanta 3
rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi capiendum con-
silium atque antea senserat intellegebat, neque iam 4
ut aliquid adquireret proelioque hostes lacesseret sed
ut incolumem exercitum Agedincum reduceret cogi-
tabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quae civitas 5
in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis, insta-
bant, alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo
exercitu tenebat; tum legiones a praesidio atque

a very short time. Caesar bridged the Saône near Lyons within a single day (i, 13, § 2).

§ 6. *in ripa Sequanae . . . considunt.* For the meaning of *e regione* see the note on 25, § 2. The Gauls encamped on the left bank of the river, opposite Lutecia: Labienus encamped over against them on the right bank, probably near the site of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois (*C. G.*, pp. 778-81, 784-5).

59, § 1. *a Gergovia.* See the note on 43, § 5.

Galli. Perhaps Caesar was referring to Gallic peasants with whom the Romans conversed through the medium of interpreters; but *B. C.*, iii, 48, § 2 (*cum in conloquiis Pompeiani famem nostris obiectarent*) suggests that the gossip (*conloquiis*) may have passed between Labienus's Gallic cavalry and their countrymen of the enemy's outposts.

§ 2. *qui iam* is an emendation, proposed by Heinsius. The reading of *BM* is *quia*, which is obviously unsatisfactory; while *qui*—the reading of $\chi S\beta$—seems to stand in need of *iam* to strengthen it. Cf. v, 4, § 4; 9, § 4; 27, § 1; vii, 1, § 3; 20, § 10.

§ 5. *praesidio atque impedimentis.* Cf. 57, § 1.

impedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat. 6 Tantis subito difficultatibus obiectis ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

60 Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato, cohortatus ut ea quae imperasset diligenter industrieque administrarent, naves quas Meclosedo deduxerat singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit et prima confecta vigilia IIII milia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi 2 ibique se expectare iubet. V cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimabat, castris prae- 3 sidio relinquit; V eiusdem legionis reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine 4 magno tumultu proficisci imperat. Conquirit etiam lintres; has magno sonitu remorum incitatas in eandem partem mittit. Ipse post paulo silentio egressus cum tribus legionibus eum locum petit quo naves adpelli iusserat.

61 Eo cum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut omni fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna subito erat coorta tempestas, a nostris oppri- 2 muntur; exercitus equitatusque equitibus Romanis administrantibus quos ei negotio praefecerat celeriter 3 transmittitur. Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus

60, § 1. *equitibus Romanis.* Probably some of these Roman knights were not regular officers; but very likely others were, as we may gather from iii, 7, § 4 compared with 10, § 2 and perhaps also from vii, 65, § 5.

§ 3. *proficisci imperat.* See the second note on v, 1, § 3.

§ 4. *eum locum . . . iusserat.* This place was near Point-du-Jour. Probably as each cohort or maniple reached the place of embarkation, it wheeled to the right so as to form a little column at right angles to the stream, ready to enter the barges. Thus the three legions would have been able to embark within a space of not much more than half a mile.

Why did not Labienus return along the right bank of the Seine? Not from fear of the Bellovaci, for he had a long start. But to flee at such a crisis would shatter the enfeebled prestige of the Roman arms. Besides, to reach Agedincum, he must, sooner or later, recross the river; and, hurry as he might, cross where he would, the enemy would be there to dispute his passage. There was nothing for it but to cross there and then by some skilful stratagem; and, if he must fight, to clear the way by victory.

61, § 1. *ut.* See the note on ii, 19, § 6.

nuntiatur in castris Romanorum praeter consuetu-
dinem tumultuari et magnum ire agmen adverso
flumine sonitumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri
et paulo infra milites navibus transportari. Quibus 4
rebus auditis, quod existimabant tribus locis transire
legiones atque omnes perturbatos defectione Hae-
duorum fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres
partes distribuerunt. Nam praesidio e regione ca- 5
strorum relicto et parva manu Meclosedum versus
missa, quae tantum progrederetur quantum naves
processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxe-
runt.

He inflicts a crushing defeat on Camulogenus and rejoins Caesar.

Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati et **62**
hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus milites cohor- 2
tatus, ut suae pristinae virtutis et tot secundissimo-
rum proeliorum memoriam retinerent atque ipsum
Caesarem, cuius ductu saepe numero hostes superas-
sent, [praesentem] adesse existimarent, dat signum
proelii. Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima 3
legio constiterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam
coiciuntur; ab sinistro, quem locum XII. legio tenebat, 4
cum primi ordines hostium transfixi pilis concidissent,
tamen acerrime reliqui resistebant, nec dabat suspi-
cionem fugae quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camu- 5
logenus suis aderat atque eos cohortabatur. At 6

§ 4. *atque omnes . . . parare.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 53; 1912, pp. 72–3) follows von Göler in bracketing these words; for, he argues, when the Gauls heard [Caesar says 'thought'] that the Romans were crossing the Seine at three places, they must have believed that they were going to attack them. Granted; but for all that they must have seen that Labienus was 'preparing for flight' in the sense that he had abandoned his offensive campaign, and that his only object in fighting was to clear the way for retreat.

§ 5. *parva manu.* Though Camulogenus was perplexed, it is evident that Labienus's stratagem only partially succeeded.

Navis is a generic term, which may denote either a ship or a small boat; and the *naves* mentioned here were the same as the *lintres* (60, § 4) which had been rowed upstream in the direction of Meclosedum. Similarly we often speak of an Atlantic liner as a 'boat' (*C. G.*, pp. 782–4).

62, § 2. *praesentem* is omitted in $S\beta$ and is bracketed, I think rightly, by Meusel. See vi, 8, § 4.

incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriae, cum VII. legionis
tribunis esset nuntiatum quae in sinistro cornu gere-
rentur, post tergum hostium legionem ostenderunt
7 signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore quis-
quam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfectique
8 sunt. Eandem fortunam tulit Camulogenus. At ii
qui in praesidio contra castra Labieni erant relicti,
cum proelium commissum audissent, subsidio suis
ierunt collemque ceperunt neque nostrorum militum
9 victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic cum suis
fugientibus permixti, quos non silvae montesque
10 texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti. Hoc negotio
confecto Labienus revertitur Agedincum, ubi impedi-
menta totius exercitus relicta erant; inde cum omni-
bus copiis ad Caesarem pervenit.

Spread of the rebellion: the Aedui claim the direction of the

63 Defectione Haeduorum cognita bellum augetur.
2 Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur; quantum
gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas
3 civitates nituntur; nacti obsides quos Caesar apud
eos deposuerat, horum supplicio dubitantes territant.

§ 8. *in praesidio* (see the note on vi, 33, § 4) here means 'as a guard' (though Caesar generally expresses this by the dative), that is 'on guard'. The words can hardly be equivalent to *in loco munito*, for the Gauls would not have fortified a position occupied by a reserve.

collem. The hill was probably Mont Parnasse (*C. G.*, p. 785).

§ 9. *montes* sometimes designates comparatively low hills, even some of the hills of Rome. Cf. i, 24, §§ 1-3; iv, 23, §§ 2-3, &c.

§ 10. *inde . . . pervenit.* Labienus evidently rejoined Caesar somewhere on the road between Agedincum and Noviodunum (see the note on 56, § 4); but we shall never know exactly where (*C. G.*, pp. 785-8).

63, § 1. *cognita.* Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 71) says that the next two sentences show what the Aedui themselves did in order to weaken the position of the Romans, and that if *cognita* had been written by Caesar, he would have said in the following sentences that *other* peoples, on hearing of the defection of the Aedui, had joined the rebellion. There is force in this argument; but I think nevertheless that Caesar might legitimately have begun the chapter by remarking that 'When the defection of the Aedui became known, the gravity of the war increased'.

§ 2. *nituntur* is defended by C. Schneider on the ground that the construction of *nitor* with *ad* occurs in *Bell. Alex.*, 20, § 6; but R. Schneider (*B. ph. W.*, 1886, p. 982) may be right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *utuntur*.

§ 3. *supplicio* evidently means either 'by the threat of punish-

war: Vercingetorix elected commander-in-chief: chagrin of the Aedui.

Petunt a Vercingetorige [Haedui] ut ad se veniat 4
rationesque belli gerendi communicet. Re impetrata 5
contendunt ut ipsis summa imperii tradatur, et re
in controversiam deducta totius Galliae concilium
Bibracte indicitur. Conveniunt undique frequentes. 6
Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum
omnes Vercingetorigem probant imperatorem. Ab 7
hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treveri afuerunt: illi,
quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur, Treveri,
quod aberant longius et a Germanis premebantur,
quae fuit causa quare toto abessent bello et neutris
auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Haedui ferunt se 8

ment' or 'by punishing a few'; for if all the hostages had been killed, the Aedui would have used up their power of intimidating waverers.

§ 4. *Haedui* is, in Meusel's opinion (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 63) superfluous, for it is the subject of the preceding verbs, *valent*, *nituntur*, and *territant*. Schneider, however, defends the word, referring to i, 14, § 1 (*legati Helvetii*).

communicet means, I believe, 'concert with them' (a plan of campaign), just as in vi, 2, § 3 *Senones . . . cum Carnutibus finitimisque civitatibus consilia communicare* means 'the Senones . . . were in communication with the Carnutes', &c. On the other hand, in iv, 13, § 4 *consilio cum legatis . . . communicato* means that Caesar 'communicated to his generals . . . his determination'; and perhaps Caesar may mean that the Aedui requested Vercingetorix to impart to them his own plan.

§ 6. *Multitudinis . . . permittitur.* Strabo was perhaps thinking of this passage when he wrote (iv, 4, § 3) that Gallic generals used to be elected by 'the multitude' (εἰς πόλεμον εἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός). The *multitudo* which Caesar speaks of here can only have comprised the knights (*equites*) who were present (see vi, 13, § 3) and perhaps also their retainers, who may have accompanied them; for it is obviously incredible that the *concilium* included representatives of the lower orders, who could not have borne the cost of the journey. Besides, as Caesar distinctly says (vi, 13, § 1), *plebes . . . nulli adhibetur concilio.*

§ 7. *Ab hoc . . . afuerunt.* There were other absentees, whom Caesar ignores. The Aquitanians, who had taken no part in the war, except sending mercenary cavalry to Teutomatus (31, § 5), were of course not represented; and I am inclined to infer from certain significant omissions in the list (ch. 75) of the tribes which sent contingents to the relief of Alesia that others were influenced by the Remi and the Lingones to hold aloof. It seems unlikely, moreover, that the Eburones and the other 'Cisrhenane Germans' (vi, 2, § 3) sent delegates.

toto bello is of course ablative of time; otherwise Caesar would have written *a toto bello*. Cf. vi, 14, § 1 and *L. C.*, i, 45-7.

deiectos principatu, queruntur fortunae commuta-
tionem et Caesaris in se indulgentiam requirunt,
neque tamen suscepto bello suum consilium ab reliquis
9 separare audent. Inviti summae spei adulescentes
Eporedorix et Viridomarus Vercingetorigi parent.

Vercingetorix's plan of campaign: he hounds on the neighbours of the Provincial tribes to attack them.

64 Ille imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides †denique†
ei rei constituit diem. Huc omnes equites, XV milia
2 numero, celeriter convenire iubet; peditatu quem
antea habuerit se fore contentum dicit neque fortu-
nam temptaturum aut acie dimicaturum; sed, quoniam
abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu frumentationi-
3 bus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere, aequo modo
animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque
incendant, qua rei familiaris iactura perpetuum im-
4 perium libertatemque se consequi videant. His consti-
tutis rebus Haeduis Segusiavisque, qui sunt finitimi
[ei] provinciae, X milia peditum imperat; huc addit
5 equites DCCC. His praeficit fratrem Eporedorigis
6 bellumque inferre Allobrogibus iubet. Altera ex
parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in
Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum
7 Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus
clandestinis nuntiis legationibusque Allobrogas solli-
citat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello

§ 9. *summae spei*,—'promising'. What they had done already justified their friends in forming high hopes of their future. Cf. viii, 8, § 2; Cicero, *Phil.*, ii, 18, § 46; *Fam.*, i, 7, § 11.

64, § 1. *Ille . . . Huc.* Meusel rejects the MS. reading and adopts his own emendation,—(Ille . . . obsides) *equitesque Gergoviam adduci iubet obsides*; while immediately after *obsides* he adopts an emendation proposed by R. Menge (*N. ph. R.*, 1887, p. 396),—*diemque ei rei constituit diem XVI.* Schneider explains *huc* as equivalent to *eum in locum quo haec acta sunt*, that is to say, Bibracte. The text is probably corrupt; but I shrink from adopting Meusel's daring conjecture.

omnes . . . iubet. I am not quite sure whether Caesar means that Vercingetorix levied 15,000 additional cavalry, or that the cavalry which he had already amounted with the new levies to 15,000.

§ 3. *consequi.* See the note on ii, 32, § 3.

§ 4. *ei* is obviously an interpolation.

§ 6. *pagos.* See p. liv.

§ 7. *superiore bello.* See i, 6, § 2 & p. lx.

resedisse sperabat. Horum principibus pecunias, civi- 8
tati autem imperium totius provinciae pollicetur.

65 Defeat of the Helvii: determined resistance of the Allobroges: Caesar enlists German cavalry.

Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohor- 65
tium duarum et XX, quae ex ipsa coacta provincia
ab L. Caesare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur.
Helvii sua sponte cum finitimis proelio congressi 2
pelluntur et C. Valerio Domnotauro, Caburi filio,
principe civitatis, compluribusque aliis interfectis
intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges 3
crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis praesidiis magna cura
et diligentia suos fines tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes 4
equitatu superiores esse intellegebat et interclusis
omnibus itineribus nulla re ex provincia atque Italia
sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit
ad eas civitates quas superioribus annis pacaverat
equitesque ab his arcessit et levis armaturae pedites,
qui inter eos proeliari consuerant. Eorum adventu, 5

65, § 1. *provincia* here evidently means the province of Transalpine (see p. xlii), not, as in 1, § 1, of Cisalpine, Gaul. Cf. i. 7, § 2; 8, § 1.

L. Caesare, a distant relation of Julius. He had been consul in 64 B.C.

§ 2. *C. Valerio . . . filio.* See i, 47, § 4 and the note on i, 19, § 3 (*Valerium*).

principe civitatis evidently means 'the first magistrate'. See the note on i, 3, § 5.

intra oppida murosque. Why Caesar added *murosque* is apparent from the translation, 'in strongholds and behind walls,'—that is, the sheltering walls of the strongholds.

§ 4. *eas civitates . . . pacaverat.* It has been said that this is a deliberate exaggeration, because Caesar tells us himself in another passage (iv, 16, § 5) that of all the tribes east of the Rhine the Ubii alone had sent envoys to him. But the critics forget that in a later chapter (iv, 18, § 3) he says that when he was marching against the Sugambri several tribes submitted and sued for peace.

§ 5. *Eorum adventu.* Where did the German cavalry join Caesar? Evidently somewhere in the country of the Lingones (see p. 422). Some weeks must have passed since Caesar rejoined Labienus (62, § 10): for in the interval he had time to send across the Rhine for reinforcements and to receive them: a council of representatives from almost all the Gallic tribes was convened and met (63, §§ 5–6); and Vercingetorix, after he had been elected commander-in-chief by this council (63, § 6), had time to raise new troops and to send them to attack the Province (64). During the interval Caesar's soldiers doubtless rested, and he laid in a fresh stock of provisions.

quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque [scilicet equitibus Romanis atque evocatis] equos sumit Germanisque distribuit.

He marches to succour the Province: Vercingetorix resolves to attack him.

66 Interea, dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex
Arvernis equitesque qui toti Galliae erant imperati
2 conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, cum
Caesar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines
iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium provinciae ferre
posset, circiter milia passuum X ab Romanis trinis
3 castris Vercingetorix considit convocatisque ad con-
cilium praefectis equitum venisse tempus victoriae
demonstrat: fugere in provinciam Romanos Galliaque

We may be sure that he took up his quarters among a friendly people: the Lingones were the only people, except the Remi, who were too far from the theatre of war, upon whose friendship he could depend (63, § 7); and their country was near that of the Remi, who needed his protection against the Bellovaci (90, § 5), near that of the Aedui, whose movements he had to watch, and conveniently situated for receiving the reinforcements from Germany (*C. G.*, pp. 788–90).

quod minus . . . utebantur. The German horses, though hardy, were small and light (iv, 2, § 2); and Caesar saw that his new allies, unless they were provided with better animals, would be at a disadvantage when they encountered the well-mounted Gallic troopers.

scilicet . . . evocatis. The MS. reading is *sed et* (equitibus), which, as Mommsen saw, was most probably a corruption of *scilicet*. But Caesar would not have explained *reliquisque* by such a phrase as *scilicet . . . evocatis*; and the words were doubtless originally a marginal note (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 38–9). Schneider gives examples of the use of *sed et* from late writers; but his defence is unsatisfactory. Who are meant by *evocatis* is explained in the note on v, 35, § 6.

66, § 1. *Interea, dum haec geruntur.* This pleonastic expression is unique; and I am a little surprised that my friend Meusel, who abhors superfluities, has not bracketed either *interea* or *dum haec geruntur*.

§§ 2–3. *Vercingetorix . . . demonstrat.* Vercingetorix had declared that 'he would not tempt fortune by fighting a battle' (64, § 2), and it has always been a puzzle why he now determined to attack Caesar. He made a mistake; but that he yielded to clamour I do not believe. It must be remembered that what he had said was that he would not fight *a pitched battle* (*acie dimicaturum*); and he did not intend to. What he contemplated was a flank attack upon Caesar's baggage-train (§§ 4–5); his cavalry was now very strong (64, § 1); he despised Caesar's Gallic cavalry (66, § 6); and probably he did not know that he would have to deal with the formidable German squadrons too, for hitherto Caesar had only had 400 German

DIJON AND ITS NORTHERN ENVIRONS



Scale; 1:80,000
Kilomètres
0 1 2 3 4 5

excedere; id sibi ad praesentem obtinendam libertatem 4
satis esse; ad reliqui temporis pacem atque otium
parum profici: maioribus enim coactis copiis rever-
suros neque finem bellandi facturos. Proinde ⟨in⟩
agmine impeditos adoriantur. Si pedites suis auxi- 5
lium ferant atque in eo morentur, iter facere non
posse; si, id quod magis futurum confidat, relictis
impedimentis suae saluti consulant, et usu rerum
necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de 6
equitibus hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo
extra agmen audeat, ne ipsos quidem debere dubitare.
Id quo maiore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro
castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum. Con- 7
clamant equites sanctissimo iure iurando confirmari
oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, [ne] ad
parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat qui non bis per
agmen hostium perequitarit.

67 **Defeat of Vercingetorix.**

Probata re atque omnibus ad ius iurandum adactis,
postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu duae
se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt, una a primo
agmine iter impedire coepit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar 2
suum quoque equitatum tripertito divisum contra

horse (13, § 1). See *C. G.*, pp. 790–1, and in regard to the battle-field see the second note on 68, § 2.

concilium, the reading of *X*, is, I think, justified by 14, § 1 and ii, 10, § 4. Meusel reads *consilium*, which is found in one inferior MS.

§ 4. *impeditos*. This is explained by the next sentence. Moreover, Vercingetorix doubtless expected that the legionaries would not have time to pile their packs. See iii, 24, § 3.

§ 5. *suis* plainly means the baggage-drivers.

§ 6. *ne ipsos quidem*. Vercingetorix meant that it was needless for him to tell his officers what they knew already. One might translate *ne . . . dubitare* by '*they* at any rate ought not to doubt'.

§ 7. *ne* (ad parentes) is rightly bracketed by Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 61), who observes that if it were genuine, it would have to be repeated before *ad uxorem*.

non. See the note on iv, 7, § 5.

67, § 2. *Qua re nuntiata*. Evidently the lie of the ground had prevented Caesar from observing the approach of the Gauls; and, marching securely through the country of the friendly Lingones, he had neglected to send out patrols. He was surprised as completely as he had been in the battle with the Nervii (*C. G.*, pp. 77, 168).

3 hostem ire iubet. Pugnatur una omnibus in partibus.
Consistit agmen; impedimenta intra legiones reci-
4 piuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius
premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque
converti iubebat; quae res et hostes ad insequendum
5 tardabat et nostros spe auxilii confirmabat. Tandem
Germani ab dextro latere summum iugum nacti
hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad flumen,
ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat,
6 persequuntur compluresque interficiunt. Qua re ani-
madversa reliqui ne circumvenirentur veriti se fugae
7 mandant. Omnibus locis fit caedes. Tres nobilissimi
Haedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitave proximis comitiis habuerat, et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavicci pedestribus copiis praefuerat, et Eporedorix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Haedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

He retreats to Alesia: Caesar in-

68 Fugato omni equitatu Vercingetorix copias suas, ut pro castris conlocaverat, reduxit protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere

§ 3. *intra* is an emendation, proposed by Nipperdey. The MS. reading is *inter*. If it is right, we must suppose that the army was marching in several columns, in the intervals between which Caesar placed the baggage. This seems to me more than improbable. The legions, which had hitherto been followed each by its own baggage-train (cf. 66, § 4 with ii, 17, § 2 and 19, §§ 2–3), doubtless formed a hollow square, within which the baggage was safe (*C. G.*, p. 168, n. 2).

§ 4. *converti* is the reading of β. *Constitui*, which is found in α, can hardly be right, for the line would have been formed once for all, whereas the reading *aciemque constitui* would imply that it was re-formed before each advance. Von Göler (*G. K.* p. 302, n. 4) proposes (aciemque) *conseri*,—'close their ranks'.

§ 5. *Tandem . . . depellunt.* As Lord Wolseley says (*Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 376), 'the charge of ten horsemen on the flank is more effective than that of 100 on the front'.

§ 7. *pedestribus copiis.* Cf. 34, § 1; 37, § 7; 40, §§ 6–7. It seems to be implied here that the Aeduan contingent which served under Caesar at Gergovia deserted him; and indeed it is incredible that they remained loyal after the events described in ch. 55 and ch. 63.

Haedui . . . contenderant. See i, 31, §§ 6–7.

68, § 1. *ut.* See the note on ii, 19, § 6.

Alesiam. If the reader will turn to 69, § 5 and 71, § 7, and

coepit celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et
se subsequi iussit. Caesar impedimentis in proximum 2
collem deductis, duabus legionibus praesidio relictis
secutus hostes, quantum diei tempus est passum,
circiter III milibus ex novissimo agmine interfectis
altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis 3

vests the fortress.

think, he will see that Vercingetorix had already prepared Alesia for defence, so that he might have a stronghold to retreat to in case of need. Perhaps he hoped to be as successful there as he had been at Gergovia. Anyhow, beaten as he was and hotly pursued by Caesar, he had no choice but to establish himself in a strong position, lest he should be compelled to fight another and yet more disastrous battle, and lest his disheartened troops should disperse (*C. G.*, p. 801).

celeriter belongs to *educi*.

§ 2. Kraner takes *impedimentis* as dative depending upon *praesidio*. I believe that it is ablative absolute and that *iis*—namely *impedimentis*—is to be understood with *praesidio*.

altero die . . . fecit. This sentence completes the evidence for determining the site of the battle which is described in ch. 67. It is as follows:—While Caesar was marching 'through the furthest part of the country of the Lingones towards the country of the Sequani', Vercingetorix formed three camps about 10 Roman miles from Caesar's army (66, §§ 2–3). During the combat the Gallic infantry were drawn up in front of these three camps (66, § 6), behind a stream (67, § 5), in order to produce a moral effect. On the right of the Roman army there was a hill, down which Caesar's German cavalry charged. This charge decided the battle; and the Gallic cavalry, afraid of being surrounded, fled to the stream (67, § 5). Vercingetorix immediately retreated to Alesia (68, § 1): Caesar pursued the beaten army until nightfall and reached the outskirts of Alesia on the next day (68, §§ 2–3). The words *cum Caesar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret* (66, § 2) show that when Vercingetorix made his three camps Caesar was still in the country of the Lingones, and, as I have shown elsewhere (*C. G.*, pp. 792–4), that he was marching through that part of the country of the Lingones which was furthest (*extremos*) from his starting-point in the direction in which he was going. As to his starting-point, we only know that it was somewhere in the country of the Lingones (see the first note on 65, § 5),—probably in the north or north-west. The direction in which he was going was towards the country of the Sequani, which extended east and south-east of the country of the Lingones. It seems clear, therefore, that we must look for the battle-field in the south-eastern part of the country of the Lingones,—that is, in the neighbourhood of Dijon. M. Jullian agrees with me; and a site which he found seems to me the most satisfactory that has been proposed. You can walk to it from Dijon in about an hour and a quarter. M. Jullian suggests that Caesar encamped the night before the battle on a hill north of Til-Chatel and overlooking the river Tille, and that he

situ perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, qua ma
parte exercitus confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortat
laborem milites Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

Description of Alesia: Caesar's camps and redoubts.

69 Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo admo
edito loco, ut nisi obsidione expugnari non
2 videretur. Cuius collis radices duo duabus ex
3 tibus flumina subluebant. Ante oppidum plan
circiter milia passuum III in longitudinem pat
4 reliquis ex omnibus partibus colles mediocri inter
spatio pari altitudinis fastigio oppidum cinge

continued his march along the line of the Roman road traverses Bellefond. Vercingetorix, he thinks, formed his camps on the slopes east of Hauteville, north-west of Dijo separated from Caesar by the river Suzon, thus ensurin retreat to Alesia. If so, the hill which the Germans occ was the ridge just north of Asnières. The Suzon, whic dry when I saw it (in September, 1910), has very high and would have been a sufficient obstacle. The only obj in my opinion, is that Vercingetorix could not have see of the fighting except on Caesar's right wing; for the g sinks rather rapidly from the Route Nationale, which Asnières on the east, towards Bellefond and Ruffey pp. 791–801). See the plan facing p. 335.

§ 3. *exercitus*, as the reader has doubtless noticed, ge means the infantry: here it is used in the wider sense.

circumvallare. See the last note on 17, § 1.

69, § 1. *Ipsum*. I retain the MS. reading, but doub J. Lange (*N. J.*, cliii, 1896, pp. 710–11) proposed *Positum*, r ing that this word is indispensable; and his emendation ha accepted by Meusel. R. Schneider had before suggeste *positum* had dropped out after *Ipsum erat oppidum*. In s phrases Caesar regularly inserts *positum* (*L. C.*, ii, 939 I would adopt Lange's emendation if I were convince the word is absolutely necessary; but Cicero (*Fam.*, xv, 4 writes *quod* [oppidum] *cum esset altissimo et munitissimo l*

§ 2. *duo flumina*,—the Oze and the Ozerain.

§ 3. *planities*,—the plain of Les Laumes.

§ 4. *mediocri . . . spatio*,—not between each other (in case Caesar would have written *mediocribus interiectis* [cf. 73, § 9]), but between them and the central hill of A

pari altitudinis fastigio does not mean quite the same *altitudine*. When we speak of the height of a mount mean the height measured from the base (or, strictly spe from the mean level of the sea) to the top. But *fastigiu* nothing to do with the bottom; it denotes merely the hor line which, so to speak, bounds or limits the height. P Schneider is right in thinking that Caesar wrote *pari alti fastigio* partly in order to show that he did not mean th surrounding hills were all of exactly the same height, bu the imaginary line which connected their highest poin

Sub muro, quae pars collis ad orientem solem specta- 5
bat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam in altitudinem VI pedum
praeduxerant. Eius munitionis quae ab Romanis 6
instituebatur circuitus X milia passuum tenebat.
Castra oportunis locis erant posita ibique castella 7
XXIII facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes ponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret; haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

70 Opere instituto fit equestre proelium in ea planitie quam intermissam collibus tria milia passuum in longitudinem patere supra demonstravimus. Summa
vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris 2
Caesar Germanos submittit legionesque pro castris

The Gallic cavalry make a sortie, but are beaten.

roughly on a level with the horizontal line of the plateau of Alesia.

§ 7. *Castra . . . facta.* Stoffel's excavations proved that there were eight camps: accordingly R. Menge, remarking that Caesar would have stated the number of the camps as well as that of the redoubts, and that, since the redoubts were not on the sites of the camps, *ibi* is meaningless, proposed to read (castra . . . posita) *VIII, castellaque XXIII facta.* The word *ibi* is certainly vague, but not more than in ii, 5, § 4 (*flumen Axonam . . . exercitum traducere maturavit atque ibi castra posuit*), and it might, I think, mean 'in their neighbourhood', that is to say, near the camps; besides, Menge's conjecture does not explain how *ibique* got into the text. For this reason Klotz, who objects, further, that Caesar would have defined the position of the camps, offers another emendation,—(castra . . . posita) *VIII, quae inter se munitionibus coniungebantur, ibique castella XXIII facta.* But Klotz forgets that the *munitio* had only just been begun when the camps and redoubts were made (69, § 6). See *C. G.*, p. 805, n. 2.

Only five of the twenty-three redoubts—those indicated in the plan by the numbers 10, 11, 15, 18, and 22—were discovered by Stoffel's excavations: the positions of the rest are marked on what seemed to him the most suitable sites.

stationes. See the note on ii, 18, § 3.

excubitoribus . . . praesidiis. Perhaps the reader will be surprised at the omission of *ab* with *excubitoribus* (with *praesidiis* it is not surprising); but the ablative is instrumental. The redoubts were held *by* Caesar *with* strong bivouacs. This use of the ablative is apparent in *B. C.*, i, 37, § 1,—*saltus Pyrenaeos . . . qui eo tempore ab L. Afranio legato praesidiis tenebantur.* *Ac firmis praesidiis* is explanatory of, not distinct from, *excubitoribus.*

70, § 2. *pro castris.* These camps were, I believe, not those situated in the plain of Les Laumes, which, as the excavations have shown, were occupied by cavalry, but the infantry camps,

constituit [, ne qua subito inruptio ab hostium pedi-
3 tatu fiat]. Praesidio legionum addito nostris animus
augetur: hostes in fugam coniecti se ipsi multitudine
impediunt atque angustioribus portis relictis coar-
4 tantur. Germani acrius usque ad munitiones per-
5 sequuntur. Fit magna caedes; non nulli relictis
equis fossam transire et maceriam transcendere co-
nantur. Paulum legiones Caesar, quas pro vallo
6 constituerat, promoveri iubet. Non minus qui intra
munitiones erant Galli perturbantur: veniri ad se
confestim existimantes ad arma conclamant; non
7 nulli perterriti in oppidum inrumpunt. Vercingetorix
iubet portas claudi, ne castra nudentur. Multis in-
terfectis, compluribus equis captis Germani sese re-
cipiunt.

Vercingetorix sends them out to fetch succour.

71 Vercingetorix, prius quam munitiones ab Romanis
perficiantur, consilium capit omnem ab se equitatum
2 noctu dimittere. Discedentibus mandat ut suam
quisque eorum civitatem adeat omnesque qui per
3 aetatem arma ferre possint ad bellum cogant; sua
in illos merita proponit obtestaturque ut suae salutis
rationem habeant, neu se optime de communi libertate
meritum hostibus in cruciatum dedant. Quod si in-
diligentiores fuerint, milia hominum delecta LXXX

indicated in the plan by the letters A and D, from which the legions could have attacked the enemy in flank.

ne qua . . . fiat. This clause is certainly suspicious; for, as Meusel says (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 54), the words *Praesidio . . . augetur* (§ 3) show that the legions were intended to support the cavalry. Cf. 67, § 4. Still, it does not necessarily follow that they were not also intended to check any attempt which Vercingetorix might make to support *his* cavalry.

§ 7. *portas,*—of the town, not of the camp.

71, § 2. *cogant.* As Meusel observes (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 264), though *adeat* precedes, *cogat* would be wrong; for individuals could not 'make all take the field'.

§ 3. *Quod si.* See the first note on i, 14, § 3.

LXXX. The number is repeated in 77, § 8; so we may be sure that there is no mistake in the text. The great Napoleon says that if Vercingetorix's force had been so large, he would have sent out 60,000 men along with his cavalry, as the remaining 20,000 would have been strong enough to hold Alesia. But is it certain that the 60,000 would have been able to get out? Anyhow, as Captain G. Veith has pointed out, the

una secum interitura demonstrat. Ratione inita fru- 4
mentum se exigue dierum XXX habere, sed paulo
etiam longius tolerari posse parcendo. His datis 5
mandatis, qua erat nostrum opus intermissum, secun-
da vigilia silentio equitatum dimittit. Frumentum 6
omne ad se referri iubet; capitis poenam iis qui non
paruerint constituit; pecus, cuius magna erat copia a 7
Mandubiis compulsa, viritim distribuit; frumentum 8
parce et paulatim metiri instituit; copias omnes, quas
pro oppido conlocaverat, in oppidum recipit. His 9
rationibus auxilia Galliae expectare et bellum admini-
strare parat.

Quibus rebus cognitis ex perfugis et captivis **72**
Caesar haec genera munitionis instituit. Fossam

Caesar constructs lines of

passages (89, § 5; 90, § 3) in which Caesar relates how he disposed of his prisoners after the fall of Alesia confirm his estimate of the numbers of the garrison. He gave every man in his force, which comprised 10 legions, besides cavalry, archers, and slingers, one prisoner by way of prize; and he restored 20,000 prisoners to the Aedui and Arverni. As his army, which had been reinforced by a fresh draft at the beginning of the campaign (1, § 1; 7, § 5; 57, § 1), could hardly have numbered less than 50,000 men (*C. G.*, pp. 559–63), 70,000 prisoners are thus accounted for; and the garrison had doubtless suffered heavy loss (*C. G.*, pp. 243–4).

interitura. In i, 27, § 4 a masculine participle, *perterriti*, agrees with (hominum) *milia VI*.

§ 5. *qua erat . . . intermissum.* The cavalry escaped through a gap or gaps in the line of contravallation; and 70, § 1 shows that the Romans had not yet had time to do much. I believe that the cavalry moved *up* the valleys of the Oze and the Ozerain; first, because the bulk of Caesar's cavalry, which they would have wished to avoid, was stationed in the plain of Les Laumes, and, secondly, because the map shows that if they had moved *down* the valleys, they would have been open to attack for a longer time than if they had moved eastward (*C. G.*, pp. 806–7).

72, § 1. *Caesar . . . instituit.* M. V. Pernet, who assisted in Stoffel's excavations, believes that the original earthwork (*munitio*) which Caesar mentions in 69, § 6 is represented by four incomplete trenches in the plain of Les Laumes, on the slope of the hill of Flavigny, on the slope of the hill of Bussy, and along the foot of Mont Réa; and that these unfinished works were abandoned when Caesar began to construct the lines which he describes in ch. 72–4 (*C. G.*, p. 807). Here I may remark that Stoffel's excavations, which have been minutely explained by M. Pernet, show that Caesar's description is on the whole trustworthy. As he wrote for general readers, one could not expect from him the rigorous accuracy of a modern

contra-vallation and circum-vallation.

pedum XX derectis lateribus duxit [,ut eius fossae solum tantundem pateret quantum summa labra distarent];
2 reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa passibus CCCC reduxit [, id] hoc consilio, quoniam tantum spatium necessario esset complexus nec facile totum opus corona militum cingeretur, ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones multitudo hostium advolaret aut in-

engineer writing in a professional journal; but his account is subject only to trivial corrections.

Fossam . . . duxit. This trench, the object of which is explained in § 2, extended only across the plain of Les Laumes (*C. G.*, pp. 807–8). I need hardly add that there was no trench corresponding to it in the circumvallation,—the outer ring of earthworks which was intended to keep at bay the army that was preparing to relieve Vercingetorix (74, § 1); for it was unnecessary to protect the soldiers while they were at work against unarmed rustics (*C. G.*, pp. 811–12).

pedum XX. See the second note on ii, 5, § 6.

derectis lateribus. Trenches were generally V-shaped; and that Caesar should have imposed upon his men the enormous labour of making the sides vertical shows how much depended upon rendering this preliminary portion of the defences impregnable.

ut eius fossae . . . distarent is bracketed by Meusel as absolutely superfluous (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 39). Superfluous the words certainly are,—to a logical mind; but Caesar, like Macaulay, wrote for dull as well as for intelligent readers, and he had a passion for making his meaning *strikingly* clear. Remembering the *Interea, dum haec geruntur* of 66, § 1, I am not so sure as Meusel; and I only bracket the words because the reading of α—(ut eius) *fossae* (solum tantundem pateret quantum) *summae fossae labra distarent*—differs so much from that of β as to suggest that there was an interpolation.

§ 2. *passibus.* The reading of α is *pedes*, of β *pedibus*. The real distance varied at different points, but was everywhere much more than 400 feet; and the results of Stoffel's excavations, as shown in the plan facing p. 339, justify us in concluding that Caesar meant to write *passibus*, though he may have written *pedibus* by a slip (*C. G.*, p. 808).

id is almost certainly spurious. Caesar, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 60), regularly writes *eo* (or *hoc*) *consilio* immediately after the verb; and, moreover, the words *hoc consilio—ne . . . posset* evidently refer not only to *reliquas . . . reduxit* (§ 2) but also to *Fossam . . . duxit* (§ 1), whereas, if *id* were genuine, they could only refer to the former.

quoniam . . . esset complexus. The explanation of the subjunctive seems to be that Caesar is stating in what is virtually Oratio Obliqua what passed through his mind when he determined to construct the *reliquas omnes munitiones.* He would have said to himself *quoniam tantum spatium complexus sum*, &c. Cf. v, 3, § 5.

terdiu tela in nostros operi destinatos coicere posset. Hoc intermisso spatio duas fossas XV pedes latas 3
eadem altitudine perduxit; quarum interiorem campestribus ac demissis locis aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas aggerem ac vallum XII pedum 4
extruxit; huic loricam pinnasque adiecit grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent, et turres toto opere circumdedit, quae pedes LXXX inter se distarent.

Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et **73**
tantas munitiones fieri necesse deminutis nostris

operi destinatos. Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 210) conjectures that Caesar wrote *opere distentos*, but does not state his reasons.

§ 3. *duas fossas ... complevit.* The inner of these two trenches surrounded Alesia: the outer was confined to the plain of Les Laumes. The circumvallation (74, § 1) had only one trench.

eadem does not mean that the trenches were each 15 feet deep, but that their depth, whatever it may have been, was equal. The depth of a trench was always less than its breadth. See Klotz, *C. S.*, p. 220.

campestribus. Cf. 69, § 3.

flumine,—the Ozerain and the Rabutin (an affluent of the Oze). This has been proved in the former case by a series of levels taken in the plain of Les Laumes, in the latter by excavation. See Napoleon III, *Hist. de Jules César*, ii, 320.

§ 4. *aggerem* here means, I need hardly say, a rampart; and *vallum* is the accusative of *vallus*, not of *vallum*.

XII pedum. See the first note on ii, 5, § 6.

huic. I am not sure whether *huic* means the rampart (*agger*) or the palisade (*vallus*) or, as I am inclined to think, is used loosely for the combined work formed by the rampart and palisade.

loricam pinnasque. See the last note on v, 40, § 6. As *lorica* (properly a coat of mail or a breastplate) here means a breastwork, and a *pinna* is a pinnacle, *loricam pinnasque* may be translated by 'an embattled breastwork'.

pluteorum denotes the entire breastwork formed by *vallus*, *lorica*, and *pinnae*. The word is used in a similar sense in 41, § 4.

pedes. A. Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 219) thinks that the towers must have stood much further apart than 80 feet, especially as artillery was used (81, § 4), and accordingly conjectures that we should read *passus*. If, as we may suppose, the pieces of artillery were in the towers, he is probably right.

distarent. The subjunctive is consecutive, as in i, 6, § 1, 52, § 5, &c.

73, § 1. *fieri.* Schneider, who takes *copiis* as dative, proposes *tueri*. He argues (1) that a passive (*fieri*), coupled with two

copiis, quae longius a castris progrediebantur; ac non
numquam opera nostra Galli temptare atque eruptio-
nem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere
2 conabantur. Quare ad haec rursus opera addendum
Caesar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones
defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum aut admo-
dum firmis ramis abscisis atque horum delibratis ac
praeacutis cacuminibus perpetuae fossae quinos pedes
3 altae ducebantur. Huc illi stipites demissi et ab
infimo revincti, ne revelli possent, ab ramis emine-
4 bant. Quini erant ordines, coniuncti inter se atque
implicati; quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis

deponents, would be awkward; (2) that Caesar has already stated that the *munitiones* were made; and (3) that if *copiis* is ablative (as, after *fieri*, it ought to be), *necesse* is too far from *Erat*; it is doubtful whether the ablative is instrumental or absolute; and if it is the latter, whether it is causal or concessive. These reasons leave me unconvinced; and Heller (*Ph.*, 1872, pp. 524–5) successfully defends *fieri*. He says that in what precedes Caesar does not refer to entrenchments which were already made but to entrenchments which were being made [in other words, having described in ch. 72 the construction of the entrenchments, he now shows what happened while they were being constructed]: the difficulty of making them was increased by the fact that the foragers had to go long distances, but for the difficulty of defending them it mattered nothing whether the distances were long or short. Moreover, if Caesar had written *tueri*, he would not have said *ac* (non numquam . . . conabantur) but *cum* (non numquam . . . conarentur, &c.). Heller gives other good reasons for rejecting Schneider's emendation.

§ 2. *perpetuae* does not mean that the trenches formed a ring round Alesia, for they were not wanted everywhere (see the note on *Fossam . . . duxit* [72, § 1]), but only that in the places where they were necessary they were continuous (*C. G.*, p. 811).

§ 3. *ab ramis*,—that is, from the point where the boughs began to stick out. Of course these *rami* were not identical with, but formed part of, the *admodum firmi rami* mentioned in § 2. *Ab* is used here not as in *ab latere* (82, § 2), but as in *ab infimo solo* (73, § 7).

§ 4. *Quini . . . implicati.* These words suggest a question, which the excavations do not enable us to answer. Did Caesar mean that there were five parallel trenches, or five rows of boughs in each trench? I believe that he meant the latter, because if he had meant that there were five *perpetuae fossae*, he would surely have said so when he first mentioned these trenches, in § 2; and, moreover, by planting five rows of boughs in each trench labour would have been saved. Besides, if there had been five trenches, how could the *stipites* have

vallis induebant. Hos cippos appellabant. Ante hos 5
obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes in altitudinem trium pedum fodiebantur paulatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites 6
feminis crassitudine ab summo praeacuti et praeusti demittebantur ita ut non amplius digitis IIII ex terra eminerent; simul confirmandi et stabiliendi causa 7
singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur, reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Huius generis octoni ordines 8
ducti ternos inter se pedes distabant. Id ex similitudine floris lilium appellabant. Ante haec taleae 9
pedem longae ferreis hamis infixis totae in terram infodiebantur mediocribusque intermissis spatiis omnibus locis disserebantur; quos stimulos nominabant.

His rebus perfectis, regiones secutus quam potuit **74**
aequissimas pro loci natura XIIII milia passuum complexus pares eiusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine [si ita accidat eius discessu] muni-

been 'connected with one another and interlaced' (*C. G.*, pp. 810–11)?

cippos might mean either 'grave-stones' or 'boundary-stones'; but the former, in the mouths of Caesar's soldiers, would obviously have been more significant.

§ 5. Notice that *fastigio* is not used here in the same sense as in 69, § 4.

§ 7. *singuli . . . exculcabantur*. The literal meaning is 'one foot from the bottom in each pit was trodden down with earth',—that is, filled up with earth, which was then trodden down, to make it firm.

§ 8. *octoni ordines*. The distributive (cf. § 4) shows that the *scrobes*, like the *perpetuae fossae* of § 2, were in groups.

74, § 1. I infer from the words *pro loci natura* that *aequissimas* is here used in its proper sense—'most level'—not in the secondary sense—'most favourable'—though of course this meaning is implied. If Caesar had meant simply 'most favourable', he would not have thought it necessary to add *pro loci natura*.

pares . . . perfecit. This statement is true on the whole, but not in every detail. On the hills which surrounded Alesia the pits (*scrobes*) described in 73, §§ 5–8 were not, as one might have expected, in front, but in rear of the circumvallation, which was broken opposite each pair (*C. G.*, p. 809).

si ita . . . discessu. No commentator has succeeded in explaining or amending these words. Schneider refers *eius* to Caesar;

2 tionum praesidia circumfundi possent; ne autem cum periculo ex castris egredi cogatur, dierum XXX pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum iubet.

A Pan-Gallic council organizes an army for the relief of Alesia.

75 Dum haec ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli concilio principum indicto non omnes qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum, ne tanta multitudine confusa nec moderari nec discernere suos
2 nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. Imperant Haeduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusiavis, Ambi-

but why should Caesar have departed? Is it likely that he would have personally led foraging parties? Long, who refers *eius* to *hostem*, suggests that it is a corruption of *equitatus*,—the cavalry mentioned in ch. 71. Is it not, however, possible that *eius discessu* may be explained by *ne autem . . . cogatur* (§ 2)? If Caesar did not write the words, the interpolator was, I am sure, thinking of the following clause.

But even if *eius discessu* can be explained, what sense is to be extracted from *si ita accidat*? As far as I can see, it could only mean *si ea* [i. e. *talis multitudo*] *veniat*. But Caesar would probably have written *id*, not *ita*, and certainly he would have written not *accidat*, but *accideret*. See *Ph. Suppl.*, 1889, pp. 356–7.

circumfundi, if it is right, must evidently mean not merely 'surrounded' but 'hemmed in'. The word is occasionally used in this sense (*Th. l. L.*, iii, 1148); but W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1887, p. 563) may perhaps be right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote *circumfusa perrumpi*.

§ 2. *ne autem . . . cogatur.* 'The danger of having to leave camp' would arise when the expected relieving army arrived. Caesar did not mean that he would have to leave camp *in person*, but that the foraging parties whom he might have to send out would be imperilled. We learn from *B. C.*, iii, 47, § 6 that they could not collect a sufficient supply, and that the rations had to be reduced. *Ne autem* is a conjecture, proposed by F. Hand (*Tursellinus*, iv, 1845, p. 178). The MS. readings —*aut* ($\alpha\pi$) and *ut* (ρ)—are unintelligible.

75, § 1. *Galli . . . possent.* The decision of the chiefs was wise, and their reasons were sound. The experience of the Belgic confederation which opposed Caesar in 57 B. C. (ii, 10, § 4, with which cf. iii, 18, § 6) had shown that the Gallic organization was not equal to the task of feeding an overgrown army (*C. G.*, p. 822).

§ 2. *Ambivaretis.* Nipperdey (*Caesar*, p. 106) changed this into *Ambarris*, because the Ambarri were intimately connected with the Aedui (i, 11, § 4), and, unless they were mentioned here, were omitted altogether from the list. Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 211) adds the reason that the Ambivareti, who, he says, dwelt near the Menapii (!), could not have been clients of the Aedui. This curious argument was evidently due to

varetis, Aulercis Brannovicibus, [Blannoviis,] milia
XXXV; parem numerum Arvernis adiunctis †Eleute-
tis†, Cadurcis, Gabalis, Vellaviis, qui sub imperio 3
Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Sequanis, Senonibus,
Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena
milia; Bellovacis X; totidem Lemovicibus; octona
Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helvetiis; sena
Andibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis,
Morinis, Nitiobrogibus; V milia Aulercis Cenomanis;
totidem Atrebatibus; IIII Veliocassis; Esuviis et
Aulercis Eburovicibus terna; Rauracis et Bois bina; 4
XXX universis civitatibus quae Oceanum attingunt
quaeque eorum consuetudine Aremoricae appellantur,
quo sunt in numero Coriosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, 5
Caletes, Osismi, Veneti, Lexovii, Venelli. Ex his
Bellovaci suum numerum non compleverunt, quod se
suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum ge-
sturos dicerent neque cuiusquam imperio obtempera-
turos; rogati tamen a Commio pro eius hospitio duo
milia miserunt.

a lapse of memory: not the Ambivareti, but the Ambivariti (iv, 9, § 3) dwelt near the Menapii.

Blannoviis was deleted by Ciacconius on the ground that its insertion was probably due to dittography (*C. G.*, p. 393).

Eleutetis. See the article on Cadurci (p. 412).

§ 3. *Esuviis* is an emendation, proposed by Mommsen. The MSS. have Lexoviis, evidently by mistake, for the Lexovii are mentioned in § 4 (*C. G.*, p. 422, n. 2).

§ 4. *XXX*. Schneider unnecessarily altered the MS. reading into *X*. As J. Beloch remarked (*Rh. M.*, 1899, p. 421), ten thousand would have been a disproportionately small levy for the whole group of Aremorican tribes.

eorum,—i. e. *Gallorum*. In regard to the tribes that are not named in §§ 2–4 see *C. G.*, pp. 173–4.

§ 5. *compleverunt*. Meusel (*J.B.*, 1885, p. 195) prefers *contulerunt*, the reading of β, remarking that after *compleverunt tamen* would yield no sense. J. H. Schmalz, on the other hand, with whom I agree, thinks that *contulerunt* weakens the passage (*N. J.*, clv, 1897, p. 212). Readers will judge for themselves from the following translation:—'The Bellovaci did not furnish their proper contingent, saying that they would fight the Romans on their own account, just as they pleased. However, at the request of Commius . . . they sent 2,000 men along with the rest.'

suo nomine,—'on their own account'. Cf. i, 18, § 8.

dicerent. See the first note on v, 6, § 3.

76 Huius opera Commii, ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar; pro quibus meritis civitatem eius immunem esse iusserat, iura legesque reddiderat atque
2 ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tanta tamen universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae, ut neque beneficiis neque amicitiae memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo
3 et opibus in id bellum incumberent. Coactis equitum milibus VIII et peditum circiter CCL, haec in Haeduorum finibus recensebantur, numerusque inibatur,

76, § 1. *ut antea demonstravimus.* See iv, 21, §§ 7–8; 27, §§ 2–4; 35, § 1; v, 22, § 3.

immunem. It is uncertain whether the burden from which the Atrebates were released was that of paying tribute to Caesar, or of paying tribute to some stronger Belgic tribe, or of supplying Caesar's army with corn (*C. G.*, pp. 103, n. 2, 838).

iura legesque reddiderat. At first sight these words seem to imply that Caesar had already begun to legislate for Gaul, which is hardly credible. Perhaps the Atrebates, like the Remi (ii, 3, § 5), had been subject to some other tribe; and if so, Caesar may have meant that he had restored their independence.

ipsi refers to Commius.

§ 2. *moverentur.* I retain the MS. reading doubtfully. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1886, p. 290) adopts the emendation *moveretur*, the subject of which he takes to be not *Gallia* but *Commius*. He argues (1) that *moverentur* would have no definite subject, (2) that Caesar would not have said that the Gauls were *all* indebted to him for favours, (3) that if *moverentur* represented what Caesar meant, he would have written, say, *ut nemo aut beneficiis aut amicitiae memoria moveretur*, and (4) that *tamen* shows that the following words contain a special reference to Commius. It seems to me, on the other hand, that if *moveretur* were the right reading and *Commius* were the subject, the 'special reference' to Commius would be, so to speak, awkwardly sandwiched in, and that the passage, as it stands, does contain a reference to Commius, who is surely included under *omnes*. It is not surprising that *moverentur* has no definite subject, for in iv, 33, § 1 *perequitant* and in vi, 34, § 5 *vellent*—the reading which Meusel adopts—have none; and there are other instances in v, 40, § 1, vi, 9, § 2, and vii, 79, § 3. However, though Meusel's arguments do not seem to me quite strong enough to justify us in rejecting the MS. reading, I freely admit that he may be right; only, if Caesar wrote *moveretur*, I should say that its subject was *Gallia*.

§ 3. *CCL.* The reading of *α* is *CCXXXX*. The sum of the contingents mentioned in 75, §§ 2–4 is 290,000; but probably the numbers actually raised fell short of those that had been prescribed. As to the number *CCL* see the note on iii, 26, § 6.

praefecti constituebantur: Commio Atrebati, Virido-
maro et Eporedorigi Haeduis, Vercassivellauno Ar-
verno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii
traditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, 4
quorum consilio bellum administraretur. Omnes ala- 5
cres et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur, neque 6
erat omnium quisquam qui aspectum modo tantae
multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur, praesertim
ancipiti proelio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur,
foris tantae copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

Famine in Alesia: Critognatus proposes cannibalism.

At ii qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die qua **77**
auxilia suorum expectaverant, consumpto omni fru-
mento, inscii quid in Haeduis gereretur, concilio coacto
de exitu suarum fortunarum consultabant. Ac variis 2
dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum
vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebat, non prae-
tereunda videtur oratio Critognati propter eius sin-
gularem et nefariam crudelitatem. Hic summo in 3
Arvernis ortus loco et magnae habitus auctoritatis
'nihil', inquit, 'de eorum sententia dicturus sum qui
turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant,
neque hos habendos civium loco neque ad concilium
adhibendos censeo. Cum his mihi res sit qui eru- 4
ptionem probant; quorum in consilio omnium vestrum
consensu pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur.
Animi est ista mollitia, non virtus, paulisper inopiam 5
ferre non posse. Qui se ultro morti offerant facilius
reperiuntur quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque 6
ego hanc sententiam probarem—tantum apud me
dignitas potest—si nullam praeterquam vitae nostrae
iacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo omnem 7
Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium con-
citavimus. Quid hominum milibus LXXX uno loco 8
interfectis propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi
fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus proelio
decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio ex- 9

77, § 6. *dignitas*,—i.e. *eorum qui eam probant*:—'so highly do I respect the authority of its advocates.'

poliare, qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum neglexerunt, nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra aut animi imbecillitate omnem Galliam prosternere et
10 perpetuae servituti subicere. An quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitio-
11 nibus animine causa cotidie exerceri putatis? Si illorum nuntiis confirmari non potestis omni aditu praesaepto, his utimini testibus adpropinquare eorum adventum; cuius rei timore exterriti diem noctemque
12 in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus qui aetate ad bellum inutiles videbantur vitam tole-
13 raverunt neque se hostibus tradiderunt. Cuius rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa instituí et posteris prodi pulcherrimum iudicarem.
14 Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? Depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaque inlata calamitate finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt atque alias terras petierunt, iura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt.
15 Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considere atque his aeternam iniungere servitutem? Neque
16 enim umquam alia condicione bella gesserunt. Quod si ea quae in longinquis nationibus geruntur ignoratis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quae in provinciam re-

§ 10. *illis ulterioribus munitionibus*,—the works mentioned in 74, § 1.

animine causa. See the note on v, 12, § 6.

§ 12. *neque.* See the third note on i. 47, § 1.

§ 14. The construction of (quid) *illi bello fuit* is like that of *mihi est*, used in the sense of *habeo*; and what *simile* refers to is left to the common sense of the reader, as in Cicero, *Att.*, xii, 18, § 2,—*sed tamen quid simile?* Thus *quid . . . fuit?* is equivalent to *quid illud bellum simile habuit huic bello?*

aliquando. See the second note on 27, § 2. The word may here be translated by 'at last'; but it means 'at some time or other',—'sooner or later'.

dacta, iure et legibus commutatis, securibus subiecta
perpetua premitur servitute.'

78 The fate of the Mandubii.

Sententiis dictis constituunt ut ii qui valetudine
aut aetate inutiles sint bello oppido excedant, atque
omnia prius experiantur quam ad Critognati senten-
tiam descendant; illo tamen potius utendum consilio, 2
si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut dedi-
tionis aut pacis subeundam condicionem. Mandubii, 3
qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus
exire coguntur. Hi, cum ad munitiones Romanorum 4
accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant ut se
in servitutem receptos cibo iuvarent. At Caesar dis- 5
positis in vallo custodiis recipi prohibebat.

79 Arrival of the army of relief.

Interea Commius reliquique duces quibus summa
imperii permissa erat cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam
perveniunt, et colle exteriore occupato non longius
mille passibus a nostris munitionibus considunt.
Postero die equitatu ex castris educto, omnem eam 2
planitiem quam in longitudinem milia passuum III
patere demonstravimus complent, pedestresque copias
paulum ab eo loco abditas in locis superioribus consti-
tuunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. 3
Concurrunt his auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos
atque omnium animi ad laetitiam excitantur. Itaque 4
productis copiis ante oppidum considunt et proximam

78, § 1. *experiantur*. J. Lange (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 357) conjectures that Caesar wrote *experienda arbitrantur*; for, he remarks, *excedant* and *experiantur* would have two different subjects, and even if *experiantur* were right, it would properly be followed by *utantur* and *subeant*.

§ 5. *At Caesar . . . prohibebat.* Notice the restraint with which Caesar tells the story. He left the horrors which followed to the reader's imagination.

79, § 1. *colle*,—the heights of Mussy-la-Fosse, west of Alesia and separated from it by the plain of Les Laumes.

§ 3. *Concurrunt . . . visis.* The reading of β is *concurritur*; but Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 390–1) remarks that *inter eos* and *consistunt* both point to Caesar's having written *concurrunt*. On the other hand, he holds that *concurrunt* ought to have a subject expressed, and that *his* (auxiliis) is superfluous; therefore, he concludes, Mommsen was unquestionably right in offering the emendation *hi* for *his*. Yet Meusel does not adopt it. I do not think that *concurrunt* must necessarily have a subject expressed. See the note on 76, § 2.

fossam cratibus [integunt] atque aggere explent seque
ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

Defeat of their cavalry.

80 Caesar omni exercitu ad utramque partem muni-
tionum disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque
locum teneat et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi
2 et proelium committi iubet. Erat ex omnibus castris,
quae summum undique iugum tenebant, despectus,
atque omnes milites intenti pugnae proventum ex-
3 pectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios ex-
peditosque levis armaturae interiecerant, qui suis
cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et nostrorum equitum
impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso
4 vulnerati proelio excedebant. Cum suos pugna supe-
riores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine
premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii qui muni-
tionibus continebantur et ii qui ad auxilium conve-
nerant clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirmabant.
5 Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur neque aut
recte aut turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque et
laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem

§ 4. *integunt* is bracketed by Meusel, who argues (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 67) that if Caesar had used both verbs, he would have written *aggere explent et cratibus integunt*, as the operation described by the former verb would have preceded that described by the latter. But, adds Meusel, *cratibus integere*—to cover (the trench) with fascines—would have been unpractical and sheer waste of time. Accordingly, referring to 58, § 1 and 86, § 5, he holds that Caesar wrote simply *cratibus atque aggere explent*. I need only remark that if Caesar had used both verbs he would have written *cratibus explent atque aggere integunt*; for the earth or rubble would have been put on the top. See Lord Wolseley's *Soldier's Pocket-Book*, 1886, p. 499, and *Manual of Military Engineering*, 1901, p. 83.

80, § 1. *ad utramque partem munitionum*,—'on both lines of entrenchment', in other words, the contravallation (ch. 72) and the circumvallation (74, § 1).

§ 2. *summum undique iugum*,—the hills described in 69, § 4.

§ 3. It seems to me unnecessary to bracket *expeditosque levis armaturae*, as Meusel does (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 43). He says that *sagittarii* only are mentioned in § 7 (which proves nothing) and that although the German cavalry were accompanied by light infantry, the Gallic cavalry were not. But he has forgotten 18, § 1, where Caesar says that Vercingetorix marched against the Roman foragers *cum equitatu expeditisque qui inter equites proeliari consuessent*.

excitabat. Cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum 6
dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte
confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque
propulerunt; quibus in fugam coniectis sagittarii 7
circumventi interfectique sunt. Item ex reliquis 8
partibus nostri cedentes usque ad castra insecuti sui
colligendi facultatem non dederunt. At ii qui Alesia 9
processerant maesti prope victoria desperata se in
oppidum receperunt.

Abortive attempt of their infantry to force the circumvallation.

Uno die intermisso Galli atque hoc spatio magno **81**
cratium, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto, media
nocte silentio ex castris egressi ad campestres mu-
nitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua signi- 2
ficatione qui in oppido obsidebantur de suo adventu
cognoscere possent, crates proicere, fundis, sagittis,
lapidibus nostros de vallo proturbare reliquaque quae
ad oppugnationem pertinent parant administrare.
Eodem tempore clamore exaudito dat tuba signum 3
suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri 4
ut superioribus diebus suus cuique erat locus attri-
butus, ad munitiones accedunt; fundis librilibus
sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus

§ 6. *Cum . . . propulerunt.* 'In all Cavalry encounters with Cavalry', says Lord Wolseley (*Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 376), 'the side that is able to bring up a fresh reserve when his opponent has exhausted all his, will, as a rule, win the day.'

pugnaretur. See the note on iii, 5, § 1.

§ 8. *sui colligendi.* See the note on ii. 6, § 1.

81, § 1. *harpagonum*,—grappling-hooks fixed to long poles and intended for tearing off parts of the ramparts and palisades.

campestres munitiones,—the works in the plain of Les Laumes. See 69, § 3; 72, § 3.

§ 2. *crates proicere.* See 79, § 4.

§ 4. *ut . . . accedunt.* See the note on ii, 19, § 6. The force of *ut* might be expressed by the following translation:—'Our troops moved up to the entrenchments, in the places which had been severally allotted to them beforehand.'

fundis librilibus means 'slings throwing large stones'; and Diodorus Siculus (xix, 109, § 2) says that Balearic slingers, who formed part of Caesar's army (*B. G.*, ii, 7, § 1), used to sling stones weighing a *mina* (about 15 ounces) each. But if we were to put a comma after *fundis*, as Meusel does, *librilibus* would of course be a noun, and would mean 'stones as thick as a man's arm', which were thrown by hand (*C. G.*, p. 813). Obviously they would have hit much harder if they had been slung.

5 Gallos proterrent. Prospectu tenebris adempto multa
utrimque vulnera accipiuntur; complura tormentis
6 tela coiciuntur. At M. Antonius et C. Trebonius
legati, quibus hae partes ad defendendum obvenerant,
qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, his auxilio
ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82 Dum longius aberant Galli [ab munitione], plus
multitudine telorum proficiebant; postea quam pro-
pius successerunt, aut se stimulis inopinantes indue-
bant aut in scrobes delati transfodiebantur aut ex
vallo ac turribus traiecti pilis muralibus interibant.
2 Multis undique vulneribus acceptis nulla munitione
perrupta, cum lux adpeteret, veriti ne ab latere aperto
ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur,
3 se ad suos receperunt. At interiores, dum ea quae
a Vercingetorige ad eruptionem praeparata erant
4 proferunt, priores fossas explent, diutius in his rebus
administrandis morati prius suos discessisse cogno-
verunt quam munitionibus adpropinquarent. Ita re
infecta in oppidum reverterunt.

§ 5. *Prospectu . . . coiciuntur.* R. Sydow transposes these two sentences; but Caesar occasionally 'puts the cart before the horse'.

§ 6. *M. Antonius.* The name of Mark Antony is familiar to all English readers.

castellis. See 69, § 7.

82, § 1. *ab munitione.* The reading of *a* is *ad munitionem aberant Galli*, which is nonsense; while *β* has *aberant Galli ab munitione.* Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, p. 48), who thinks that the variation points to a gloss, observes that no educated Roman would have written *ab* before *m*, and that the words are superfluous.

pilis muralibus. See the first note on v, 40, § 6.

§§ 3-4. *At interiores . . . adpropinquarent.* What did Caesar mean by *priores*? Schneider thinks that it is nominative and denotes the front ranks of the besieged, who, he suggests, tried to fill up the nearest trench while the rest brought out the implements required for assaulting the contravallation: but it seems very unlikely that Caesar would have drawn such a distinction between the front ranks of the besieged and those behind; and most commentators rightly make *priores* agree with *fossas*. But which of the trenches did Caesar mean? According to Napoleon III, *priores fossas* denotes the 20-foot trench, described in 72, § 1. This view is certainly wrong; for (1) the 20-foot trench was the one nearest to the besieged, and Caesar would not have called it *priores fossas*, but (as he did in

83 A picked force, under Vercassivellaunus, marches to attack the weak point in Caesar's lines.

Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli quid agant **83**
consulunt; locorum peritos adhibent; ex his supe-
riorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt.
Erat a septentrionibus collis, quem propter magni- 2
tudinem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant
nostri, necessarioque paene iniquo loco et leniter
declivi castra fecerant. Haec C. Antistius Reginus 3
et C. Caninius Rebilus legati cum duabus legionibus
obtinebant. Cognitis per exploratores regionibus, 4
duces hostium LX milia ex omni numero deligunt
earum civitatum quae maximam virtutis opinionem
habebant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat occulte inter 5
se constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, cum me-
ridies esse videatur. His copiis Vercassivellaunum 6
Arvernum, unum ex IIII ducibus, propinquum Ver-
cingetorigis, praeficiunt. Ille ex castris prima vigilia 7
egressus prope confecto sub lucem itinere post montem
se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore sese re-

79, § 4) *proximam fossam.* From the standpoint of the besieged *priores fossas*—the 'front' or 'advanced trenches' of the contravallation—were those furthest from Alesia (see Meusel's *Lex. Caes.*, ii, 1203): (2) the besieged had already filled up the 20-foot trench (79, § 4), and even if the Romans had removed the fascines, they could soon have filled it up again; for all that was necessary was to make causeways here and there, to enable columns to cross. I believe therefore that *priores fossas* denotes the small trenches which Caesar called *cippi* (73, §§ 2–5). It can hardly denote the inner of the two 15-foot trenches (72, § 3); for this was part of the contravallation, properly so called, and if the Gauls had begun to fill it up, how could Caesar have said that they did not approach the contravallation (*C. G.*, pp. 813–15)?

83, § 2. *collis,*—Mont Réa, north of the Plaine des Laumes. See p. 405.

paene iniquo . . . declivi. It was a maxim of ancient warfare, never disregarded without urgent necessity, to avoid engaging an enemy who had the advantage of higher ground (*A. B.*, pp. 310, 629). The words might be translated by 'on a gentle slope, which gave an assailant a slight advantage'.

§ 5. *cum . . . videatur.* The learner may fancy that this passage gives the lie to what I have said about *cum* in the note on i, 4, § 3. Surely, he may object, *cum* here tells us 'only how one action is related to another with regard to the *time* of its occurrence'. Yes, but the subjunctive is right because virtually the clause is in Oratio Obliqua. The actual words of the *duces hostium* would have been *adeundi tempus erit cum meridies esse videbitur.*

8 ficere iussit. Cum iam meridies adpropinquare videretur, ad ea castra quae supra demonstravimus contendit; eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquae copiae pro castris sese ostendere coeperunt.

Vercingetorix simultaneously makes a sortie.

84 Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex oppido egreditur; a castris longurios, musculos, falces reliquaque quae eruptionis causa paraverat profert.
2 Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis atque omnia temptantur; quae minime visa pars firma est, huc ir
3 concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus
4 distinetur nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum

§ 8. *equitatus . . . coeperunt.* Caesar does not expressly say that the circumvallation in the plain was attacked; and if it was, his whole narrative (ch. 84–8) shows that the attack was feeble. The bulk of the relieving force was formidable only in numbers; and the one division which attacked the circumvallation in earnest was that commanded by Vercassivellaunus (85, §§ 5–6; 87, § 5). The Aedui were half-hearted, if not actually treacherous (63, § 8); and probably most of the men who belonged to the relieving army, except Vercassivellaunus's picked 60,000, were practically a mob (*C. G.*, pp. 815–16, 821–4).

84, § 1. *a castris . . . profert.* *a* omits *a*. Many commentators have adopted an emendation, *crates* (fascines), on the ground that Vercingetorix would not have marched out of Alesia through his camp, which was on its eastern side (69, § 5), in order to attack Caesar's works in the plain of Les Laumes, which was on the west. Long replied that it would have been inconvenient to keep sappers' huts and heavy implements in Alesia itself and easier to carry them from the camp to the plain than to bring them down the steep western side of the hill. This is a sound argument: but the emendation may be right nevertheless; and it has been ingeniously defended. Supposing that it is right, some ancient reader who had noticed the reading *cratis* may have written *a. cratis* on his copy, opposite or above *castris*, *a.* being an abbreviation of *aliter* (otherwise); and the scribe who wrote the archetype of β may have misunderstood *a.* and written *a castris* by mistake for *a. cratis* (*C. G.*, p. 815). *Musculos* is found only in χ: ϕ β have *mulculos*, a word which does not exist. Meusel suggests that Caesar wrote *murales* (falces); but, as Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 178, n. 3) points out, Caesar would not have put the adjective before the noun unless, as in iii, 14, § 5, he had wished to emphasize it. If Caesar wrote *musculos*, this is the only passage in the *Gallic War* in which the word occurs. It denotes a sappers' hut. A *musculus*, which is minutely described in *B. C.*, ii, 10, was used in the siege of Massilia: but it was devised for a special purpose; and if Vercingetorix used *musculi*, we can only say that they were intended to protect his men while they were attempting to fill up Caesar's trenches.

ad terrendos nostros valet clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus existit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident virtute constare; omnia enim plerumque quae 5 absunt vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

Caesar idoneum locum nactus quid quaque in parte **85** *The final struggle.* geratur cognoscit, laborantibus ⟨subsidium⟩ submittit. Utrisque ad animum occurrit unum esse illud tempus 2 quo maxime contendi conveniat: Galli, nisi perfre- 3 gerint munitiones, de omni salute desperant; Romani, si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium expectant. Maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo 4 Vercassivellaunum missum demonstravimus. Iniquum loci ad declivitatem fastigium magnum habet momentum. Alii tela coiciunt, alii testudine facta sub- 5 eunt; defatigatis in vicem integri succedunt. Agger 6 ab universis in munitionem coniectus et ascensum dat Gallis et ea quae in terra occultaverant Romani contegit; nec iam arma nostris nec vires suppetunt.

His rebus cognitis Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus **86** VI subsidio laborantibus mittit; imperat, si sustinere 2 non possit, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnet; id nisi necessario ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos; cohor- 3 tatur ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere. Interiores desperatis campestribus locis 4 propter magnitudinem munitionum loca praerupta

85, § 1. The only *idoneus locus* is on the hill of Flavigny (*C. G.*, pp. 816–17).

⟨*subsidium*⟩ *submittit.* *S* has *summittit subsidium*. The rest of the MSS. have *summittit* alone, except *L*, which has *auxilium summittit*.

§ 4. *Iniquum . . . momentum.* *Fastigium* is here used in the same sense as in 73, § 5, and ad *declivitatem* defines that direction of the slope which mattered.

§ 5. *testudine facta.* See the note on i, 24, § 5.

§ 6. *ea quae . . . Romani.* See 73, §§ 2–9.

86, § 4. *magnitudinem.* See the second and the fourth note on 72, § 1 and the first on 72, § 3. The words *loca praerupta* denote the hill of Flavigny. They hardly apply to the Montagne de Bussy or to Mont Pevenel; and M. Jullian justly observes that the hill of Flavigny was the only one which Vercingetorix could attack without losing precious time. Besides, the *loca praerupta* were, as the reader will presently see,

[ex] ascensu temptant; huc ea quae paraverant con-
5 ferunt. Multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes
deturbant, aggere et cratibus fossas explent, falcibus
vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87 Mittit primum Brutum adulescentem cum cohorti-
bus . . . Caesar, post cum aliis C. Fabium legatum;
2 postremo ipse, cum vehementius pugnaretur, integros
3 subsidio adducit. Restituto proelio ac repulsis hosti-
4 bus eo quo Labienum miserat contendit; cohortes IIII
ex proximo castello deducit, equitum partem se sequi,
partem circumire exteriores munitiones et a tergo
5 hostes adoriri iubet. Labienus, postquam neque

identical with or just above the steep inclines (*declivia et devexa*) which Caesar mentions in 88, § 1: the *declivia et devexa* were visible from the camp of Reginus on Mont Réa; and the slopes of Mont Pevenel were not. The besieged did not actually reach the steep part of Flavigny; but, as Mr. W. C. Compton remarks in *Caesar's Seventh Campaign* (p. 111), they 'might be said "temptare" these heights, if they assailed the lines the crossing of which would lead to them' (*C. G.*, pp. 817–18).

ascensu. α has *ex ascensu*; β has *atque ex ascensu.* Meusel (*J.B.*, 1910, pp. 66–7) deletes *ex.* He suggests that it was originally written by a reader above the *as* of *ascensu*, in order to show that *exscensu* was meant, which denotes ascending with effort or scrambling up; or, he thinks, Caesar may have written *e(x)scensu*, and a copyist may inadvertently have written the more familiar *ascensu*, and then, noticing his mistake, have put *ex* above *as*. But Caesar nowhere else uses compounds beginning with *exsc.* or *esc.*, and *ex ascensu* would be impossible in classical Latin. Klotz (*C.S.*, pp. 260–1), who remarks that the reading of β has to be accounted for, thinks that Caesar wrote (praerupta atque) *expedita ascensu*, that is, free from fortifications, and therefore capable of being ascended. This conjecture is, however, contrary to fact. The hill which the Gauls attempted to ascend was not 'free from fortifications'.

87, § 1. *cohortibus* . . . It is impossible to say how many cohorts Brutus had, for there is evidently an omission in the MSS. The Aldine edition (1519) has *sex.*

§ 4. *partem . . . iubet.* I believe, with Napoleon III, that the part which was to ride round the circumvallation (*exteriores munitiones*) started, not from the Montagne de Flavigny, where Caesar was, but from Grésigny, where there was a Roman cavalry camp, rather more than a mile north-east of Labienus's position; for if they had ridden round the outer lines by the east, they would have reached the scene of action too late, and if they had crossed the plain of Les Laumes, they would have had to encounter a large part of the relieving army, both cavalry and infantry, on the way (83, § 8). If I am right, Caesar probably sent the order to Grésigny, not by signals (which would have been invisible because Mont Auxois obstructed the view), but by a

aggeres neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis XI cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuntios facit certiorem quid faciendum existimet. Accelerat Caesar, ut proelio intersit.

88 **Collapse of the Gauls.**

Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni in proeliis uti consuerat, turmisque equitum et cohortibus visis quas se sequi iusserat, ut de locis superioribus haec declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes proelium committunt. Utrimque clamore sublato 2 excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt. 3 Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur; cohortes aliae adpropinquant. Hostes terga vertunt; fugientibus equites occurrunt. Fit magna caedes. Sedulius, 4 dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur; Vercassivellaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur; signa

galloper, who could have ridden safely between the circumvallation and the contravallation, and faster than a large body of cavalry (*C. G.*, pp. 818–19).

§ 5. *poterant.* Notice the significance of the imperfect.

XI. The MSS. differ. *BLM* have *una XL*; *AQ* have *una de XL* (39); and β has *de XL*, which is nonsense. It is not easy to believe that Labienus would have been able to withdraw 39 or 40 cohorts—two-fifths of the whole army—from the nearest redoubts. I therefore doubtfully adopt Ciacconius's conjecture.

praesidiis. See 69, § 7.

88, § 1. *colore,*—scarlet. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxii, 2, § 3.

quo . . . consuerat. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 42) brackets these words, remarking that every child in Rome knew that the general wore a *paludamentum* in action, and W. Paul points out, hypercritically in my opinion, that the words refer to *vestitus*, not, as one would have expected, to *colore*. Schneider, on the other hand, argues that Caesar made the remark in question because, unlike some commanders—for example Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (*Bell. Afr.*, 57, § 5), who wore the cloak habitually in campaigns—he only donned it in action. Does every German child know what a general wears in action?

ut . . . cernebantur. The *loca superiora* were the slopes of Mont Réa, on which Labienus was standing: the *declivia et devexa* were the slopes of the hill of Flavigny.

§ 3. I prefer *omissis* (α) to *emissis* (β), partly because it accords better with *gladiis rem gerunt*, partly because the enemy were already at close quarters (87, § 5). Cf. Sallust's *Catiline*, 60, § 2,—*pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur*; and see Schneider's note.

§ 4. As *dux* here of course means 'military commander', *princeps* evidently means 'chief magistrate' (*C. G.*, p. 533, n. 2).

militaria LXXIIII ad Caesarem referuntur; pauci
ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt.
5 Conspicati ex oppido caedem et fugam suorum
desperata salute copias a munitionibus reducunt.
Fit protinus hac re audita ex castris Gallorum fuga.
6 Quod nisi crebris subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites
essent defessi, omnes hostium copiae deleri potuissent.
7 De media nocte missus equitatus novissimum agmen
consequitur; magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur, reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

The self-sacrifice of Vercingetorix.

89 Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato id
bellum se suscepisse non suarum necessitatum sed
2 communis libertatis causa demonstrat, et quoniam
sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis
offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satis facere seu vivum
3 tradere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem
4 legati. Iubet arma tradi, principes produci. Ipse in
munitione pro castris considit; eo duces producuntur.
5 Vercingetorix deditur, arma proiciuntur. Reservatis
Haeduis atque Arvernis, si per eos civitates recuperare
posset, ex reliquis captivis toti exercitui capita singula
praedae nomine distribuit.

Caesar distributes his legions for the winter: thanksgiving service at Rome.

90 His rebus confectis in Haeduos proficiscitur; civita-
2 tem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis missi quae imperaret se facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum
3 numerum obsidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit. Captivorum circiter XX milia Haeduis Arvernisque reddit.
4 T. Labienum cum duabus legionibus et equitatu in

§ 6. *crebris subsidiis* might be translated by 'frequent supporting movements', which are noticed in 84, § 3, 85, § 1, 86, § 1, 87, §§ 1–2, 4–5.

omnes . . . potuissent,—an obvious rhetorical exaggeration.

89, § 5. *ex reliquis . . . distribuit*. See p. lxv. In strict law the whole booty belonged to the state; but the general had the right to retain what he deemed necessary for the successful conduct of the war. See *D. S.*, iv, 610–11, s.v. PRAEDA. It is hardly necessary to add that Caesar and his officers made large fortunes by plundering Gaul (*C. G.*, p. 183).

90, § 1. *recipit*, as we may infer from 89, § 5, here means *in deditionem accipit*, not *denuo in suam potestatem redigit*.

§ 4. *equitatu*. Of course Labienus only took part of the cavalry.

Sequanos proficisci iubet; huic M. Sempronium Ruti-
lum attribuit. C. Fabium legatum et L. Minucium 5
Basilum cum legionibus duabus in Remis conlocat,
ne quam a finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant.
C. Antistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, T. Sextium 6
in Bituriges, C. Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum
singulis legionibus mittit. Q. Tullium Ciceronem et 7
P. Sulpicium Cavilloni et Matiscone in Haeduis ad
Ararim rei frumentariae causa conlocat. Ipse Bibracte 8
hiemare constituit. His ⟨rebus ex Caesaris⟩ litteris
cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio redditur.

§ 8. *Ipse . . . constituit.* Evidently Caesar had reason to believe that fresh disturbances might break out at any moment.

rebus ex Caesaris is an obviously necessary addition, made by Meusel.

A. HIRTII

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS OCTAVUS

Hirtius's prefatory letter.

Coactus adsiduis tuis vocibus, Balbe, cum cotidiana mea recusatio non difficultatis excusationem, sed inertiae videretur deprecationem habere, difficillimam
2 rem suscepi: Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae, non competentibus superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis, contexui novissi-

Praef., § 1. *Balbe.* This preface was addressed by Hirtius (see p. ix) to Balbus, a native of Gades (Cadiz) in Spain, who, like himself, was a friend and agent of Caesar.

difficultatis excusationem seems to mean literally not 'an excuse based upon difficulty', but 'a pleading of difficulty as an excuse'. Cf. *B. C.*, iii, 20, § 3,—*inopiam excusare.*

§ 2. *non competentibus . . . confeci. Competentibus* is an emendation, proposed by Bernhardy, instead of the MS. reading, *comparantibus.* Prof. J. S. Reid (*Cl. Ph.*, 1908, pp. 441–2) suggests *non comparentes*—'missing'—and remarks that Hirtius 'treats the writings which would have to be added to the *commentarii* written by Caesar as *commentarii* that were "missing"'. But the professor very pertinently asks 'Why does Hirtius use the plural *commentarios* of *Bell. Gall.*, viii, while the singular *commentarium* is applied (apparently) to the remainder of the records which he intended to compile? It is better, perhaps, to suppose that *Galliae* has intruded itself here from the title of MSS. of the "Gallic War"; *commentarios* will then apply to the whole of the compilations taken in hand by Hirtius. In that case the words from '*novissimumque imperfectum* onward give a description of the later of the two portions implied in *commentarios.* There is in these words, I believe, a slight ellipse. Hirtius means that he finished the book containing the Alexandrine War, and *carried on the story* (*in other books*) to the death of Caesar.' The MSS. have *novissimum quae*, which is obviously wrong and for which in the *editio princeps* was substituted *novissimumque.* Meusel now adopts an emendation proposed by H. Schiller,—*novissimum atque imperfectos.* I agree with Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 155–6) that *novissimumque imperfectum* is right. Suetonius (*Divus Iulius*, 56), who evidently used Hirtius as his authority, says that Hirtius *Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit*; and, as Klotz points out, he carelessly referred what Hirtius had said about the continuation of Caesar's last book on the civil war to the Gallic war. By *contexui* Hirtius meant 'I continued', that is, filled up the gap between the *Seventh Commentary on the*

mumque imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae
confeci usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis, cuius finem nullum videmus, sed vitae Caesaris.
Quos utinam qui legent scire possint quam invitus 3
susceperim scribendos, quo facilius caream stultitiae atque arrogantiae crimine, qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis. Constat enim inter omnes 4
nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur. Qui 5
sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur.
Cuius tamen rei maior nostra quam reliquorum est 6
admiratio; ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecerit scimus. Erat autem in Caesare cum facultas atque 7
elegantia summa scribendi, tum verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicandorum. Mihi ne illud 8
quidem accidit, ut Alexandrino atque Africano bello interessem; quae bella quamquam ex parte nobis Caesaris sermone sunt nota, tamen aliter audimus ea quae rerum novitate aut admiratione nos capiunt,

Gallic War and the *First Commentary on the Civil War*; while *novissimum* denotes the third and last of the *Commentaries on the Civil War*, which breaks off in the middle of the description of the events that led up to the Alexandrine war, and is therefore called *imperfectum*.

rebus gestis Alexandriae. The Alexandrine war, in which Caesar was involved after he had defeated Pompey in the battle of Pharsalia, was described in the book called *Bellum Alexandrinum*, the author of which was most probably Hirtius (*C. R.*, 1912, p. 92).

civilis dissensionis . . . videmus. Hirtius wrote these words in 44 or early in 43 B. C., for he was killed in the battle of Mutina, which took place on April 27 of that year. The *civilis dissensio* was not terminated until Augustus gained the victory in the battle of Actium (29 B. C.).

§ 8. *Africano bello.* In this war, which took place in 46 B. C., Caesar was opposed by Cato, Scipio, Labienus, and the two sons of Pompey, who were supported by the Numidian king, Juba. The decisive event was the victory of Caesar at Thapsus, on the coast about 15 miles south-east of Monastir. The campaign is described in an anonymous book called *Bellum Africanum*.

admiratione here means, I think, not 'admiration' but 'wonder'.

9 aliter quae pro testimonio sumus dicturi. Sed ego nimirum, dum omnes excusationis causas colligo ne cum Caesare conferar, hoc ipso crimen arrogantiae subeo, quod me iudicio cuiusquam existimem posse cum Caesare comparari. Vale.

Various tribes prepare to renew the struggle.

1 Omni Gallia devicta, Caesar cum a superiore aestate nullum bellandi tempus intermisisset militesque hibernorum quiete reficere a tantis laboribus vellet, complures eodem tempore civitates renovare belli
2 consilia nuntiabantur coniurationesque facere. Cuius rei veri similis causa adferebatur, quod Gallis omnibus cognitum esset neque ulla multitudine in unum locum coacta resisti posse [a] Romanis nec, si diversa bella complures eodem tempore intulissent civitates, satis auxilii aut spatii aut copiarum habiturum exercitum
3 populi Romani ad omnia persequenda; non esse autem alicui civitati sortem incommodi recusandam, si tali mora reliquae possent se vindicare in libertatem.

Caesar disperses the Bituriges and Carnutes.

2 Quae ne opinio Gallorum confirmaretur, Caesar M. Antonium quaestorem suis praeficit hibernis; ipse cum equitum praesidio pridie Kal. Ianuarias ab oppido Bibracte proficiscitur ad legionem XIII., quam non longe a finibus Haeduorum conlocaverat in finibus

1, § 1. *superiore aestate* evidently means the summer not of 52, but of 53 B.C., for Hirtius begins his narrative at the point where Caesar's left off (vii, 90),—with the distribution of the legions in winter-quarters after the victory at Alesia. The words *nullum . . . intermisisset* are approximately true, for the campaign of 52 B.C. began in mid-winter. See the second note on vii, 1, § 3.

§ 2. *quod.* See the second note on i, 14, § 3.

§§ 2–3. Those who read the following narrative attentively will perhaps doubt whether the rebellious tribes had any such definite and concerted plan. It is probable that they were actuated, not jointly but severally, by sheer abhorrence of a foreign yoke, by sullen despair, by desire for plunder, perhaps by the vague hope that when Caesar was gone, his successor would leave such obstinate patriots to themselves.

2, § 1. *pridie Kal. Ianuarias.* In the unreformed calendar December had only 29 days; and December 29, 702 corresponded with December 2, 52 B.C. of the Julian calendar.

Biturigum, eique adiungit legionem XI., quae proxima fuerat. Binis cohortibus ad impedimenta tuenda 2
relictis, reliquum exercitum in copiosissimos agros Biturigum inducit, qui, cum latos fines et complura oppida haberent, unius legionis hibernis non potuerant contineri quin bellum pararent coniurationesque facerent.

Repentino adventu Caesaris accidit, quod imparatis **3**
disiectisque accidere fuit necesse, ut sine timore ullo rura colentes prius ab equitatu opprimerentur quam confugere in oppida possent. Namque etiam 2
illud vulgare incursionis hostium signum, quod incendiis aedificiorum intellegi consuevit, Caesaris erat interdicto sublatum, ne aut copia pabuli frumentique, si longius progredi vellet, deficeretur, aut hostes incendiis terrerentur. Multis hominum milibus captis 3
perterriti Bituriges qui primum adventum potuerant effugere Romanorum in finitimas civitates aut privatis hospitiis confisi aut societate consiliorum confugerant. Frustra: nam Caesar magnis itineribus omnibus locis 4
occurrit nec dat ulli civitati spatium de aliena potius quam de domestica salute cogitandi; qua celeritate et fideles amicos retinebat et dubitantes terrore ad condiciones pacis adducebat. Tali condicione proposita 5
Bituriges, cum sibi viderent clementia Caesaris reditum patere in eius amicitiam finitimasque civitates sine ulla poena dedisse obsides atque in fidem receptas esse, idem fecerunt.

Caesar militibus pro tanto labore ac patientia, qui **4**
brumalibus diebus, itineribus difficillimis, frigoribus intolerandis studiosissime permanserant in labore, ducenos sestertios, centurionibus †tot† milia nummum praedae nomine condonat[a pollicetur] legionibusque

legionem XI. . . . fuerat. Evidently this was the legion which Caesar had quartered among the Ambivareti. See vii, 75, § 2, 90, § 6, and *C. G.*, p. 368.

3, § 2. *incendiis aedificiorum.* See the note on v, 48, § 10. *copia*, as the impersonal *deficeretur* shows, is ablative.

§ 4. *fideles* is a predicate, equivalent to *in fide.*

51 B.C. in hiberna remissis ipse se recipit die XXXX. Bi-
2 bracte. Ibi cum ius diceret, Bituriges ad eum legatos mittunt auxilium petitum contra Carnutes, quos
3 intulisse bellum sibi querebantur. Qua re cognita, cum dies non amplius XVIII in hibernis esset moratus, legiones XIIII. et VI. ex hibernis ab Arari educit, quas ibi conlocatas explicandae rei frumentariae causa superiore commentario demonstratum est. Ita cum duabus legionibus ad persequendos Carnutes proficiscitur.

5 Cum fama exercitus ad hostes esset perlata, calamitate ceterorum ducti Carnutes desertis vicis oppidisque, quae tolerandae hiemis causa constitutis repente exiguis ad necessitatem aedificiis incolebant —

4, § 2. *cum ius diceret* is a most significant remark, and its importance has not been appreciated. It shows that in Gaul Caesar was not merely a conqueror but also an administrator, and that, although the conquered country had not yet been formally annexed or its constitution settled, Caesar performed the duties of a judge there as he did in the Cisalpine province (i, 54, § 3; v, 1, § 5; vi, 44, § 3) and in Illyricum (v, 1, §§ 5-9).

§ 3. *VI.* Caesar nowhere mentions the 6th legion, though, as Hirtius says, it was one of the two which, immediately after the capture of Alesia, he had sent into winter-quarters on the Saône (vii, 90, § 7). He had ten legions in 52 B.C. (vi, 44, § 3; vii, 34, § 2): one of them, which he had borrowed from Pompey (vi, 1, §§ 2-3), was numbered I (viii, 54, § 2); the remaining nine were the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th (ii, 23; vi, 32, § 5; vii, 51, § 2; viii, 54, § 3). It would seem, then, at first sight that he had eleven legions in 52 B.C., before the siege of Alesia,—the ten that have just been enumerated and the 6th. But first impressions are sometimes wrong. There is reason to believe that the 1st legion was identical with the 6th,—that it was called the 6th so long as it remained with Caesar, but when it became part of Pompey's army the 1st. For if any one will compare viii, 54, § 3 with *B. C.*, iii, 88, § 1, he will see that Caesar's 15th legion, which he was obliged in 50 B.C. to hand over to Pompey, was numbered III in the army of the latter; and, besides, if Caesar had raised the 6th himself, and not borrowed it from Pompey, he would most probably have numbered it consecutively, as he did all the others, and called it the 16th. Anyhow it is certain that Caesar had only ten legions at Alesia; for he expressly says (vii, 65, § 4) that, before he attacked it, he could get no reinforcements from Italy or the Province because the roads were blocked (*C. G.*, pp. 802-4).

superiore commentario. See vii, 90, § 7.

5, § 1. *ducti.* Koch, whom Meusel follows, proposed *docti.*

nuper enim devicti complura oppida amiserant —
dispersi profugiunt. Caesar erumpentes eo maxime 2
tempore acerrimas tempestates cum subire milites
nollet, in oppido Carnutum Cenabo castra ponit atque
in tecta partim Gallorum, partim quae collectis cele-
riter stramentis [tentoriorum integendorum gratia]
erant inaedificata, milites compegit. Equites tamen 3
et auxiliarios pedites in omnes partes mittit, quas-
cumque petisse dicebantur hostes; nec frustra: nam
plerumque magna praeda potiti nostri revertuntur.
Oppressi Carnutes hiemis difficultate, terrore periculi, 4
cum tectis expulsi nullo loco diutius consistere aude-
rent nec silvarum praesidio tempestatibus durissimis
tegi possent, dispersi magna parte amissa suorum
dissipantur in finitimas civitates.

Campaign against the Bellovaci and their allies.

Caesar tempore anni difficillimo, cum satis haberet **6**
convenientes manus dissipare, ne quod initium belli
nasceretur, quantumque in ratione esset, exploratum
haberet sub tempus aestivorum nullum summum
bellum posse conflari, C. Trebonium cum duabus legio-
nibus quas secum habebat in hibernis Cenabi conlo-
cavit; ipse, cum crebris legationibus Remorum certior 2
fieret Bellovacos, qui belli gloria Gallos omnes Belgas-
que praestabant, finitimasque his civitates duce Correo
Bellovaco et Commio Atrebate exercitus comparare
atque in unum locum cogere, ut omni multitudine
in fines Suessionum, qui Remis erant attributi, facerent
impressionem, pertinere autem non tantum ad digni-
tatem, sed etiam ad salutem suam iudicaret nullam

nuper . . . amiserant. The only stronghold of the Carnutes the loss of which is recorded by Caesar was Cenabum.

§ 2. *collectis.* The MS. reading, *coniectis*, is unsatisfactory. I adopt Herzog's correction.

§ 3. *auxiliarios pedites.* These may have accompanied the German cavalry in Caesar's pay (see i, 48, §§ 4–7; vii, 13, § 1; 65, § 4); but perhaps some of them served with Caesar's Gallic cavalry (vii, 18, § 1; 80, § 3).

§ 4. *dispersi* was condemned as spurious by Mommsen (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 212). I agree with Klotz (*C.S.*, p. 174, n. 5), who observes that as the word is separated from *dissipantur*, the pleonasm is not surprising. Hirtius, remember, was not Caesar.

6, § 2. *attributi.* Cf. vii, 9, § 6; 76, § 1.

calamitatem socios optime de re publica meritos
3 accipere, legionem ex hibernis evocat rursus XI.,
litteras autem ad C. Fabium mittit, ut in fines
Suessionum legiones duas quas habebat adduceret,
4 alteramque ex duabus ab [L.] Labieno arcessit. Ita,
quantum hibernorum oportunitas bellique ratio postu-
labat, perpetuo suo labore in vicem legionibus expe-
ditionum onus iniungebat.

7 His copiis coactis ad Bellovacos proficiscitur castris-
que in eorum finibus positis equitum turmas dimittit
in omnes partes ad aliquos excipiendos, ex quibus
2 hostium consilia cognosceret. Equites officio functi
renuntiant paucos in aedificiis esse inventos atque
hos, non qui agrorum colendorum causa remansis-
sent—namque esse undique diligenter demigratum—
3 sed qui speculandi causa essent remissi. A quibus
cum quaereret Caesar quo loco multitudo esset
Bellovacorum quodve esset consilium eorum, inve-
4 niebat Bellovacos omnes qui arma ferre possent in
unum locum convenisse, itemque Ambianos, Aulercos,
Caletos, Veliocasses, Atrebates; locum castris excelsum
in silva circumdata palude delegisse, impedimenta
omnia in ulteriores silvas contulisse. Complures
esse principes auctores belli, sed multitudinem maxime
Correo obtemperare, quod ei summo esse odio nomen
5 populi Romani intellexissent. Paucis ante diebus ex
his castris [Atrebatem] Commium discessisse ad auxilia
Germanorum adducenda, quorum et vicinitas pro-
6 pinqua et multitudo esset infinita. Constituisse autem
Bellovacos omnium principum consensu, summa plebis
cupiditate, si, ut diceretur, Caesar cum tribus legio-
nibus veniret, se offerre ad dimicandum, ne miseriore

§ 3. C. Fabius had been quartered at the end of the preceding campaign in the country of the Remi (vii, 90, § 5).

Labieno. Labienus was at this time in the country of the Sequani (vii, 90, § 4),—probably at Vesontio (Besançon). See i, 38, §§ 1, 7, and *C. G.*, p. 68, n. 1.

7, § 4. *auctores.* I am not sure whether *auctor* is used here as in iii, 17, § 3 or as in vi, 8, § 8.

§ 5. *Atrebatem* is omitted in β.

ac duriore postea condicione cum toto exercitu de-
certare cogerentur; si maiores copias adduceret, in eo 7
loco permanere quem delegissent, pabulatione autem,
quae propter anni tempus cum exigua tum disiecta
esset, et frumentatione et reliquo commeatu ex insi-
diis prohibere Romanos.

Quae Caesar consentientibus pluribus cum cognos- **8**
set atque ea quae proponerentur consilia plena pru-
dentiae longeque a temeritate barbarorum remota
esse iudicaret, omnibus rebus inserviendum statuit
quo celerius hostes contempta sua paucitate prodirent
in aciem. Singularis enim virtutis veterrimas legiones 2
VII., VIII., VIIII. habebat, summae spei delectaeque
iuventutis XI., quae octavo iam stipendio tamen in
conlatione reliquarum nondum eandem vetustatis ac
virtutis ceperat opinionem. Itaque consilio advocato, 3
rebus iis quae ad se essent delatae omnibus expositis,
animos multitudinis confirmat. Si forte hostes trium
legionum numero posset elicere ad dimicandum,
agminis ordinem ita constituit ut legiones VII., VIII.,
VIIII. ante omnia irent impedimenta, deinde omnium
impedimentorum agmen, quod tamen erat mediocre,
ut in expeditionibus esse consuevit, cogeret XI., ne
maioris multitudinis species accidere hostibus posset
quam ipsi depoposcissent. Hac ratione paene quadrato 4
agmine instructo, in conspectum hostium celerius
opinione eorum exercitum adducit.

Cum repente instructas velut in acie certo gradu **9**
legiones accedere Galli viderent, quorum erant ad
Caesarem plena fiduciae consilia perlata, sive certa-
minis periculo sive subito adventu sive expectatione

8, § 2. *spei.* See the note on vii, 63, § 9.

§ 3. *quae . . . delatae.* See the note on i, 3, § 1. The subjunctive is used because the meaning is 'which, *as he explained*, had been reported to him'.

expeditionibus does not mean 'expeditions', but is equivalent to *itineribus a militibus expeditis susceptis.*

§ 4. *paene quadrato agmine.* A *quadratum agmen* was a hollow parallelogram, formed by troops, within which the baggage was placed. Cf. vii, 67, § 3 (*C. G.*, p. 728).

nostri consilii copias instruunt pro castris nec loco
2 superiore decedunt. Caesar, etsi dimicare optaverat, tamen admiratus tantam multitudinem hostium, valle intermissa magis in altitudinem depressa quam late
3 patente castra castris hostium confert. Haec imperat vallo pedum XII muniri, loriculam pro [hac] ratione eius altitudinis inaedificari, fossam duplicem pedum quinum denum lateribus deprimi derectis, turres excitari crebras in altitudinem trium tabulatorum, pontibus traiectis constratisque coniungi, quorum
4 frontes viminea loricula munirentur, ut ab hostibus duplici fossa, duplici propugnatorum ordine defenderentur, quorum alter ex pontibus, quo tutior altitudine esset, hoc audacius longiusque permitteret tela, alter, qui propior hostem in ipso vallo conlocatus esset, ponte ab incidentibus telis tegeretur. Portis fores altioresque turres imposuit.

10 Huius munitionis duplex erat consilium. Namque et operum magnitudinem et timorem suum sperabat fiduciam barbaris adlaturum et, cum pabulatum frumentatumque longius esset proficiscendum, parvis copiis castra munitione ipsa videbat posse defendi.
2 Interim crebro paucis utrimque procurrentibus inter

9, § 1. *nec*. Cf. i, 47, § 1. *Nec* (decedunt) might be translated by 'but without' (quitting).

§ 2. *valle intermissa . . . confert*. The topography of the campaign will be discussed in the note on 20, § 1.

§ 3. *vallo pedum XII*. See the first note on ii, 5, § 6.

loriculam. Cf. vii, 72, § 4.

eius,—namely *valli*.

fossam . . . denum. See the second note on ii, 5, § 6.

lateribus . . . derectis. See the third note on vii, 72, § 1.

turres. Cf. v, 40, § 2; vii, 72, § 4.

pontibus . . . coniungi. See the note on vii, 22, § 4 (*commissis . . . malis*).

§ 4. *fores* can only mean 'doors': the so-called gates (*portis*) were merely openings in the rampart. But one would think that the object might have been gained, without building massive doors, by merely blocking the apertures (v, 50, § 5). Meusel reads *ericios*, 'chevaux-de-frise' (*B. C.*, iii. 67, § 5),—an emendation of his own; but I cannot conceive how *ericios* could have been corrupted into *fores* unless the latter was written in the margin or above the line as a gloss, and afterwards substituted for *ericios*.

bina castra palude interiecta contendebatur; quam tamen paludem non numquam aut nostra auxilia [aut] Gallorum Germanorumque transibant acriusque hostes insequebantur, aut vicissim hostes eandem transgressi nostros longius submovebant. Accidebat autem co- 3
tidianis pabulationibus—id quod accidere erat necesse, cum raris disiectisque ex aedificiis pabulum conquireretur—ut impeditis locis dispersi pabulatores circumvenirentur; quae res, etsi mediocre detrimentum 4
iumentorum ac servorum nostris adferebat, tamen stultas cogitationes incitabat barbarorum, atque eo magis quod Commius, quem profectum ad auxilia Germanorum arcessenda docui, cum equitibus venerat; qui tametsi numero non amplius erant D, tamen Germanorum adventu barbari inflabantur.

Caesar, cum animadverteret hostem complures dies **11**
castris palude et loci natura munitis se tenere neque oppugnari castra eorum sine dimicatione perniciosa nec locum munitionibus claudi nisi a maiore exercitu posse, litteras ad C. Trebonium mittit, ut quam celerrime posset legionem XIII., quae cum T. Sextio legato in Biturigibus hiemabat, arcesseret atque ita cum tribus legionibus magnis itineribus ad se veniret; ipse 2
equites in vicem Remorum ac Lingonum reliquarumque civitatum, quorum magnum numerum evocaverat, praesidio pabulationibus mittit, qui subitas incursiones hostium sustinerent.

Quod cum cotidie fieret ac iam consuetudine dili- **12**
gentia minueretur, quod plerumque accidit diuturnitate, Bellovaci delecta manu peditum, cognitis stationibus cotidianis equitum nostrorum, silvestribus

11, § 1. *C. Trebonium.* See 6, § 1. The *praenomen*, *C.*, was supplied by M. Cl. Gertz. Cf. *C. S.*, pp. 207–12.

§ 2. *pabulationibus.* W. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 778), referring to 10 § 3, 17 § 2, and various other passages which show that in such expressions the concrete was generally preferred to the abstract, proposes *pabulatoribus*; but, remembering vii, 16, § 3 (*omnes nostras pabulationes . . . observabat*), I do not think it safe to reject the authority of the MSS.

12, § 1. *stationibus*, which sometimes (e.g. in ii, 18, § 3 and

2 locis insidias disponunt eodemque equites postero die mittunt, qui primum elicerent nostros, deinde circum-
3 ventos adgrederentur. Cuius mali sors incidit Remis, quibus ille dies fungendi muneris obvenerat. Namque hi, cum repente hostium equites animadvertissent ac numero superiores paucitatem contempsissent, cupidius insecuti a peditibus undique sunt circumdati.
4 Quo facto perturbati celerius quam consuetudo fert equestris proelii, se receperunt amisso Vertisco, principe
5 civitatis, praefecto equitum; qui cum vix equo propter aetatem posset uti, tamen consuetudine Gallorum neque aetatis excusatione in suscipienda praefectura
6 usus erat neque dimicari sine se voluerat. Inflantur atque incitantur hostium animi secundo proelio,
7 principe et praefecto Remorum interfecto, nostrique detrimento admonentur diligentius exploratis locis stationes disponere ac moderatius cedentem insequi hostem.

13 Non intermittunt interim cotidiana proelia in conspectu utrorumque castrorum, quae ad vada trans-
2 itusque fiebant paludis. Qua contentione Germani, quos propterea Caesar transduxerat Rhenum ut equitibus interpositi proeliarentur, cum constantius universi paludem transissent paucisque resistentibus interfectis pertinacius reliquam multitudinem essent insecuti, perterriti non solum ii qui aut comminus opprimebantur aut eminus vulnerabantur sed etiam qui longius subsidiari consueverant, turpiter refu-

vii, 69, § 7) means 'piquets', here means the positions occupied by the piquets. Cf. iv, 32, § 2; vi, 42, § 1; and 15, § 3, *infra*.

§ 4. *Vertisco . . . equitum.* See the note on i, 15, § 1.

principe civitatis seems to mean 'the first magistrate of his tribe'. See the second note on vii, 65, § 2 and *C. G.*, p. 533, n. 2.

§ 5. *aetatis excusatione.* See the note on Praef., § 1.

§ 7. *admonentur.* Caesar does not use *admoneo* with an infinitive, but the construction occurs in Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 14, § 34.

13, § 1. *intermittunt* is intransitive, the subject being *proelia*. Cf. i, 38, § 5.

§ 2. *ut . . . proeliarentur.* Cf. i, 48, §§ 4–7.

qui . . . consueverant. *Longius* means 'at a distance' (from the battle-field), and *subsidiari* is equivalent to *subsidio esse*.

gerunt, nec prius finem fugae fecerunt, saepe amissis 3
superioribus locis, quam se aut in castra suorum
reciperent aut non nulli pudore coacti longius pro-
fugerent. Quorum periculo sic omnes copiae sunt 4
perturbatae ut vix iudicari posset utrum secundis
minimis rebus insolentiores an adverso mediocri casu
timidiores essent.

Compluribus diebus isdem ⟨in⟩ castris consumptis, **14**
cum propius accessisse legiones et C. Trebonium
legatum cognovissent, duces Bellovacorum veriti si-
milem obsessionem Alesiae noctu dimittunt eos quos
aut aetate aut viribus inferiores aut inermes habebant,
unaque [reliqua] impedimenta. Quorum perturbatum 2
et confusum dum explicant agmen—magna enim
multitudo carrorum etiam expeditos sequi Gallos
consuevit,—oppressi luce copias armatorum pro suis
instruunt castris, ne prius Romani persequi se in-
ciperent quam longius agmen impedimentorum suorum
processisset. At Caesar neque resistentes adgrediun- 3
dos tanto collis ascensu iudicabat neque non usque
eo legiones admovendas ut discedere ex eo loco sine
periculo barbari militibus instantibus non possent.
Ita, cum palude impedita a castris castra dividi 4
videret, quae transeundi difficultas celeritatem inse-
quendi tardare posset, atque id iugum, quod trans
paludem paene ad hostium castra pertineret, mediocri
valle a castris eorum intercisum animadverteret,
pontibus palude constrata legiones traducit celeriter-

§ 3. *prius . . . quam . . . reciperent.* See the note on iii, 26, § 3.

pudore. Gertz proposes *pavore*, perhaps rightly; but might not shame have made these fugitives unwilling to show themselves in camp?

§ 4. *adverso mediocri casu.* See the note on i, 18, § 10.

14, § 1. *similem obsessionem Alesiae.* Caesar uses a similar condensed phrase in vi, 22, § 4.

reliqua is bracketed as meaningless by Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 778). It is certainly suspicious; but as the interpolator, if he existed, used the word *impedimenta* in an extended sense, I am not sure that Hirtius might not have done so.

§ 2. *expeditos.* See the note on ii, 19, § 2.

§ 4. *pontibus* here, as in vii, 19, § 2, means 'causeways'.

que in summam planitiem iugi pervenit, quae declivi
5 fastigio duobus ab lateribus muniebatur. Ibi legionibus instructis ad ultimum iugum pervenit aciemque eo loco constituit, unde tormento missa tela in hostium cuneos coici possent.

15 Barbari confisi loci natura, cum dimicare non recusarent, si forte Romani subire collem conarentur, paulatimque copias distributas dimittere non auderent, ne dispersi perturbarentur, in acie permanserunt.
2 Quorum pertinacia cognita Caesar, XX cohortibus instructis castrisque eo loco metatis, muniri iubet
3 castra. Absolutis operibus, pro vallo legiones instructas conlocat, equites frenatis equis in stationibus
4 disponit. Bellovaci, cum Romanos ad insequendum paratos viderent neque pernoctare aut diutius permanere sine periculo eodem loco possent, tale consilium
5 sui recipiendi ceperunt. Fasces ubi consederant, namque in acie sedere Gallos consuesse superioribus commentariis declaratum est, per manus stramentorum ac virgultorum, quorum summa erat in castris copia, inter se traditos ante aciem conlocarunt extremoque tempore diei signo pronuntiato uno tempore incende-
6 runt. Ita continens flamma copias omnes repente a conspectu texit Romanorum. Quod ubi accidit, barbari vehementissimo cursu refugerunt.

16 Caesar, etsi discessum hostium animadvertere non poterat incendiis oppositis, tamen id consilium cum

15, § 5. *ubi . . . declaratum est.* No such ridiculous custom has been noticed in any previous commentary; and accordingly the editors either bracket or delete the words, though some retain *ut consueverant*, which appears in *a*—wrongly, as the following words show—instead of *ubi consederant.* But the presence of the passage in the MSS. has to be accounted for. It has been suggested that *namque . . . declaratum est* was an absurd gloss upon *ubi consederant*; but, if so, *ubi consederant* is evidently genuine. I am rather inclined to agree with Klotz, who argues (*C. S.*, pp. 174-5) that Hirtius was thinking of i, 21, § 1 (*hostes sub monte consedisse*), ii, 16, § 2, iii, 17, § 5, &c. and, being ignorant of military affairs, misunderstood the meaning of *consedisse*, *consedissent*, &c.

per manus. Meusel transposes these words, placing them after *copia*; but Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 174) shows that the unnatural the text is in accord with Hirtius's careless style.

fugae causa initum suspicaretur, legiones promovet,
turmas mittit ad insequendum; ipse veritus insidias,
ne forte in eodem loco subsistere hostis atque elicere
nostros in locum conaretur iniquum, tardius procedit.
Equites cum intrare fumum et flammam densissimam 2
timerent ac, si qui cupidius intraverant, vix suorum
ipsi priores partes animadverterent equorum, [insidias
veriti] liberam facultatem sui recipiendi Bellovacis
dederunt. Ita fuga timoris simul calliditatisque plena 3
sine ullo detrimento milia non amplius X progressi
hostes loco munitissimo castra posuerunt. Inde cum 4
saepe in insidiis equites peditesque disponerent, magna
detrimenta Romanis in pabulationibus inferebant.

Quod cum crebrius accideret, ex captivo quodam **17**
comperit Caesar Correum, Bellovacorum ducem, fortissimorum
milia sex peditum delegisse equitesque
ex omni numero mille, quos in insidiis eo loco conlocaret,
quem in locum propter copiam frumenti ac
pabuli Romanos missuros suspicaretur. Quo cognito 2
consilio, legiones plures quam solebat educit equitatumque,
qua consuetudine pabulatoribus mittere praesidio
consuerat, praemittit; huic interponit auxilia 3
levis armaturae; ipse cum legionibus quam potest
maxime adpropinquat.

Hostes in insidiis dispositi, cum sibi delegissent **18**
campum ad rem gerendam non amplius patentem in
omnes partes passibus mille, silvis undique impeditissimis
aut flumine altissimo munitum, velut indagine
hunc insidiis circumdederant. Explorato hostium 2
consilio nostri ad proeliandum animo atque armis
parati, cum subsequentibus legionibus nullam dimicationem
recusarent, turmatim in eum locum devene-

16, § 2. *insidias veriti* is bracketed, rightly in my opinion, by Gertz. No doubt an interpolator had noticed *veritus insidias* in § 1.

§ 3. *munitissimo*. Cf. vii, 36, § 5.

17, § 2, *qua*. Nitsche (*Z. G.*, 1894, p. 778) proposes *quantum*; but surely all the cavalry were wanted.

consuetudine . . . consuerat. The hideous tautology is characteristic of Hirtius. Cf. 5, § 4 and *C. S.*, p. 174.

3 runt. Quorum adventu cum sibi Correus oblatam
occasionem rei gerendae existimaret, primum cum
paucis se ostendit atque in proximas turmas impetum
4 fecit. Nostri constanter incursum sustinent insidia-
torum neque plures in unum locum conveniunt;
quod plerumque equestribus proeliis cum propter
aliquem timorem accidit, tum multitudine ipsorum
detrimentum accipitur.

19 Cum dispositis turmis in vicem rari proeliarentur
neque ab lateribus circumveniri suos paterentur,
2 erumpunt ceteri Correo proeliante ex silvis. Fit
magna contentione diversum proelium. Quod cum
diutius pari Marte iniretur, paulatim ex silvis instructa
multitudo procedit peditum, quae nostros coegit
cedere equites. Quibus celeriter subveniunt levis
armaturae pedites, quos ante legiones missos docui,
turmisque nostrorum interpositi constanter proelian-
3 tur. Pugnatur aliquamdiu pari contentione; deinde,
ut ratio postulabat proelii, qui sustinuerant primos
impetus insidiarum hoc ipso fiunt superiores quod
nullum ab insidiantibus imprudentes acceperant detri-
4 mentum. Accedunt propius interim legiones, crebrique
eodem tempore et nostris et hostibus nuntii adferun-
5 tur, imperatorem instructis copiis adesse. Qua re
cognita praesidio cohortium confisi nostri acerrime
proeliantur, ne, si tardius rem gessissent, victoriae
gloriam communicasse cum legionibus viderentur;
6 hostes concidunt animis atque itineribus diversis
fugam quaerunt. Nequiquam: nam quibus difficul-
tatibus locorum Romanos claudere voluerant, iis ipsi
7 tenebantur. Victi tandem perculsique maiore parte
amissa quo fors tulerat consternati profugiunt partim

18, § 4. *plerumque* ought of course to follow *tum*; and there accordingly H. J. Müller would place it. But by this time the reader is getting accustomed to Hirtius's eccentricities.

ipsorum,—i. e. *equitum*.

19, § 2. *diversum proelium*. See the second note on ii, 22, § 1.

iniretur, as *diutius* shows, is used inaccurately for *fieret*.

§ 7. *quo fors tulerat* is omitted in *a*; but Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 203, n. 3) is, I think, right in inferring from *Bell. Alex.*, 22, § 2—

silvis petitis, partim flumine—qui tamen in fuga
a nostris acriter insequentibus conficiuntur—cum 8
interim nulla calamitate victus Correus excedere proelio silvasque petere aut invitantibus nostris ad deditionem potuit adduci, quin fortissime proeliando compluresque vulnerando cogeret elatos iracundia victores in se tela coicere.

Tali modo re gesta, recentibus proelii vestigiis **20**
ingressus Caesar, cum victos tanta calamitate existimaret hostes nuntio accepto locum castrorum relicturos, quae non longius ab ea caede abesse plus minus VIII milibus dicebantur, tametsi flumine impeditum

quandocumque fors obtulerat—that the words are genuine. Klotz, as I have shown in *C. R.*, 1912, p. 92, has gone very near to proving that the author of *Bell. Alex.* was Hirtius.

§ 8. *cum interim . . . coicere.* The construction of this sentence is rather involved. *Ad deditionem* depends upon *invitantibus* as well as upon *adduci*; and *nulla calamitate* belongs to *adduci* as well as to *victus*.

adduci. Adduco is never used with an infinitive in good Latin prose.

20, § 1. *quae non longius . . . dicebantur.* The evidence for the topography of the campaign is to be found in 9, §§ 1–4; 10, § 2; 11, § 1; 14, §§ 4–5; 16, § 3; 18, § 1; and 20, § 1. The gist of it is this. The Gauls encamped on a hill, standing in a wooded country and protected by a morass (9, § 1; 10, § 2; 11, § 1; 12, § 1). The morass was at the bottom of a deep and narrow valley, separating the hill from another, on which Caesar pitched his camp (9, § 2; 10, § 2); and the position of the Gauls was so strong that it would have been impossible to storm it without heavy loss (11, § 1). Caesar's camp had two ditches with vertical sides (9, § 3). The hill upon which the Gauls were encamped was separated by a small valley from a hill—not the one on which Caesar encamped—the summit of which formed a plateau and the sides of which were steep; and this hill was large enough to admit of four legions being drawn up on it in line of battle (14, §§ 4–5). Caesar reached it by bridging the morass (14, § 4). About 10 Roman miles from the camp of the Gauls was a very strong place, upon which they encamped after they had been driven from their former position (16, § 3). Near this second encampment was a meadow, not more than one Roman square mile in extent, which was surrounded partly by woods, partly by a very deep river (18, § 1), or, if we adopt the reading of *a*—*impeditissimo flumine*—a river very difficult to cross. This meadow was said to be not more than 8 Roman miles from the second camp of the Bellovaci (20, § 1).

The only site that corresponds perfectly with Hirtius's description of the original position of the Gauls is Mont St. Marc, on the east of the Oise and about 3 miles south of

transitum videbat, tamen exercitu traducto progre-
2 ditur. At Bellovaci reliquaeque civitates repente ex
fuga paucis atque his vulneratis receptis, qui silvarum
beneficio casum evitaverant, omnibus adversis, cognita
calamitate, interfecto Correo, amisso equitatu et fortis-
simis peditibus, cum adventare Romanos existimarent,
concilio repente cantu tubarum convocato conclamant,
legati obsidesque ad Caesarem mittantur.

21 Hoc omnibus probato consilio Commius Atrebas
ad eos confugit Germanos a quibus ad id bellum
2 auxilia mutuatus erat. Ceteri e vestigio mittunt ad
Caesarem legatos petuntque ut ea poena sit contentus
hostium, quam si sine dimicatione inferre integris
posset, pro sua clementia atque humanitate numquam
3 profecto esset inlaturus. Adflictas opes equestri proe-
lio Bellovacorum esse; delectorum peditum multa
4 milia interisse, vix refugisse nuntios caedis. Magnum
tamen, ut in tanta calamitate, Bellovacos eo proelio
commodum esse consecutos, quod Correus, auctor
belli, concitator multitudinis, esset interfectus. Num-
quam enim senatum tantum in civitate illo vivo
quantum imperitam plebem potuisse.

its tributary, the Aisne; and if they encamped there, Caesar's camp was on Mont St. Pierre. M. Jullian and I have adopted the site; but there are objections. Colonel Stoffel made excavations on Mont St. Pierre: but the sides of the ditches which he found were not vertical; and it has been proved that they belonged to a Gallic fort. That, however, does not prove that Caesar did not occupy the site. If he did, the very strong place (16, § 3) on which the Gauls made their second camp was Mont Ganelon; and the meadow in which they attacked Caesar's cavalry (18, § 1; 20, § 1) was on the left bank of the Aisne, in the bend of the river between Choisy and Rethondes. Mont Ganelon is only about 6 miles from Mont St. Marc; but the hill stretches so far to the north-west that Hirtius's vague statement (16, § 3) is not necessarily an exaggeration (*C. G.*, pp. 826–30).

§ 2. *omnibus adversis.* Caesar would not have omitted *rebus*. Cf. i, 6, § 4; v, 4, § 1; 5, § 2.

cognita calamitate. Meusel, following Gertz, places these words before *omnibus adversis*. Obviously this would be an improvement; but I shrink from adopting it. Cf. the first note on 18, § 4.

21, § 3. *equestri.* Meusel adopts his own emendation, *equestres*.

§ 4. *quod.* See the second note on i, 14, § 3.

Haec orantibus legatis commemorat Caesar: eodem **22**
tempore superiore anno Bellovacos ceterasque Galliae
civitates suscepisse bellum; pertinacissime hos ex
omnibus in sententia permansisse neque ad sanitatem
reliquorum deditione esse perductos. Scire atque in- 2
tellegere se causam peccati facillime mortuis delegari.
Neminem vero tantum pollere ut invitis principibus,
resistente senatu, omnibus bonis repugnantibus
infirma manu plebis bellum concitare et gerere posset.
Sed tamen se contentum fore ea poena quam sibi ipsi
contraxissent.

Nocte insequenti legati responsa ad suos referunt, **23**
obsides conficiunt. Concurrunt reliquarum civitatum
legati, quae Bellovacorum speculabantur eventum.
Obsides dant, imperata faciunt, excepto Commio, quem 2
timor prohibebat cuiusquam fidei suam committere
salutem. Nam superiore anno T. Labienus, Caesare 3
in Gallia citeriore ius dicente, cum Commium compe-
risset sollicitare civitates et coniurationem contra
Caesarem facere, infidelitatem eius sine ulla perfidia
iudicavit comprimi posse. Quem quia non arbitra- 4
batur vocatum in castra venturum, ne temptando
cautiorem faceret, C. Volusenum Quadratum misit,
qui eum per simulationem conloquii curaret interfi-
ciendum. Ad eam rem delectos idoneos ei tradidit
centuriones. Cum in conloquium ventum esset et, 5
ut convenerat, manum Commii Volusenus arripuisset,
centurio vel insueta re permotus vel celeriter a fami-
liaribus prohibitus Commii, conficere hominem non
potuit; graviter tamen primo ictu gladio caput per-
cussit. Cum utrimque gladii destricti essent, non 6
tam pugnandi quam diffugiendi fuit utrorumque
consilium: nostrorum, quod mortifero vulnere Com-

22, § 1. *eodem tempore . . . bellum.* As far as we know, the Bellovaci had not taken up arms in 52 B.C. until after Caesar's defeat at Gergovia, perhaps not until after the blockade of Alesia had begun (vii, 59, § 5; 75, § 5).

§ 2. *bonis* is used in the sense in which Cicero frequently uses it: it means respectable citizens, friends of law and order.

mium credebant adfectum, Gallorum, quod insidiis cognitis plura quam videbant extimescebant. Quo facto statuisse Commius dicebatur numquam in conspectum cuiusquam Romani venire.

Caesar sends Fabius into Western Gaul and ravages the territory of Ambiorix.

24 Bellicosissimis gentibus devictis Caesar, cum videret
nullam iam esse civitatem quae bellum pararet quo
sibi resisteret, sed non nullos ex oppidis demigrare,
ex agris diffugere ad praesens imperium evitandum,
plures in partes exercitum dimittere constituit.
2 M. Antonium quaestorem cum legione XII. sibi
coniungit. C. Fabium legatum cum cohortibus XXV
mittit in diversissimam partem Galliae, quod ibi
quasdam civitates in armis esse audiebat neque
C. Caninium Rebilum legatum, qui in illis regionibus
erat, satis firmas duas legiones habere existimabat.
3 T. Labienum ad se evocat; legionem autem XV., quae
cum eo fuerat in hibernis, in togatam Galliam mittit
ad colonias civium Romanorum tuendas, ne quod
simile incommodum accideret decursione barbarorum
ac superiore aestate Tergestinis acciderat, qui re-
pentino latrocinio atque impetu Illyriorum erant
4 oppressi. Ipse ad vastandos depopulandosque fines
Ambiorigis proficiscitur; quem perterritum ac fugien-
tem cum redigi posse in suam potestatem desperasset,
proximum suae dignitatis esse ducebat adeo fines eius

24, § 2. *diversissimam partem Galliae* is explained by 26, § 1.

C. Caninium . . . erat. Caninius had been directed to winter in the country of the Ruteni (vii, 90, § 6); but, whether he had done so or not, he was now, as we may infer from this chapter and from 26, § 1, in the country of the Pictones.

§ 3. *T. Labienum . . . evocat,*—from the country of the Sequani (vii, 90, § 4). See the note on 6, § 3 (*Labieno*).

togatam Galliam—Gaul where the Roman dress was common, or, as we should say, Romanized Gaul—was another name of Cisalpine Gaul.

colonias civium Romanorum. See the note on 50, § 1 (*colonias*).

Illyriorum. The reading of *a* is *incolae illorum*, of *Sβ eorum*. Frigell's emendation, which I adopt, seems better than Madvig's,—*Istrorum*.

§ 4. *proximum . . . esse.* Of course *dignitatis* is not governed by *proximum*, but depends upon *esse*; and literally the meaning is (he considered) 'that it concerned his honour *next*',—in other words, that as he could not capture Ambiorix, the next

vastare civibus, aedificiis, pecore, ut odio suorum Ambiorix, si quos fortuna reliquos fecisset, nullum reditum propter tantas calamitates haberet in civitatem.

Cum in omnes partes finium Ambiorigis aut legiones 25
aut auxilia dimisisset atque omnia caedibus, incendiis,
rapinis vastasset, magno numero hominum interfecto
aut capto, Labienum cum duabus legionibus in Tre-
veros mittit; quorum civitas propter Germaniae 2
vicinitatem cotidianis exercitata bellis cultu et feritate
non multum a Germanis differebat neque imperata
umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat.

Caninius and Fabius compel Dumnacus to raise the siege of Lemonum and defeat him twice with heavy loss.

Interim C. Caninius legatus, cum magnam multi- 26
tudinem convenisse hostium in fines Pictonum litteris
nuntiisque Duratii cognosceret, qui perpetuo in ami-
citia permanserat Romanorum, cum pars quaedam
civitatis eius defecisset, ad oppidum Lemonum con-
tendit. Quo cum adventaret atque ex captivis certius 2
cognosceret multis hominum milibus a Dumnaco, duce
Andium, Duratium clausum Lemoni oppugnari neque
infirmas legiones hostibus committere auderet, castra
posuit loco munito. Dumnacus, cum adpropinquare 3
Caninium cognosset, copiis omnibus ad legiones con-
versis castra Romanorum oppugnare instituit. Cum 4
complures dies in oppugnatione consumpsisset et
magno suorum detrimento nullam partem munitionum
convellere potuisset, rursus ad obsidendum Lemonum
redit.

Eodem tempore C. Fabius legatus complures civi- 27
tates in fidem recipit, obsidibus firmat litterisque
Caninii fit certior quae in Pictonibus gerantur.
Quibus rebus cognitis proficiscitur ad auxilium Duratio
ferendum. At Dumnacus, adventu Fabii cognito, 2
desperata salute, si eodem tempore coactus esset et

best thing, in order to uphold his own prestige, would be to ravage his country.

vastare would not have been used by Caesar in the sense of *orbare*.

26, § 2. *loco munito*,—evidently by nature. Cf. vii, 36, § 5.

[Romanum et] externum sustinere hostem et respicere
ac timere oppidanos, repente ex eo loco cum copiis
recedit nec se satis tutum fore arbitratur, nisi flumen
Ligerim, quod erat ponte propter magnitudinem
3 transeundum, copias traduxisset. Fabius, etsi nondum
in conspectum hostium venerat neque se cum Caninio
coniunxerat, tamen doctus ab iis qui locorum nove-
rant naturam potissimum credidit hostes perterritos
4 eum locum, quem petebant, petituros. Itaque cum
copiis ad eundem pontem contendit equitatumque
tantum praecedere ante agmen imperat legionum,
quantum cum processisset, sine defatigatione equorum
5 in eadem se reciperet castra. Consequuntur equites
nostri, ut erat praeceptum, invaduntque Dumnaci
agmen et fugientes perterritosque sub sarcinis in
itinere adgressi magna praeda multis interfectis
potiuntur. Ita re bene gesta se recipiunt in castra.

28 Insequenti nocte Fabius equites praemittit sic
paratos ut confligerent atque agmen morarentur, dum
2 consequeretur ipse. Cuius praeceptis ut res gereretur,
Q. Atius Varus, praefectus equitum, singularis et
animi et prudentiae vir, suos hortatur agmenque
hostium consecutus turmas partim idoneis locis dis-
3 ponit, partim equitum proelium committit. Confligit
audacius equitatus hostium succedentibus sibi pedi-
tibus, qui toto agmine subsistentes equitibus suis
4 contra nostros ferunt auxilium. Fit proelium acri
certamine. Namque nostri contemptis pridie supe-
ratis[que] hostibus, cum subsequi legiones meminis-
sent, et pudore cedendi et cupiditate per se conficiendi
5 proelii fortissime contra pedites proeliantur, hostesque

27, § 2. *ponte*. Dumnacus wanted to escape into his own country,—that of the Andes (26, § 2; 31, § 5): probably, therefore, the bridge was at Saumur, which, as M. Jullian says, was a very ancient place of passage and the nearest to Lemonum (Poitiers). See *C. G.*, p. 831.

§ 4. *praecedere*. Caesar never uses an active infinitive after *impero*. See the second note on v, 1, § 3.

28, § 2. (disponit,) *partim*. I agree with Klotz (*C. S.*, pp. 177-8) that, clumsy though this expression may be, it is unnecessary to adopt Nipperdey's correction, *parte*. Cf. 34, § 3; 43, § 3; 48, § 7.

nihil amplius copiarum accessurum credentes, ut pridie
cognoverant, delendi equitatus nostri nacti occasionem
videbantur.

Cum aliquamdiu summa contentione dimicaretur, **29**
Dumnacus instruit aciem, quae suis esset equitibus
in vicem praesidio. Tum repente confertae legiones
in conspectum hostium veniunt. Quibus visis perculsae 2
barbarorum turmae ac perterrita acies hostium, per-
turbato impedimentorum agmine, magno clamore dis-
cursuque passim fugae se mandant. At nostri equites, 3
qui paulo ante cum resistentibus fortissime conflixe-
rant, laetitia victoriae elati, magno undique clamore
sublato cedentibus circumfusi, quantum equorum vires
ad persequendum dextraeque ad caedendum valent,
tantum eo proelio interficiunt. Itaque amplius mili- 4
bus XII aut armatorum aut eorum qui timore arma
proiecerant interfectis, omnis multitudo capitur impe-
dimentorum.

Qua ex fuga cum constaret Drappetem Senonem, **30** Flight of Drappes and Lucterius.
qui, ut primum defecerat Gallia, collectis undique
perditis hominibus, servis ad libertatem vocatis, exu-
libus omnium civitatum ascitis, receptis latronibus
impedimenta et commeatus Romanorum interceperat,
non amplius hominum duobus milibus ex fuga collectis
provinciam petere unaque consilium cum eo Lucterium
Cadurcum cepisse, quem superiore commentario prima
defectione Galliae facere in provinciam voluisse im-
petum cognitum est, Caninius legatus cum duabus 2

§ 5. *amplius* is, I believe, an adverb, as in i, 35, § 3 and 43, § 9. With *videbantur* is understood *sibi*. Cf. ii, 11, § 5.

30, § 1. *ut primum defecerat Gallia*,—in the beginning of 52 B.C.

impedimenta . . . interceperat. Perhaps this explains why Labienus did not take the field against the rebels in 52 B.C. before Caesar returned from Italy (*C. G.*, p. 134).

duobus . . . fuga is the reading of β. In χ we find *duobus milibus ex fuga quinque*; in ϕ *milibus ex fuga quinque*. I conclude that *duobus* was in the archetype, and that the writer of ϕ, finding *duobus . . . quinque* in the archetype of α, tried to correct the obvious error by omitting *duobus*.

superiore commentario,—5, § 1; 7, §§ 1–2.

legionibus ad eos persequendos contendit, ne detrimento
aut timore provinciae magna infamia perditorum hominum latrociniis caperetur.

Campaign of Fabius against the Carnutes.

31 C. Fabius cum reliquo exercitu in Carnutes ceterasque proficiscitur civitates, quarum eo proelio quod cum Dumnaco fecerat copias esse accisas sciebat.
2 Non enim dubitabat quin recenti calamitate summissiores essent futurae, dato vero spatio ac tempore
3 eodem instigante Dumnaco possent concitari. Qua in re summa felicitas celeritasque in recipiendis civitatibus Fabium consequitur. Nam Carnutes, qui saepe vexati numquam pacis fecerant mentionem,
4 datis obsidibus veniunt in deditionem, ceteraeque civitates positae in ultimis Galliae finibus Oceanoque coniunctae, quae Aremoricae appellantur, auctoritate adductae Carnutum adventu Fabii legionumque im-
5 perata sine mora faciunt. Dumnacus suis finibus expulsus errans latitansque solus extremas Galliae regiones petere est coactus.

Drappes and Lucterius, pursued by Caninius, take refuge in Uxellodunum.

32 At Drappes unaque Lucterius, cum legiones Caniniumque adesse cognoscerent nec se sine certa pernicie persequente exercitu putarent provinciae fines intrare posse nec iam libere vagandi latrociniorumque faciendorum facultatem haberent, in finibus consistunt
2 Cadurcorum. Ibi cum Lucterius apud suos cives quondam integris rebus multum potuisset semperque auctor novorum consiliorum magnam apud barbaros auctoritatem haberet, oppidum Uxellodunum, quod in clientela fuerat eius, egregie natura loci munitum,

§ 2. Doberenz-Dinter take *detrimento* and *timore* as ablatives of cause. I am not sure that they are not modal ablatives; for whether the provincials had felt fear or not, there would have been *magna infamia* if the *perditi homines* had been suffered to commit acts of brigandage with impunity.

31, § 1. *accisas.* *Accido,* which is frequent in this sense in Livy, is not used by Caesar at all, though it occurs, with a different meaning, in an interpolated chapter,—vi, 27, § 4.

§ 3. *numquam . . . mentionem.* Hirtius was thinking only of the events of 52–51 B.C. The Carnutes had sued for peace in 53 (vi, 4, § 5).

32, § 2. *integris rebus,*—before the great rebellion of 52 B.C.

To face page 385.

UXEL



suis et Drappetis copiis oppidanosque sibi
it.

cum confestim C. Caninius venisset animad- 33
que omnes oppidi partes praeruptissimis saxis
ınitas, quo defendente nullo tamen armatis
re esset difficile, magna autem impedimenta
orum videret, quae si clandestina fuga sub-
conarentur, effugere non modo equitatum sed
ones quidem possent, tripertito cohortibus
rina excelsissimo loco castra facit; a quibus 2
n, quantum copiae patiebantur, vallum in
circuitum ducere instituit.

Blockade of Uxellodunum.

cum animadverterent oppidani miserrimaque 34
memoria solliciti similem casum obsessionis
tur maximeque ex omnibus Lucterius, qui
e illius periculum fecerat, moneret frumenti
n esse habendam, constituunt omnium con-
arte ibi relicta copiarum ipsi cum expeditis
ortandum frumentum proficisci. Eo consilio 2
proxima nocte duobus milibus armatorum
reliquos ex oppido Drappes et Lucterius
. Hi paucos dies morati ex finibus Cadur- 3
qui partim re frumentaria sublevare eos
ıt, partim prohibere quo minus sumerent
erant, magnum numerum frumenti comparant,
ıquam autem expeditionibus nocturnis castella
ım adoriuntur. Quam ob causam C. Caninius 4
pido munitiones circumdare moratur, ne aut
ectum tueri non possit aut plurimis in locis
disponat praesidia.

a copia frumenti comparata considunt Drappes 35
erius non longius ab oppido X milibus, unde
ı frumentum in oppidum supportarent. Ipsi 2

non modo. Notice that another *non* is understood, as
4.

quo minus is not used with *prohibere* by Caesar.
Cf. ii, 30, § 2; vii, 69, § 7.

cumdare moratur. *Morari* is never used with an infini-
od prose.

inter se provincias partiuntur: Drappes castris praesidio cum parte copiarum resistit, Lucterius agmen
3 iumentorum ad oppidum ducit. Dispositis ibi praesidiis, hora noctis circiter X. silvestribus angustisque itineribus frumentum importare in oppidum instituit.
4 Quorum strepitum vigiles castrorum cum sensissent exploratoresque missi quae gererentur renuntiassent, Caninius celeriter cum cohortibus armatis ex proximis castellis in frumentarios sub ipsam lucem impetum
5 facit. Hi repentino malo perterriti diffugiunt ad sua praesidia; quae nostri ut viderunt, acrius contra armatos incitati neminem ex eo numero vivum capi patiuntur. Profugit inde cum paucis Lucterius nec se recipit in castra.

36 Re bene gesta Caninius ex captivis comperit partem copiarum cum Drappete esse in castris a milibus non amplius XII. Qua re ex compluribus cognita, cum intellegeret fugato duce altero [perterritos] reliquos facile opprimi posse, magnae felicitatis esse arbitrabatur neminem ex caede refugisse in castra qui de accepta calamitate nuntium Drappeti perferret.
2 Sed in experiundo cum periculum nullum videret, equitatum omnem Germanosque pedites, summae velocitatis homines, ad castra hostium praemittit; ipse legionem unam in trina castra distribuit, alteram
3 secum expeditam ducit. Cum propius hostes acces-

35, § 3. *hora . . . X.* Caesar never uses *hora* of *nox*: *tribus horis noctis* in vii, 41, § 1 is an interpolation.

§ 4. *cum cohortibus armatis.* Mommsen (*J.B.*, 1894, p. 213), who, I suppose, considered *armatis* superfluous, proposed *cohortibus admotis.* But see ii, 4, §§ 5, 7: iv, 1, § 4; 23, § 2; v, 49, § 1.

36, § 1. *perterritos* was deleted by Vielhaber (*Z. ö. Gy.*, 1870, p. 541), for the sufficient reason that it is implicitly contradicted by the rest of the sentence. The reading of β is *perterreri* (reliquos facile) *et*, which may be right, though both *perterreri* and *et* are superfluous.

§ 2. *Sed.* One can easily understand why H. J. Müller proposed *Et*; but may not *Sed* be explained by taking *cum* as concessive,—'But though he saw no risk in making the attempt, he sent on all his cavalry ahead,' &c.?

Germanosque . . . homines. Cf. i, 48, §§ 5-7.

expeditam. See the note on ii, 19, § 2.

sisset, ab exploratoribus, quos praemiserat, cognoscit
castra eorum, ut barbarorum fere consuetudo est,
relictis locis superioribus ad ripas esse fluminis demissa,
ad ea Germanos equitesque imprudentibus omnibus
de improviso advolasse proeliumque commisisse. Qua 4
re cognita legionem armatam instructamque adducit.
Ita repente omnibus ex partibus signo dato loca supe-
riora capiuntur. Quod ubi accidit, Germani equites-
que signis legionis visis vehementissime proeliantur.
Confestim cohortes undique impetum faciunt omnibus- 5
que aut interfectis aut captis magna praeda potiun-
tur. Capitur ipse eo proelio Drappes.

Caninius felicissime re gesta sine ullo paene militis **37**
vulnere ad obsidendos oppidanos revertitur externoque 2
hoste deleto, cuius timore antea dividere praesidia et
munitione oppidanos circumdare prohibitus erat, opera
undique imperat administrari. Venit eodem cum suis 3
copiis postero die C. Fabius partemque oppidi sumit
ad obsidendum.

Gradual pacification of Gaul: execution of Cotuatus.

Caesar interim M. Antonium quaestorem cum co- **38**
hortibus XV in Bellovacis relinquit, ne qua rursus
novorum consiliorum capiendorum Belgis facultas
daretur. Ipse reliquas civitates adit, obsides plures 2
imperat, timentes omnium animos consolatione sanat.
Cum in Carnutes venisset, quorum in civitate supe- 3
riore commentario Caesar exposuit initium belli esse
ortum, quod praecipue eos propter conscientiam facti
timere animadvertebat, quo celerius civitatem timore
liberaret, principem sceleris illius et concitatorem
belli, Gutuatrum, ad supplicium deposcit. Qui etsi 4

§ 3. *ad ea* was suggested by Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 213) instead of *at*, which is pointless.

38, § 3. *sceleris illius*,—described in vii, 3, § 1.

Gutuatrum comes from *Gutuater*,—the Latinized form of a Celtic word, *gutuatros*, which means 'a priest'. Perhaps Hirtius mistook it for a proper name; for this Gutuater was probably the same man as Cotuatus, whom Caesar mentions in vii, 3, § 1. Hirtius calls Gutuater *principem sceleris illius et concitatorem belli*: *sceleris illius*, as the context shows, means the massacre at Cenabum (vii, 3, § 1), which was the first recorded event in the campaign (*belli*) of 52 B.C.; and Cotuatus was one

ne civibus quidem suis se committebat, tamen celeriter 5 omnium cura quaesitus in castra perducitur. Cogitur in eius supplicium Caesar contra suam naturam concursu maximo militum, qui ei omnia pericula et detrimenta belli a Gutuatro ⟨concitati⟩ accepta referebant, adeo ut verberibus exanimatum corpus securi feriretur.

Caesar marches for Uxellodunum.

39 Ibi crebris litteris Caninii fit certior quae de Drappete et Lucterio gesta essent quoque in consilio 2 permanerent oppidani. Quorum etsi paucitatem contemnebat, tamen pertinaciam magna poena esse adficiendam iudicabat, ne universa Gallia non vires sibi defuisse ad resistendum Romanis sed constantiam putaret, neve hoc exemplo ceterae civitates locorum 3 oportunitate fretae se vindicarent in libertatem, cum omnibus Gallis notum esse sciret reliquam esse unam

of the two leaders who perpetrated that massacre. Whether certain priests who are mentioned in inscriptions as *gutuatri* were Druids or not, is uncertain (*C. G.*, pp. 831–2; *A. B.*, p. 293, n. 2).

§ 5. *a Gutuatro ⟨concitati⟩*. The MSS., except *S*, which omits both words, have *a Gutruato* simply, which is nonsense and was deleted by Oudendorp. But, as Klotz remarks (*C. S.*, p. 177, n. 2), it seems improbable that these words were interpolated, and I therefore adopt his emendation, though it must be admitted that *a Gutuatro*, following *ei*, is awkward.

39, § 3. *cum omnibus . . . vererentur*. Caesar's term of office was to expire on March 1, 705 (49 B.C.); therefore ***unam aestatem*** means the summer of 50 B.C. Some scholars have argued that it means the summer of 51 B.C.,—that is to say, the summer in which the siege of Uxellodunum was going on; but this is impossible. When Caesar started for Uxellodunum the summer of 51 was already far advanced; for we are told (46, § 1) that immediately after the capture of the fort only the fag-end of the summer (*extremum tempus aestivorum*) remained. *Unam aestatem* cannot mean a small part of summer; and if Hirtius had been thinking of the summer of 51 B.C., he would have written *exiguam partem aestatis*. Cf. iv, 20, § 1 (*C. G.*, pp. 832–4). [W. Judeich (*Rh. M.*, 1913, pp. 1–10) has lately argued that under the *lex Pompeia Licinia* (see the second and the third note on 53, § 1) Caesar's command was to terminate on the last day of December, 50 B.C. He admits of course that the period for which he was originally appointed did not end until March 1, 54 (this is proved by Cicero, *De prov. cons.*, 15, § 37); that the extension (see the second note on iii, 9, § 2) was to last for another period of five years; and that Cicero (*Att.*, vii, 7, § 6) was justified in stating that the whole period amounted to ten years: but he

aestatem suae provinciae, quam si sustinere potuis-
sent, nullum ultra periculum vererentur. Itaque 4
Q. Calenum legatum cum legionibus reliquit, qui
iustis itineribus se subsequeretur; ipse cum omni equi-
tatu quam potest celerrime ad Caninium contendit.

He cuts off the garrison from their supply of water.

40 [Caesar] cum contra expectationem omnium Uxel-
lodunum venisset oppidumque operibus clausum
animadverteret neque ab oppugnatione recedi videret
ulla condicione posse, magna autem copia frumenti
abundare oppidanos ex perfugis cognosset, aqua pro-
hibere hostem temptare coepit. Flumen infimam 2
vallem dividebat, quae totum paene montem cingebat,
in quo positum erat praeruptum undique oppidum

regards the difference between ten years and nine years and ten months as negligible; and, although direct evidence is wanting, he has no doubt that the provincial commands which Pompey and Crassus secured in the conference at Luca were to begin not on March 1, 54 B.C., but, in accordance with precedent, on January 1, and that Caesar's administration was not to outlast theirs. It is needless to examine this novel theory here; for Judeich evidently accepts the view that *unam aestatem* means the summer of 50 B.C., and that is the important point.]

provinciae means 'government' or 'term of office'. Caesar never uses the word in this sense.

quam is, I think, not accusative of time, but governed by *sustinere*. Cf. *Aegre is dies sustentatur* (v, 39, § 4).

§ 4. *iustis itineribus*. A *iustum iter* was an ordinary day's march. The length would of course vary according to the nature and condition of the road and the size of the army: but Lord Wolseley (*The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, 5th ed., p. 322) remarks that the 'length of ordinary marches, for a force not larger than one division, moving by one road, should be from 12 to 16 miles a day, for 5 days out of 6, or at most 6 days out of 7'; and we may be sure that Roman armies, which were much less encumbered by transport, marched at least as well (see *C. G.*, p. 635). F. Stolle (*Das Lager und Heer der Römer*, 1912, pp. 40–6) infers from *B. C.*, iii, 76 that the length of a *iustum iter* was not more than about 8 Roman, or rather less than 7½ English miles. From this chapter we learn that Caesar made a *iustum iter* from Dyrrachium to Asparagium, and afterwards on the same day marched 8 Roman miles further (*duplicatoque eius diei itinere VIII milia passuum ex eo loco procedit*). Stolle insists that *duplicato* is to be understood literally, and therefore that the *iustum iter* was 8 miles. Unfortunately for this theory (which no soldier would think worth refuting) the distance from Dyrrachium to Asparagium is 16 Roman miles; and it is therefore evident that, as Meusel says, *duplicato itinere* simply means 'making a second march'.

3 Uxellodunum. ⟨Hoc⟩ flumen avertere loci natura
prohibebat; in infimis enim sic radicibus montis
ferebatur ut nullam in partem depressis fossis derivari
4 posset. Erat autem oppidanis difficilis et praeruptus
eo descensus, ut prohibentibus nostris sine vulneribus
ac periculo vitae neque adire flumen neque arduo se
5 recipere possent ascensu. Qua difficultate eorum
cognita Caesar sagittariis funditoribusque dispositis,
tormentis etiam quibusdam locis contra facillimos
descensus conlocatis, aqua fluminis prohibebat oppi-
danos.

41 Quorum omnis postea multitudo aquatum in unum
locum conveniebat sub ipsius oppidi murum, ubi
magnus fons aquae prorumpebat ab ea parte quae
fere pedum CCC intervallo fluminis circuitu vacabat.
2 Hoc fonte prohiberi posse oppidanos cum optarent
reliqui, Caesar unus videret, e regione eius vineas
agere adversus montem et aggerem extruere coepit
3 magno cum labore et continua dimicatione. Oppidani
enim loco superiore decurrunt et eminus sine periculo
proeliantur multosque pertinaciter succedentes vul-
nerant; non deterrentur tamen milites nostri vineas
proferre et labore atque operibus locorum vincere
4 difficultates. Eodem tempore cuniculos tectos ad
venas agunt et caput fontis, quod genus operis sine
ullo periculo et sine suspicione hostium facere licebat.
5 Extruitur agger in altitudinem pedum LX, conlocatur
in eo turris X tabulatorum, non quidem quae moeni-
bus adaequaret—id enim nullis operibus effici
6 poterat—sed quae superaret fontis fastigium. Ex ea

40, § 3. *⟨Hoc⟩ flumen.* The latter word is omitted in *a*, the former in *β*. I follow Meusel.

41, § 3. *deterrentur . . . proferre.* This construction is very rare: Cicero only uses it in *Verr.*, i, 5, § 14.

§ 4. *venas* is an emendation, due to B. Kübler. The MS. reading, *vineas*, is obviously wrong.

§ 5. *LX* is only found in *S* and in the margin of *h*: the rest of the good MSS. have *VI* or *sex*; but it is incredible that the terrace was only 6 feet high, for Hirtius unmistakably implies that it was raised to the greatest possible height (*C. G.*, p. 835).

fastigium. See the second note on vii, 69, § 4.

cum tela tormentis iacerentur ad fontis aditum nec
sine periculo possent aquari oppidani, non tantum
pecora atque iumenta, sed etiam magna hominum
multitudo siti consumebatur.

Quo malo perterriti oppidani cupas sebo, pice, **42**
scandulis complent; eas ardentes in opera provolvunt
eodemque tempore acerrime proeliantur, ut ab in-
cendio restinguendo dimicationis periculo deterreant
Romanos. Magna repente in ipsis operibus flamma 2
existit. Quaecumque enim per locum praecipitem
missa erant, ea vineis et aggere suppressa compre-
hendebant id ipsum quod morabatur. Milites contra 3
nostri, quamquam periculoso genere proelii locoque
iniquo premebantur, tamen omnia fortissimo sustine-
bant animo. Res enim gerebatur excelso loco et in 4
conspectu exercitus nostri, magnusque utrimque clamor
oriebatur. Ita quam quisque poterat maxime insignis,
quo notior testatiorque virtus esset eius, telis hostium
flammaeque se offerebat.

Caesar cum complures suos vulnerari videret, ex **43**
omnibus oppidi partibus cohortes montem ascendere
et simulatione moenium occupandorum clamorem
undique iubet tollere. Quo facto perterriti oppidani, 2
cum quid ageretur in locis reliquis essent suspensi,
revocant ab impugnandis operibus armatos murisque
disponunt. Ita nostri fine proelii facto celeriter opera 3
flamma comprehensa partim restinguunt, partim in-
terscindunt. Cum pertinaciter resisterent oppidani, 4
magna etiam parte suorum siti amissa in sententia
permanerent, ad postremum cuniculis venae fontis

42, § 4. *Ita quam* is the reading of $\chi S\beta$; *BM* have *ita*. Kübler proposed *itaque*. *Poterat*, the MS. reading, yields perfectly good sense; but Meusel, who adopts Kübler's emendation, *itaque*, necessarily follows E. Hoffmann in reading *prout erat*.

43, § 1. *complures suos*. See the first note on i, 52, § 5.

§ 2. *murisque*. German editors insert *in*, and no doubt Caesar would have written *in muris*; but it does not follow that Hirtius did so.

§ 3. *restinguunt*. As the reader will perhaps have noticed, this verb is used loosely: its object would properly be not *opera* but *flammam*.

5 intercisae sunt atque aversae. Quo facto repente perennis exaruit fons tantamque attulit oppidanis salutis desperationem ut id non hominum consilio sed deorum voluntate factum putarent. Itaque se necessitate coacti tradiderunt.

Surrender of the garrison. Their punishment.

44 Caesar, cum suam lenitatem cognitam omnibus sciret neque vereretur ne quid crudelitate naturae videretur asperius fecisse neque exitum consiliorum suorum animadverteret, si tali ratione diversis in locis plures consilia inissent, exemplo supplicii deterrendos reliquos existimavit. Itaque omnibus qui arma tulerant manus praecidit vitamque concessit, 2 quo testatior esset poena improborum. Drappes, quem captum esse a Caninio docui, sive indignitate et dolore vinculorum sive timore gravioris supplicii paucis diebus cibo se abstinuit atque ita interiit.

Suicide of Drappes.

The fate of Lucterius.

3 Eodem tempore Lucterius, quem profugisse ex proelio scripsi, cum in potestatem venisset Epasnacti Arverni—crebro enim mutandis locis multorum fidei se committebat, quod nusquam diutius sine periculo commoraturus videbatur, cum sibi conscius esset quam inimicum deberet Caesarem habere—hunc Epasnactus Arvernus, amicissimus populo Romano, sine dubitatione ulla vinctum ad Caesarem deduxit.

Labienus subdues the Treveri.

45 Labienus interim in Treveris equestre proelium facit secundum compluribusque Treveris interfectis et Germanis, qui nulli adversus Romanos auxilia 2 denegabant, principes eorum vivos redigit in suam potestatem atque in his Surum Haeduum, qui et virtutis et generis summam nobilitatem habebat solusque ex Haeduis ad id tempus permanserat in armis.

Caesar receives the submission of

46 Ea re cognita Caesar, cum in omnibus partibus Galliae bene res gestas videret iudicaretque superioribus aestivis Galliam devictam subactamque esse,

44, § 1. *lenitatem.* Cicero, who had no love for Caesar, agreed with Hirtius. *In Caesare,* he wrote (*Fam.*, vi, 6, § 8), *haec sunt: mitis clemensque natura.*

the Aquitanians,

Aquitaniam numquam ipse adisset, sed per P. Crassum
quadam ex parte devicisset, cum duabus legionibus
in eam partem Galliae est profectus, ut ibi extremum
tempus consumeret aestivorum. Quam rem sicuti 2
cetera celeriter feliciterque confecit; namque omnes
Aquitaniae civitates legatos ad Caesarem miserunt
obsidesque ei dederunt. Quibus rebus gestis ipse 3
cum praesidio equitum Narbonem profectus est, exer-

distributes his legions in winter-quarters,

citum per legatos in hiberna deduxit: IIII legiones 4
in Belgio conlocavit cum M. Antonio et C. Trebonio
et P. Vatinio et . . . legatis, duas legiones in Haeduos
deduxit, quorum in omni Gallia summam esse aucto-
ritatem sciebat, duas in Turonis ad fines Carnutum
posuit, quae omnem illam regionem coniunctam
Oceano continerent, duas reliquas in Lemovicum
finibus non longe ab Arvernis, ne qua pars Galliae

and visits the Province.

vacua ab exercitu esset. Ipse paucos dies in provincia 5
moratus, cum celeriter omnes conventus percucurris-
set, publicas controversias cognosset, bene meritis
praemia tribuisset—cognoscendi enim maximam fa- 6
cultatem habebat quali quisque animo in rem publicam

46, § 4. *cum M. Antonio . . . legatis.* After *Antonio* Mommsen (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 213) supplied *quaestore*: but although Antony is called a quaestor in 2 § 1, 24 § 2, and 38 § 1, P. Groebe, in his revised edition of Drumann's *Gesch. Roms* (iii, 1906, p. 698), argues that in the autumn of 50 B. C. he may have ceased to be one; for the passage in 50, § 1 in which occur the words *M. Antonii, quaestoris sui*, perhaps refer to an earlier time. Besides, Cicero (*Fam.*, ii, 18, § 3) speaks of *quaestoriis legatis*. After *Vatinio* we find in *Sβ Tullio legato*, in *BM legatis*, and in χ *legato*. *Tullio* could only mean Quintus Tullius Cicero; but after the winter of 52–51 B. C. he left Gaul and served under his brother in Cilicia (*Att.*, v, 1, § 4; 21, § 6; *Fam.*, xv, 4, § 8). [In *C. G.*, p. 565, I was wrong in saying 'it is not absolutely certain that Quintus arrived in Cilicia before January, 50'.]

omnem . . . Oceano,—the Aremorican coast (cf. 31, § 4), which comprised the country between the Loire and the Seine (*C. G.*, pp. 370–1).

§ 5. *conventus.* See the note on i, 54, § 3.

§ 6. *quali . . . fuisset.* The reading of *a* is *quali quisque fuisset animo in* (totius, &c.); but Klotz (*C. S.*, p. 251) holds with Kübler that *in re. p.*, which in β follows *animo*, stands for *in rem publicam*. Similarly *P. R.* is a common abbreviation of *populus Romanus*.

fuisset totius Galliae defectione, quam sustinuerat fidelitate atque auxiliis provinciae illius—his confectis rebus ad legiones in Belgium se recepit hibernavitque Nemetocennae.

Commius attacks Mark Antony's convoys.

47 Ibi cognoscit Commium Atrebatem proelio cum equitatu suo contendisse. 2 Nam cum Antonius in hiberna venisset civitasque Atrebatium in officio esset, Commius, qui post illam vulnerationem quam supra commemoravi, semper ad omnes motus paratus suis civibus esse consuesset, ne consilia belli quaerentibus auctor armorum duxque deesset, parente Romanis civitate cum suis equitibus latrociniis se suosque alebat infestisque itineribus commeatus complures, qui comportabantur in hiberna Romanorum, intercipiebat.

Volusenus attempts to kill Commius.

48 Erat attributus Antonio praefectus equitum C. Volusenus Quadratus, qui cum eo hibernaret. Hunc Antonius ad persequendum equitatum hostium mittit. 2 Volusenus ad eam virtutem quae singularis erat in eo magnum odium Commii adiungebat, quo libentius id faceret quod imperabatur. Itaque dispositis insidiis saepius equites eius adgressus secunda proelia faciebat. 3 Novissime, cum vehementius contenderetur ac Volusenus ipsius intercipiendi Commii cupiditate pertinacius eum cum paucis insecutus esset, ille autem fuga vehementi Volusenum produxisset longius, inimicus homini repente suorum invocat fidem atque auxilium, ne sua vulnera per fidem imposita paterentur impunita, conversoque equo se a ceteris incautius permittit 4 in praefectum. Faciunt hoc idem omnes eius equites paucosque nostros convertunt atque insequuntur.

quam . . . illius. Cf. vii, 65, § 1.

47, § 2. *auctor.* See the note on iii, 17, § 3.

With *infestisque itineribus* must be supplied *factis.*

48, § 4. *paucosque nostros.* I infer from § 3 (*Volusenus . . . cum paucis insecutus esset*) that *paucos* is emphasized and that the words are equivalent to *nostrosque qui erant pauci.* I do not think that (Reperti sunt) *complures nostri* (i, 52, § 5) is analogous, for there *nostri* is emphasized. Certainly *paucosque nostros* does not mean the same as *paucosque de nostris* (cf. i, 15, § 2); for Volusenus's few troopers were evidently all put to flight.

convertunt,—i. e. *in fugam.*

Commius incensum calcaribus equum coniungit equo 5
Quadrati lanceaque infesta medium femur eius magnis
viribus traicit. Praefecto vulnerato non dubitant 6
nostri resistere et conversis equis hostem pellere.
Quod ubi accidit, complures hostium magno nostrorum 7
impetu perculsi vulnerantur ac partim in fuga pro-
teruntur, partim intercipiuntur; quod [ubi] malum
dux equi velocitate evitavit. Graviter vulneratus
praefectus, ut vitae periculum aditurus videretur,
refertur in castra. Commius autem sive expiato suo 8
dolore sive magna parte amissa suorum, legatos ad
Antonium mittit seque et ibi futurum ubi praescrip-
serit et ea facturum quae imperarit obsidibus datis
firmat; unum illud orat ut timori suo concedatur, 9
ne in conspectum veniat cuiusquam Romani. Cuius
postulationem Antonius cum iudicaret ab iusto nasci
timore, veniam petenti dedit, obsides accepit.

Scio Caesarem singulorum annorum singulos com- 10
mentarios confecisse; quod ego non existimavi mihi
esse faciendum, propterea quod insequens annus, 50 B.C.
L. Paulo, C. Marcello consulibus, nullas res Galliae
habet magno opere gestas. Ne quis tamen ignoraret 11
quibus in locis Caesar exercitusque eo tempore fuis-
sent, pauca esse scribenda coniungendaque huic com-
mentario statui.

Caesar conciliates the Gauls.

Caesar in Belgio cum hiemaret, unum illud propo- **49**
situm habebat, continere in amicitia civitates, nulli
spem aut causam dare armorum. Nihil enim minus 2
volebat quam sub decessum suum necessitatem sibi
aliquam imponi belli gerendi, ne, cum exercitum
deducturus esset, bellum aliquod relinqueretur, quod
omnis Gallia libenter sine praesenti periculo susciperet.
Itaque honorifice civitates appellando, principes maxi- 3
mis praemiis adficiendo, nulla onera nova iniungendo,

§ 10. *insequens annus*,—50 B. C.
magno opere evidently does not mean 'greatly', but 'on a great scale'. Livy (iii, 26, § 3) uses the words in the same sense,—*nulla magnopere clade accepta.*

defessam tot adversis proeliis Galliam condicione parendi meliore facile in pace continuit.

He visits Cisalpine Gaul,

50 Ipse hibernis peractis contra consuetudinem in Italiam quam maximis itineribus est profectus, ut municipia et colonias appellaret, quibus M. Antonii, quaestoris sui, commendaverat sacerdotii petitionem.
2 Contendebat enim gratia cum libenter pro homine sibi coniunctissimo, quem paulo ante praemiserat ad petitionem, tum acriter contra factionem et potentiam paucorum, qui Antonii repulsa Caesaris decedentis
3 gratiam convellere cupiebant. Hunc etsi augurem prius factum quam Italiam attingeret in itinere audierat, tamen non minus iustam sibi causam municipia et colonias adeundi existimavit, ut iis gratias

50, § 1. *contra consuetudinem . . . profectus.* Caesar usually went to Italy in the autumn immediately after he had distributed his legions for the winter. *Italiam* here, as generally in the *Bellum Gallicum*, means Cisalpine Gaul. I must warn the reader that it is impossible to understand fully the rest of Hirtius's book without adequate knowledge of Roman history, which mere notes cannot supply.

municipia were self-governing towns, which since 90 B.C. had enjoyed Roman citizenship; but at this time that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay north of the Po (*Gallia Transpadana*) did not possess the citizenship. See, however, the next note.

colonias. Colonies were either *coloniae Romanae*, consisting exclusively of Romans, who retained their citizenship, or *coloniae Latinae*, consisting partly of Romans, who, on becoming colonists, lost their citizenship, and partly of Latins or persons who possessed only what were called Latin rights. These colonies probably belonged to both groups; for, although there were only four *coloniae Romanae* in Cisalpine Gaul, namely, Comum, Eporedia (Ivrea), Mutina (Modena), and Parma, ex-magistrates of Latin colonies were Roman citizens, and might of course vote in elections at Rome.

Mommsen (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 131, note) holds that Caesar, by enrolling in his legions Cisalpine Gauls who dwelt north of the Po, recognized their citizenship, although his political opponents did not; and he remarks that 'this hypothesis explains why Hirtius [24, § 3] designates the Transpadane towns as "colonies of Roman citizens"'.

sacerdotii petitionem. Mark Antony was a candidate for a place in the College of Augurs.

§ 2. *paucorum* denotes the oligarchical party, of whom Pompey was the recognized leader. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 22, § 5, where Caesar says that he invaded Italy (in 49 B.C.) *ut se et populum Romanum factione p a u c o r u m oppressum in libertatem vindicaret.*

ageret quod frequentiam atque officium suum Antonio
praestitissent, simulque se et honorem suum inse- 4
quentis anni commendaret [petitione], propterea quod
insolenter adversarii sui gloriarentur L. Lentulum
et C. Marcellum consules creatos, qui omnem honorem
et dignitatem Caesaris spoliarent, ereptum Ser. Galbae
consulatum, cum is multo plus gratia suffragiisque
valuisset, quod sibi coniunctus et familiaritate et
necessitudine legationis esset.

Exceptus est Caesaris adventus ab omnibus muni- **51** and is welcomed with enthusiasm.
cipiis et coloniis incredibili honore atque amore.
Tum primum enim veniebat ab illo universae Galliae
bello. Nihil relinquebatur quod ad ornatum portarum, 2
itinerum, locorum omnium qua Caesar iturus erat
excogitari poterat. Cum liberis omnis multitudo 3
obviam procedebat, hostiae omnibus locis immolabantur, tricliniis stratis fora templaque occupabantur, ut vel expectatissimi triumphi laetitia praecipi posset. Tanta erat magnificentia apud opulentiores, cupiditas apud humiliores.

Cum omnes regiones Galliae togatae Caesar percu- **52** He returns to Transalpine Gaul and reviews his army.
currisset, summa celeritate ad exercitum Nemetocennam rediit legionibusque ex omnibus hibernis ad fines Treverorum evocatis eo profectus est ibique

§ 3. *frequentiam*,—for the purpose of voting in Antony's favour.

§ 4. *honorem . . . anni*,—his candidature for the consulship of 48 B.C. The election was to take place in 49 B.C. (*insequentis anni*).

petitione, which *BM* omit, is bracketed by Meusel.

C. Marcellum,—a cousin of the Marcellus mentioned in 48, § 10.

omnem . . . spoliarent. The construction is unusual. An example of the ordinary one will be found in 52, § 3.

Ser. Galbae. Cf. iii, 1-6.

suffragiisque, which was deleted by Gitlbauer, may be defended if we suppose that votes which would have been given to Galba had been withheld owing to bribery or intimidation.

51, § 3. *tricliniis stratis*. A *triclinium* was a set of three couches, arranged so as to form three sides of a square, on each of which three persons could recline at meals. The *triclinia* mentioned here were arranged for what was called a *lectisternium*. Images of gods were placed upon the couches; and a banquet was set before them on the table. See Livy, xxii, 10, § 9.

cupiditas,—'enthusiasm'.

2 exercitum lustravit. T. Labienum Galliae praefecit togatae, quo maior ei commendatio conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem. Ipse tantum itinerum faciebat quantum satis esse ad mutationem locorum propter

Labienus tempted to desert Caesar.

3 salubritatem existimabat. Ibi quamquam crebro audiebat Labienum ab inimicis suis sollicitari certiorque fiebat id agi paucorum consiliis, ut interposita senatus auctoritate aliqua parte exercitus spoliaretur, tamen neque de Labieno credidit quicquam neque contra senatus auctoritatem ut aliquid faceret adduci

4 potuit. Iudicabat enim liberis sententiis patrum conscriptorum causam suam facile obtineri. Nam C. Curio, tribunus plebis, cum Caesaris causam digni-

Curio champions Caesar's

52, § 1. *lustravit.* The *lustratio*, or review, of the army was a religious ceremony (*D. S.*, iii, 1428–30). Perhaps Caesar's motive for holding it in the country of the Treveri, near the Rhine, was to impress the Germans before he bade farewell to Gaul.

§ 2. *maior ei commendatio* is an emendation, proposed by Kraffert. The reading of *S* is *maior et commendatior*, which is nonsense, of the other MSS. *maiore commendatione.* The objections to this are that *conciliare* is not elsewhere used absolutely before the time of Quintilian; that it would be necessary to take *Gallia togata*, understood, as the subject of *conciliaretur* and *ad consulatus petitionem* as equivalent to *ad consulatus petitionem adiuvandam*; and that the variation between *S* and the other MSS. suggests that the text may be corrupt. But Hirtius, as we have seen, frequently uses words in a sense or construction which is not sanctioned by good writers. If we accept the emendation, we must take *ei* as equivalent to *sibi* (cf. i, 5, § 4). Caesar intended to be a candidate in the following year, 49 B. C., for the consulship. See 50, § 4.

§ 3. *Labienum . . . sollicitari.* Labienus deserted Caesar and joined the party of Pompey early in 49 B. C. Cicero in a letter to Atticus (vii, 13 a, § 1) writes, 'I call Labienus a hero . . . if his defection has had no other good effect, it has at least given Caesar pain.'

id agi . . . ut. See the first note on i, 7, § 1.

§ 4. *liberis sententiis* seems to be ablative absolute, used in a conditional sense.

obtineri. In regard to the tense see the note on ii, 32, § 3.

C. Curio had long attacked Caesar with great energy. Caesar was so much impressed by his ability that he bought his support by paying his debts, which amounted to £575,000. 'The price', says Mommsen (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 183), 'was high, but the commodity was worth the money.' Incidentally the price throws a light upon the wealth of Gaul, which was the main source of Caesar's wealth.

tatemque defendendam suscepisset, saepe erat senatui pollicitus, si quem timor armorum Caesaris laederet, [et] quoniam Pompei dominatio atque arma non minimum terrorem foro inferrent, discederet uterque ab armis exercitusque dimitteret: fore eo facto liberam et sui iuris civitatem. Neque hoc tantum pollicitus 5 est, sed etiam SC. per discessionem facere coepit; quod ne fieret consules amicique Pompei evicerunt, atque ita rem morando discusserunt.

cause in the Senate.

Magnum hoc testimonium senatus erat universi **53** conveniensque superiori facto. Nam ⟨M.⟩ Marcellus proximo anno, cum impugnaret Caesaris dignitatem, contra legem Pompei et Crassi retulerat ante tempus ad senatum de Caesaris provinciis, sententiisque dictis discessionem faciente Marcello, qui sibi omnem dignitatem ex Caesaris invidia quaerebat, senatus frequens

Intrigues of Caesar's enemies.

pollicitus here means 'offered' or 'proposed'. It is never used with a subjunctive in Caesar; but Hirtius's usage is perhaps justifiable, for the subjunctives *discederet* and *dimitteret* are what is called jussive.

minimum. Meusel adopts Kübler's emendation, *minorem*, which is certainly better; but I am not sure that Hirtius wrote it.

foro means the people congregated in the Forum,—the heart of the political, legal, and commercial life of Rome. So one might say 'the Stock Exchange', meaning 'the members of the Stock Exchange'.

§ 5. *discessionem*,—a 'division', in the sense in which the word is familiar to all who read reports of parliamentary debates. The senators in voting passed to different sides of the house, just as members of Parliament go into different lobbies.

evicerunt was proposed by Madvig instead of the unsatisfactory MS. reading, *iusserunt*.

ita goes with *rem discusserunt*, not with *morando*.

53, § 1. *M.* was supplied by Prammer. See the note on **11**, § 1.

legem Pompei et Crassi. This law, by which Caesar's term of office was prolonged till March 1, 49 B.C., is known as the *lex Pompeia Licinia*. See the next note and the second note on iii, 9, § 2.

retulerat . . . provinciis. Marcellus had brought forward this motion in 51 B.C., and as under the *lex Pompeia Licinia* Caesar was to retain his province until March 1, 49 B.C., the action of Marcellus was premature. Indeed, a letter written by Caelius to Cicero (*Fam.*, viii, 8, § 9) shows that a clause in the law forbade the Senate to discuss the appointment of Caesar's successor before March 1, 50 (*C. G.*, pp. 832–3).

2 in alia omnia transiit. Quibus non frangebantur animi inimicorum Caesaris, sed admonebantur quo maiores pararent necessitates, quibus cogi posset senatus id probare quod ipsi constituissent.

Caesar required to surrender two legions for 'the Parthian war'.

54 Fit deinde senatus consultum, ut ad bellum Parthicum legio una a Cn. Pompeio, altera a C. Caesare mitteretur; neque obscure duae legiones uni detra-
2 huntur. Nam Pompeius legionem primam, quam ad Caesarem miserat confectam ex dilectu provinciae
3 Caesaris, eam tamquam ex suo numero dedit. Caesar tamen, cum de voluntate minime dubium esset adversariorum suorum, Pompeio legionem remisit et suo nomine XV., quam in Gallia citeriore habuerat, ex senatus consulto iubet tradi. In eius locum XIII. legionem in Italiam mittit, quae praesidia tueretur,

Winter-quarters.

4 ex quibus praesidiis XV. deducebatur. Ipse exercitui distribuit hiberna: C. Trebonium cum legionibus

in alia omnia transiit. This was a technical expression (*discessit* being sometimes used, as in Cicero, *Fam.*, x, 12, § 3, instead of *transiit*) and meant 'rejected the motion'. See the first note on 52, § 5.

§ 2. *necessitates* probably means the same as *necessitudines*, which indeed is the reading of $S\beta$. It has been interpreted, wrongly in my opinion, as meaning 'methods of compulsion'.

54, § 1. *bellum Parthicum.* Three years before (53 B.C.) the Parthians had inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the triumvir, Crassus, in the battle of Carrhae; but the Senate had no intention of avenging this defeat. The *senatus consultum* was a mere pretext for requiring Caesar to surrender two legions. Cf. *B.C.*, i, 9, § 4.

§ 2. *legionem primam . . . Caesaris.* Cf. vi, 1, §§ 2–4. This, as I have shown in the note on viii, 4, § 3, was most probably the legion which, while it remained under Caesar's command, was known as the 6th.

§ 3. *suorum* would have been in order if *dubitaret* had preceded it instead of *dubium esset.* As it is, *eius* would be more regular.

suo nomine,—'on his own account': that is to say, he dispatched this legion as one which he had not borrowed, but had raised himself. The phrase is used in a similar but somewhat extended sense in vii, 75, § 5.

§ 4. *C. Trebonium . . . deducit.* This passage, combined with § 3, shows that in the summer of 50 B.C. Caesar had eleven legions, whereas in 52 B.C., as I have shown in the note on 4, § 3, he had only ten. The additional legion was the one known as *Alauda* and numbered V, which had been raised, probably in 51 B.C., in Transalpine Gaul (*C. G.*, pp. 802–3).

IIII in Belgio conlocat, C. Fabium cum totidem in
Haeduos deducit. Sic enim existimabat tutissimam 5
fore Galliam, si Belgae, quorum maxima virtus, et
Haedui, quorum auctoritas summa esset, exercitibus
continerentur. Ipse in Italiam profectus est.

Quo cum venisset, cognoscit per C. Marcellum con- **55** **The two legions detained in Italy.**
sulem legiones duas ab se missas, quae ex senatus
consulto deberent ad Parthicum bellum duci, Pompeio
traditas atque in Italia retentas esse. Hoc facto 2
quamquam nulli erat dubium quidnam contra Cae-
sarem pararetur, tamen Caesar omnia patienda esse
statuit, quoad sibi spes aliqua relinqueretur iure potius
disceptandi quam belligerandi. Contendit . . .

55, § 1. *C. Marcellum,*—**the Marcellus mentioned in 48, § 10.**

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

THE *Itinerary of Antonine* and the *Table of Peutinger* are often referred to in this Index. They were road-books, compiled under the Roman Empire, which stated the distances, reckoned in Gallic leagues, each of which was equivalent to one Roman mile and a half, from town to town. The edition of the *Itinerary* from which I shall quote is that of Wesseling; of the *Table* that of Desjardins. I shall also refer occasionally to O. Seeck's edition of the *Notitia provinciarum*.

It must be remembered that the Roman mile was shorter than the English mile. Its length, neglecting a small fraction, was 1,617 yards, so that 13 Roman miles were nearly equal to 12 English ones (*C. G.*, p. 350).

At the time when the *Itinerary of Antonine* was compiled most of the chief Gallic towns had two names,—the old Gallic name and the name of the tribe in whose territory the town was situated. In the *Itinerary* the old names were used; but it was from the others that the modern names were derived (*C. G.*, p. 407, n. 3). Thus *Paris*, the old Gallic name of which was *Lutecia*, is derived from the tribal name, *Parisii*; *Bourges* is derived from *Bituriges*, but its old name was *Avaricum*; *Amiens*, the old name of which was *Samarobriva*, is derived from *Ambiani*. The great Gallic towns having been thus identified, it becomes easy to identify many of the lesser towns mentioned in the itineraries. For instance, a town called Brivodurum is mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 367), and its distance from Cenabum was 38 Gallic leagues. Cenabum, otherwise called Aureliani, is known to have been Orléans; and the distance identifies Brivodurum with Briare.

When the reader looks at the map he will see that the boundaries of most of the tribes are traced; and if, as I hope, he is determined to test, as far as he can, the truth of what I say, he will ask himself, How does Holmes know what the boundaries were? Well, I frankly admit that, except in a very few cases, where there is direct evidence, I do not know,—precisely: but I can give satisfactory reasons for believing that the frontiers which I have traced are approximately correct; and I thought that this amount of information would be better than none. When the provinces of Gaul were organized by Augustus, sixty tribal cantons, or *civitates*, were recognized; and, generally speaking, the boundaries of these *civitates* were the same as they had been in the time of Caesar. At a later time, when Christianity was adopted as the religion of the Gauls, the boundaries of the *civitates* generally became the boundaries of the episcopal dioceses, though here and there a large *civitas* comprised more than one diocese. The reader will understand that

these general rules were subject to exceptions: indeed he will see on the map that in some places boundaries are wanting. That means that there is not enough evidence to define them. In this little book it would be out of place to discuss the exceptions; but that has been done in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul.* However, one instance will show how difficulties arise. Caesar (vii, 75, § 2) mentions the Aulerci Brannovices, who were dependants (*clientes*) of the Aedui, and of course possessed territory. This territory was afterwards included in one of the dioceses which were formed out of the territory of the Aedui; but we cannot find out how much of the diocese belonged to the Brannovices.

Agedincum, the chief town of the Senones, stood upon the site of Sens, which preserves their name, and which tourists pass on their way to Dijon (*C. G.*, pp. 353-4).

Alesia covered the plateau of Mont Auxois, on the south-western slope of which stands the village of Alise-Sainte-Reine, about 32 miles north-west of Dijon. Although seven other sites have been proposed, this identification is regarded as absolutely certain by all competent inquirers. I will state as briefly as I can the principal reasons upon which it is founded.

First, Mont Auxois is the only hill the geographical position of which agrees with what Caesar says about his own position on the day before he reached Alesia and with what he says about his distribution of the legions after the capture of Alesia (vii, 90, §§ 1-4). On the day before he reached Alesia he fought a battle with Vercingetorix (67); on the night before this battle, when he was marching 'through the furthest part of the country of the Lingones towards the country of the Sequani, that he might be in a better position for reinforcing the Province', he encamped 10 Roman miles from the encampment of Vercingetorix (66, §§ 2-3). It follows that the encampment of Vercingetorix, close to which the battle was fought, was either in 'the furthest part of the country of the Lingones' or in the country of the Sequani, less than 10 Roman miles from the Saône, which separated them from the Lingones. The beaten Gauls fled to Alesia. Caesar pursued them till nightfall and reached the outskirts of Alesia on the next day. It is therefore evident and is universally admitted that Alesia could not have been more than 35, or perhaps at the very outside 40 miles from the battle-field. South of the Saône the only conceivable site—the only site that has ever been suggested—answering to these conditions, is Alaise. North of the Saône the only conceivable site—the only site that has ever been suggested at all—is Mont Auxois. Alesia had been provisioned by Vercingetorix in advance (see the second note on vii, 68, § 1). Therefore, supposing that Alesia was Alaise, he must not only have known several weeks beforehand that Caesar intended to march through the country of the Sequani, but must have left the all-important city of Bibracte exposed to Caesar's attack. At Mont Auxois, on the other hand, he would have been in a central position, from which he could strike at Caesar, whatever route Caesar might take. Furthermore, on the south of the Saône it is impossible to discover any satisfactory site for the battle that immediately preceded the blockade of Alesia.

Again, after the fall of Alesia Caesar 'directed Labienus to march ... into the country of the Sequani'. If Alesia was Mont Auxois, this order is intelligible: if Alesia was Alaise, Labienus received orders to go from the country of the Sequani into the country of the Sequani, and we are forced to suppose that the country of the Mandubii, in which Alesia was situated, was part of the country of the Sequani! Secondly, Mont Auxois corresponds exactly with Caesar's description of Alesia: any one can see this for himself if he will study the plan which faces page 339, and better still if in his holidays he will take the train from the Gare de Lyon in Paris to the station of Les Laumes-Alesia and walk up to the top of Mont Auxois. Neither Alaise nor any other hill within two days' march from any point in the 'furthest part of the country of the Lingones' corresponds in the least with Caesar's description. Thirdly, excavations which were made fifty years ago round Mont Auxois and others which have been made on Mont Auxois within the last few years have revealed (*a*) remains of a Gallic town, (*b*) traces of two lines of earthworks which correspond with Caesar's description (69, 72–4) of the works that he constructed during the blockade, (*c*) various weapons both Roman and Gallic, as well as numerous bones of men and of horses, (*d*) five barbed spikes such as Caesar describes under the name of *stimuli* (73, § 9), (*e*) Gallic pottery, and (*f*) 619 coins, one of which bears the image and superscription of Vercingetorix. Of these coins 132 were Roman, 487 Gallic. None of the former are of a later date than 52 B.C., the year of the siege. The latter include specimens belonging to twenty-four tribes,—more than half of those that sent contingents to the army which attempted to relieve Vercingetorix (75, §§ 2–4); no less than 103 belonged to the Arverni,—the countrymen of Vercingetorix; and, like most of the bones, all the coins were found in the trenches of the camp on Mont Réa, which, assuming that Alesia was on Mont Auxois, must have been the scene of the final struggle (83, § 2). Fourthly, a Gallic inscription, in which occurs the word ALI/SIA—the Gallic form of the name which Caesar called *Alesia*—has been discovered in Alise-Sainte-Reine. Lastly, in the territory which, assuming that Alesia was on Mont Auxois, belonged to the Mandubii (68, § 1), there has been found an inscription, now preserved in the museum of Dijon, containing the name *Mandu-bilos*, a spelling which agrees with the Μανδιβούλων of Strabo, iv, 2, § 3 (*C. G.*, pp. 354–63).

Allobroges.—The Allobroges, as we learn from i, 6, § 2, were separated from the Helvetii by the Rhône; they possessed certain lands on its right bank between the Lake of Geneva and Lyons (11, § 5); their territory was conterminous with the territories of the Vocontii, the Segusiavi, and the Nantuates (6, § 3; 10, § 5; iii, 1, § 1; 6, § 5); and their chief towns were Geneva (i, 6, § 3), Vienna, or Vienne (Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, ii, 10, § 7), and Cularo, or Grenoble (Cicero, *Fam.*, x, 23, § 10). It is clear, then, that the greater part of their territory lay between the Rhône, the Isère, and the Lake of Geneva. The boundary which separated them on the southern bank of the lake from the Nantuates (iii, 1, § 1) coincided, at least approximately, with the eastern boundary of the diocese of Geneva (*C. G.*, pp. 363–5).

Ambarri.—The name *Ambarri* is probably derived from *Ambi-arari*, which means 'those who dwell on both banks of the Arar', or Saône; and any one who has carefully read Caesar's narrative (i, 10, § 5—12, § 2) will have seen that they dwelt between the Rhône and the Saône. Their neighbours on the south were the Segusiavi and the Allobroges; on the west and north the Aedui; and on the north-east and east the Sequani. Their territory, then, corresponded approximately with the department of the Ain (*C. G.*, pp. 365–6).

Ambiani.—The chief town of the Ambiani was Samarobriva (v, 24, § 1; 47, § 2; 53, § 3; *La Table de Peutinger*, p. 14, col. 2-3; p. 15, col. 3), which in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (pp. 362, 380) is called Ambiani (see p. 403); and we may infer that their territory embraced the diocese of Amiens (see p. 403), which nearly corresponds with the department of the Somme (*C. G.*, p. 366).

Ambibarii.—The Ambibarii are included in Caesar's list of the Aremorican, or maritime, tribes (vii, 75, § 4), which dwelt between the Seine and the Loire; but this is the only passage in ancient literature in which they are named. Their position is therefore uncertain; but it is generally believed that they were identical with the Abrincatui, who are mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 8), but not by Caesar, and who occupied the diocese of Avranches (*C. G.*, pp. 366–7).

Ambiliati.—*B. G.*, iii, 9, § 10 is the only passage in ancient literature in which the Ambiliati are mentioned; and for want of evidence I have not marked them on the map.

Ambivareti.—The geographical position of this tribe is unknown (*C. G.*, pp. 367–8).

Ambivariti.—This tribe is mentioned by no ancient writer except Caesar, and its whereabouts cannot be determined: we only know that it was west of the Meuse. This much is certain, because the Usipetes and Tencteri, who sent their cavalry across the Meuse (*trans Mosam*) into the country of the Ambivariti (iv, 9, § 3), were then in the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi (6, § 4), of whom the former dwelt mainly and the latter wholly on the east of the river (*C. G.*, pp. 368-70).

Anartes.—The Anartes dwelt in Dacia, on the northern bank of the Theiss.

Ancalites.—The Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Cassi do not reappear in history after the time of Caesar. They were evidently dependent tribes, and nothing is known about their geographical position except that they lived somewhere in the basin of the Thames, probably west of Essex, which belonged to the Trinovantes. Professor Haverfield suggests that the Bibroci may have been in Berkshire (*A. B.*, p. 346 and n. 4). I am inclined to believe that all three lived south of the Thames; for otherwise they would have been dependants of Cassivellaunus, whose territory (v, 18, § 1) was on the northern bank, and would probably have been prevented by fear of Cassivellaunus from surrendering.

Andes.—Their chief town was Juliomagus, or Angers (Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 8); and their territory corresponded approximately with the diocese of Angers, that is to say, the

department of the Maine-et-Loire and part of the Sarthe (*C. G.*, p. 370).

Aquileia was on the northern coast of the Adriatic, about 25 miles west by north of Tergeste (Trieste).

Arar.—The river Saône.

Aremoricae (civitates). *Aremoricus* means 'maritime'. In vii, 75, § 4 Caesar says that the Aremorican states bordered on the sea, and mentions eight of them—the Coriosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, Caleti, Osismi, Veneti, Lexovii, and Venelli—all of whom, except the Caleti, who were on the right bank of the estuary of the Seine, dwelt between the Seine and the Loire. Caesar did not count any of the maritime tribes south of the Loire as Aremorican, for in 75, § 3 he mentions the Pictones and Santoni, who possessed the seaboard between the Loire and the Garonne, separately; nor, apparently, did he include under this head any tribe east of the Caleti, for in the same chapter he mentions the Morini, who dwelt between the Canche and the Scheldt, separately. Evidently, then, according to Caesar's informants, all the Aremorican tribes, except the Caleti, were between the Loire and the Seine (*C. G.*, pp. 370–1).

Arverni.—The country of the Arverni comprised the departments of the Cantal and Puy-de-Dôme and parts of those of the Allier and Loire-Supérieure (*C. G.*, p. 371).

Atrebates.—The territory of this tribe corresponded with the diocese of Arras, that is to say, the south-eastern part of the department of the Pas-de-Calais and the adjacent part of the department of the Nord (*C. G.*, p. 371).

Atuatuca was the place where Titurius Sabinus and Aurunculeius Cotta encamped in the autumn of 54 B.C., and close to which their army was destroyed by Ambiorix, one of the two kings of the Eburones (v, 24, § 4; 26–37; vi, 32, §§ 3–4).

Atuatuca is generally identified with Tongres, 12 miles NW. by N. of Liège. The reasons are, first, that Tongres was undoubtedly the site of a Gallo-Roman fortress called Atuaca, which is mentioned in the *Table of Peutinger* (p. 12, col. 1) and which Ptolemy called 'Ατουάτουκον; secondly, that this fort was situated, as the camp of Sabinus and Cotta probably was, at the junction of great roads; thirdly, that Atuatuca was in the kingdom of Ambiorix, which formed the western part of the territory of the Eburones, and which may have been separated from the kingdom of his colleague, Catuvolcus, by the Meuse; and lastly, that nobody has succeeded in finding another site which corresponds satisfactorily with Caesar's narrative. There are, however, strong arguments against identifying Atuatuca with Tongres. When Caesar said that Atuatuca 'is nearly in the centre of the territory of the Eburones' (*fere est in mediis Eburonum finibus* [vi, 32, § 4]), he could hardly have meant what his words appear, at first sight, to convey; for neither Tongres nor any other place which could reasonably be identified with Atuatuca is near the centre of that territory: probably he meant that Atuatuca was near the common frontier of the two kingdoms of which the whole territory was composed. But it is difficult to believe that he would have used the words *in mediis Eburonum finibus* to indicate a site which lay 10 miles

west of the Meuse and yet belonged to a people 'the greater part of whose territory is between the Meuse and the Rhine' (v, 24, § 4). There are several other passages which suggest that Atuatuca was between the two rivers. Ambiorix, in his interview with Gaius Arpineius and Quintus Junius, stated that a body of Germans, who were coming to the assistance of the Gallic rebels, had crossed the Rhine, and would arrive at Atuatuca in two days (v, 27, § 8). Sabinus, in the council of war which immediately followed the interview, remarked that the Rhine was close by (*subesse Rhenum* [29, § 3]),—a phrase which, one would think, he would hardly have used if the broad flood of the Meuse had intervened between the Rhine and Atuatuca. We are told that when the Sugambri invaded the country of the Eburones they crossed the Rhine (vi, 35, § 6): but we are not told that, in order to reach Atuatuca, they crossed the Meuse. When they left Atuatuca 'they recrossed the Rhine' (*trans Rhenum sese receperunt* [41, § 1]); and this phrase would be misleading if they had first had to cross so important a river as the Meuse. Furthermore, readers who have seen Tongres will not easily believe that Caesar would have described it as a naturally strong position. Except on the south and south-east, where it is approached by a very gentle ascent, it is naturally defenceless; and it was against this side that the first attack of the Sugambri would have been directed. How, then, could Caesar have said that '*the strength of the position* as well as the entrenchments forbade any attempt to enter elsewhere' (*reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit* [37, § 5])'? It has been argued that Caesar was thinking of marshes which protected the camp; but where could they have been except between the south-east and the south-west, where they may have been formed by the river Geer? And even they would not have extended up to the supposed site of the camp.

No less than twenty-five other sites have been proposed; but I doubt whether any of them is worth mentioning except Embourg, near Liège, east of the Meuse and between the Ourthe and the Vesdre, and Limbourg, which is about 15 miles east of Liège. The latter is the less objectionable, but it does not answer satisfactorily to Caesar's description. For these reasons I have omitted Atuatuca from my map (*C. G.*, pp. 371–83).

Atuatuci.—The territory of this people was between the Nervii and the Eburones (v, 38, §§ 1–2); and the Eburones had some territory west of the Meuse—east of the Nervii and south of the Menapii—though the greater part was between the Meuse and the Rhine (24, § 4). South of the Meuse, in the district of Condroz, were the Condrusi. Accordingly the Atuatuci are placed in the valley of the Meuse, principally along its left or northern bank, between the Nervii and the Condrusi; in other words, they possessed Namur and its neighbourhood, that is to say, the district of Hesbaye, and perhaps also some little territory in the western part of Condroz. If the reader will study the passages of Caesar to which I have referred and consult the maps, he will agree with this conclusion.

But although the Atuatuci were confined within this small area after their chief town had been captured by Caesar (see

ii, 29-33), it is possible that before their treachery provoked his vengeance they may also have possessed a tract between the Meuse and the Rhine: for they had originally settled somewhere in this region (ii, 29, §§ 4-5); before Caesar subdued them they had compelled the Eburones to pay tribute (v, 27, § 2), which implies that they were then strong and had a comparatively large territory; and as Caesar forced them to abandon this claim, he may also have given some of their land to the Eburones. Moreover, when we compare names, it seems likely that Atuatuca, which in 54 B. C. belonged to the Eburones, had originally belonged to the Atuatuci (*C. G.*, pp. 384-7).

Atuatucorum oppidum.—The Atuatuci possessed the country round Namur and the district of Hesbaye; and, before Caesar attacked them, they may also have occupied some territory on the right bank of the Meuse. Besides this we have nothing to help us in looking for their chief stronghold, except Caesar's description and his account of the siege. He says that the place was 'a fortress of extraordinary natural strength', and adds that 'all round it presented a line of high rocks and steep declivities, which at one point left a gently sloping approach, not more than two hundred feet wide' (ii, 29, §§ 2-3). The fort was large enough to shelter at least 57,000 people (33, §§ 5-7), and the entrenchment with which Caesar surrounded it was traced along ground comparatively high but of varying elevation (33, § 2), and measured, according to the MSS., 15 Roman miles; but there is no doubt that the number was grossly exaggerated by a copyist (see the second note on 30, § 2). A great many sites have been suggested; but nearly all may be ignored, for either they do not correspond with Caesar's description, or they are in territory which did not belong to the Atuatuci. Good judges are now agreed that the choice lies between the hill on which stands the citadel of Namur and Mont Falhize, which is opposite Huy and about midway between Namur and Liège. This hill is within an easy walk from the railway station of Huy, which may be reached by express train in 30 minutes from Namur.

Both these sites are open to objection, and it is hard to decide; but after carefully exploring them I am inclined to prefer Mont Falhize. The chief objection to Namur is that it appears much too small. Its area is only about 27 acres, which would have allowed little more than two square yards for each individual, to say nothing of the numerous cattle (33, § 2) which they had with them! It has, indeed, been argued that additional room might have been gained if some of the garrison had encamped on the flanks of the hill; but even so it would hardly have been possible to find a greater space than 52 acres, or 40 square feet for each man. If the hill had been covered by houses several stories high, the Atuatuci might have had room; but can we believe that they were packed for days, like the crowd at the Boat-race, along with their cattle, nearly four times as tightly as the garrison of Alesia? Moreover, the only slope which can be said to answer at all to Caesar's description can hardly be called 'a gently sloping approach' (*leniter acclivis aditus*): Caesar's entrenchment would necessarily have been carried up

the steep and rocky flanks of the hill and over ground considerably higher than that on which the fort is supposed to have stood; and since the hill of Namur is only one of a chain of continuous heights, it is hard to see why the Atuatuci should have restricted the fort within absurdly narrow limits. Again, supposing that the fort was on the hill of Namur, in what direction could the garrison have made the sortie which Caesar describes in 33, § 2? Not down the gentle slope, which would have been occupied by the Roman *agger*, or siege terrace. As far as I can see, they must either have headed north-westward along the low ground parallel with the Sambre, or southward along the eastern flank of the hill or the narrow strip of ground parallel with the Meuse. But in either case, if they had succeeded in storming the contravallation (33, §§ 3–4), would they not have been trapped between river and hill?

Mont Falhize was an ideal site for a Gallic stronghold; but no Gallic antiquities have been found on it, and although it is approached on the eastern side by a *col*, or saddle, about 200 feet wide, this approach does not, so far as I could see, slope upward towards the hill. Possibly the slope may have been obliterated by the earth and rubble of which Caesar's terrace would have been largely composed. Von Göler, indeed, insists that there is a slope, which rises 20 feet: but I believe my eyes; and I affirm that, if it exists at all, it is quite insignificant.

The reader may perhaps have noticed that there is one objection common to Namur and to Mont Falhize. The former is between the Meuse and the Sambre, and the latter is washed on its southern side by the Meuse; but Caesar does not mention any river. Yet, if there was one, he might have been expected to say so, for it would have served as a natural contravallation and thus have enabled him to make his entrenchment much smaller than it would otherwise have been (*C. G.*, pp. 387–93).

Aulerci Brannovices.—The territory of the Brannovices, who were dependants of the Aedui, is perhaps represented by the canton of Brionnais, on the eastern bank of the upper Loire; but we have no clue except the name (*C. G.*, p. 393).

Aulerci Cenomani.—The territory of the Cenomani corresponded roughly with the department of the Sarthe (*C. G.*, p. 393).

Aulerci Eburovices.—The Eburovices occupied the diocese of Évreux, which preserves their name, and which embraces the central and the southern part of the department of the Eure (*C. G.*, pp. 393–4).

Ausci.—This tribe possessed the southern part of the diocese of Auch, that is to say, the central and the southern part of the department of the Gers (*C. G.*, p. 394).

Avaricum stood upon the site of Bourges.

Bacenis (silva).—This forest probably extended southward from the mountains of Thuringia.

Belgium is mentioned in the *Fifth Commentary* three times (12, § 2; 24, § 2; 25, § 4), or, according to the *a* MSS., which in the second passage have *Belgis* instead of *Belgio*, twice. In chapter 12, which is perhaps spurious, *Belgio* apparently means the country of the Belgae; for if it meant only a part of that country, how could the reader tell what part was meant? Again in 25, § 4 *Belgio* seems to mean the country of the


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Belgae. But 24, § 2 presents a difficulty. The reading *Belgis* would seem to have no point; for besides the three legions which Caesar stationed *in Belgis* (or *in Belgio*) all the others, except one, were also quartered in the country of the Belgae. On the other hand, supposing that *Belgio* is the true reading, it is obvious that, unless Caesar was very careless, *Belgium* can only mean a part of the whole territory of the Belgae. If so, what part? We learn from 46, § 1 that one of the three legions which were quartered in Belgium was in the country of the Bellovaci, and from Hirtius (viii, 46, § 6) that within the limits of Belgium was Nemetocenna, the chief town of the Atrebates: it is clear, then, that Belgium must also have comprised the country of the Ambiani, which was between the other two. The right reading is probably *Belgio*; for it seems more likely that the word *Belgium* was used in a restricted as well as in a general sense than that Caesar used the word *Belgae*, the meaning of which he had himself defined at the outset of his work, in a way which would have been certain to mislead.

Bellovaci.—The Bellovaci possessed the diocese of Beauvais, which preserves their name (*C. G.*, pp. 397–8).

Bibracte was identical, not, as was formerly believed, with Augustodunum—the Gallo-Roman town which stood upon the site of Autun—but with a great manufacturing town on Mont Beuvray, 12 miles west of Autun, whose defences, houses, and workshops have been revealed by excavation (see p. lii). It was abandoned early in the era of the Roman Empire, and succeeded by Augustodunum, which, as the late Professor Freeman said (*Hist. Essays*, 4th ser., pp. 103–5), 'was a new city on a new site, deliberately laid out from the beginning on a great scale' (*C. G.*, p. 398).

Bibrax was 8 Roman miles from the camp which Caesar made in 57 B. C. immediately after crossing the Aisne, and was situated on or near the road by which the Belgae advanced against him (ii, 6, § 1). Only two of the many places with which it has been identified, namely Beaurieux and Vieux-Laon, answer sufficiently to his description to call for discussion; and as we cannot tell with absolute certainty what was the road by which the Belgae advanced (see the first note on 5, § 4), we cannot positively decide between them. Beaurieux is about 8 Roman miles west of the hill of Mauchamp, on which, if Caesar crossed the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac, he encamped; but, as I have shown in the note on 8, §§ 3–5, it is very doubtful whether he did cross there. Another objection is that Beaurieux, which is about two miles north of the Aisne, could have been entirely surrounded by the Belgae, and therefore the force which Caesar sent to the relief of the garrison could not have got into the fort (7, §§ 1–2) unless the Belgae were extremely careless.

Vieux-Laon is at the required distance both from the hill of Mauchamp and from the plateau of Pontavert, on which Caesar must have encamped if he did not cross the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac. The hill which is now occupied by the town of Laon was once called Bibrax, and a little south of the plateau of Vieux-Laon is a village which was once called Bébrieux. It has been suggested that the inhabitants of Vieux-Laon abandoned it in

the fifth century and migrated to Laon; that emigrants from Laon in their turn built a town upon the site of Bébrieux and named it after Bibrax, which their forefathers had inhabited; and that the name *Bibrax* was given to Laon because the inhabitants of the old Bibrax had migrated to it. Napoleon III observes, further, that Vieux-Laon, on its southern side, was unassailable by the Gallic method of assault (6, §§ 2–3); and he argues that the Belgae, with the carelessness of a half-barbarous people, would have neglected to invest it on that side (*C. G.*, pp. 398–400).

Bibroci. See ANCALITES.

Bigerriones.—This people, whose name is preserved in Bigorre, inhabited the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées (*C. G.*, p. 400).

Bituriges.—The Bituriges occupied the diocese of Bourges (Avaricum), which preserves their name, and which included the departments of the Cher and Indre and the north-western part of the department of the Allier (*C. G.*, p. 400).

Boi. See GORGOBINA.

Brannovices. See AULERCI BRANNOVICES.

Bratuspantium cannot be identified with certainty. We only know that it was on or near the road by which Caesar marched from Noviodunum, which was almost certainly on the hill of Pommiers, about 2½ miles north-west of Soissons, into the country of the Ambiani, whose chief town was Samarobriva (Amiens); and that it was not the same as Caesaromagus (Beauvais), the Gallo-Roman capital of the Bellovaci, which was built on virgin soil. It would be useless to mention here all the sites that have been proposed. There is something to be said for Breteuil, which is on a strong position near the Roman road from Soissons to Amiens, and close to which, in the valley of Vandeuil, a few Gallic and numerous Gallo-Roman antiquities have been found; but a French antiquary, Dr. V. Leblond, who has explored every yard of the country that belonged to the Bellovaci, prefers Mont-César, between 6 and 7 miles ESE. of Beauvais. The hill is perfectly suitable for a stronghold: but it is about 251 feet above the plain; and this seems hardly consistent with Caesar's statement that when he was encamping on the outskirts of Bratuspantium 'the women and children stretched out their hands from the wall . . . and begged the Romans for peace' (ii, 13, § 3). I have marked Bratuspantium on the map on the site of Breteuil, but with a note of interrogation (*C. G.*, pp. 400–2).

Cadurci.—The territory of the Cadurci corresponded with the diocese of Cahors, which preserves their name, in other words with the department of the Lot. In the last passage (vii, 75, § 2) in which Caesar mentions them we find the words *Eleutetis Cadurcis* or, according to the group of MSS. known as φ, *Heleutetis et Cadurcis*. It has been supposed that *Eleuteti*, like *Aulerci*, was a name common to several tribes; but if so, why was it not applied by any ancient writer to any other tribe besides the Cadurci? It has also been suggested that *Eleutetos* was the Celtic equivalent of the Greek ἐλεύθερος, 'free', and accordingly that the Eleuteti Cadurci were independent, while the rest of the Cadurci were already under Roman rule. But if so, the

country of the latter was part of the Roman Province; and when Caesar was emphasizing the danger that was likely to threaten the Province if the Helvetii were allowed to settle in the country of the Santoni (i, 10, §§ 1-2), he would have said that the country of the Santoni was not far from the country of the Cadurci instead of saying that it was not far from the country of the Tolosates. Some editors suppose that Caesar wrote not *Eleutetis* but *Helviis*; but the Helvii fought against Vercingetorix (vii, 65, § 2), whereas *Eleutetis* occurs in the list of tribes which sent troops to help him. I doubt whether Caesar wrote *Eleutetis*; but if he did, the Eleuteti were distinct from the Cadurci (*C. G.*, pp. 402-3).

Caerosi.—This tribe is believed to have occupied a tract called in the eighth century *pagus Caros* or *Carascus*, north of Trèves and on the banks of the Prum (*C. G.*, p. 403).

Caleti.—The territory of this people included the Pays de Caux (*pagus Caletus*), or the western and the central portion of the department of the Seine (*C. G.*, p. 404).

Cantabri.—The Cantabri inhabited the northern part of Spain between the Basque Provinces and the neighbourhood of Oviedo.

Cantium corresponded approximately with Kent.

Carcaso stood upon the site of the modern Carcassonne.

Carnutes.—The territory of the Carnutes comprised the dioceses of Chartres, Orléans, and Blois, or the greater part of the departments of the Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, and Loire-et-Cher (*C. G.*, p. 404).

Cassi.—See ANCALITES.

Caturiges.—The Caturiges were an Alpine tribe; and Caesar says that they, as well as the Ceutrones and the Graioceli, occupied the heights when he was crossing the Alps in 58 B. C. on his way from the Cisalpine to the Transalpine province (i, 10, § 4). The route which he followed led over Mont Genèvre, thence to Brigantio (Briançon), and thence, most probably, past Ebrodunum (Embrun), Caturigae or Caturigomagus (Chorges), and Vapincum (Gap) to Dea (Die) in the country of the Vocontii (see the note on 10, §§ 3-5). He does not mention any of the towns of the Caturiges. Ebrodunum, the only one which is mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, iii, 1, § 35), was, according to Strabo (iv, 1, § 3), on their western frontier; but the itineraries mention another, Caturigomagus, and, if it belonged to them in Caesar's time, their western frontier was almost certainly west of Ebrodunum. If the reader will compare Caesar's account of his march with the map, he will see that they must also have possessed Brigantio, though Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, iii, 1, § 36) assigns it to the Segusiani; unless, indeed, the latter, whom Caesar does not notice, were dependants (see p. 404) of the Caturiges. Thus the territory of the Caturiges corresponded with the southern part of the department of the Hautes-Alpes (*C. G.*, pp. 404-5).

Cavillonum was on the site of Chalon-sur-Saône.

Cenabum.—Most scholars are by this time convinced that Cenabum stood upon the site of Orléans, although a few still cling to the theory, which formerly had many defenders, that it ought rather to be identified with Gien, about 35 miles

higher up the Loire.[1] Everybody now admits that Orléans grew out of a Gallo-Roman town called Cenabum, for the fact is proved by the itineraries, by the testimony of Ptolemy and various mediaeval writers, by the discovery of numerous coins, and by an inscription which was unearthed in 1846 in the Faubourg St. Vincent at Orléans; but it has been maintained that this town was different from the Cenabum mentioned by Caesar.

The principal arguments that have been brought against the orthodox view are that Caesar, marching from Agedincum (Sens) to relieve Gorgobina (vii, 9, § 6; 10, § 4), which was probably between the Allier and the Loire, would not have gone so far out of his way as Orléans; that the distance from Orléans to Gergovia is considerably more than 160 Roman miles, which, according to Caesar (3, § 3), was the distance from Cenabum to the country of the Arverni; that Orléans is not on a hill, whereas Gallic strongholds generally were; and that Caesar would not have been able to march from Sens to Orléans in four days,—the time which he says that it took him to march from Agedincum to Cenabum (11, §§ 1-5). All these objections can be easily answered. First, there is no reason why Caesar, even though his ultimate object was to relieve Gorgobina, should not have gone out of his way to capture a town so important as Cenabum; for it was desirable to punish, first of all, the Carnutes, who had been the first to rebel, and who, by the massacre of Roman citizens, had outraged the majesty of Rome (2; 3, § 1; 17, § 7; 28, § 4). Besides, how can we tell that, east of Orléans, any bridge spanned the Loire in that part of its course which crossed Caesar's line of march, or that, if there were bridges, Vercingetorix had not destroyed them (see 34, § 3)? Secondly, one cannot be sure that Caesar's estimate of the distance from Cenabum to the country of the Arverni was exactly right, or that when he said 'the country of the Arverni' (3, § 3) he meant Gergovia. Thirdly, some of the Gallic strongholds—for instance, Avaricum and Lutecia—were not built upon hills, and we may gather both from Caesar's narrative (3, § 1; 11, §§ 4-9) and from Strabo (iv, 2, § 3) that Cenabum was rather a trading town than a stronghold. If it had been really strong, is it likely that the Carnutes would have run away without making the slightest attempt to stand a siege? Lastly, the distance from Sens to Orléans by the longest road was not more than 81 miles; and Caesar gives us to understand (11, § 3) that he was making haste. The distance by the shortest road was only about 67 miles.

The arguments for identifying Cenabum with Gien are hardly worth mentioning: they really amount to this, that if

[1] Many of the antiquaries who refused to identify Cenabum with Orléans maintained that it stood on high ground at Gien-le-Vieux, which is about a mile and a quarter north-west of Gien. But, as the words *oppidum Cenabum pons fluminis Ligeris contingebat* (vii, 11, § 6) prove, the town was in actual contact with the bridge. The antiquaries were therefore compelled to assume that it extended from Gien-le-Vieux right down to the banks of the river. This imaginary Cenabum would have been far larger than any other Gallic town.

it was not Orléans it must have been Gien. There is no evidence that at Gien there was either a bridge or a Gallic town. As, however, Colonel Stoffel (see p. xxxv) was an advocate of Gien, we must not ignore his reasons. He identified Vellaunodunum, from which Caesar marched in two days to Cenabum (11, §§ 1–5), with Toucy, which is 37 miles east of Gien; and he insisted that this was just the distance which Caesar would have covered in two marches. But there is no evidence whatever that Vellaunodunum was at Toucy.

On the other hand, there is conclusive evidence that Cenabum was not at Gien. First, after the conquest of Gaul Gien was not in the territory of the Carnutes, but in that of the Senones; and there is no reason to suppose that since Caesar's time it had changed hands. Secondly, it was not called Cenabum in the Middle Ages, but Giemus. Thirdly, in 51 B.C. Caesar left two legions at Cenabum to overawe the Carnutes (viii, 6, § 1). If Cenabum was at Gien, even assuming that Gien was in the country of the Carnutes, the legions were posted on the eastern limit of the Carnutian territory. From such a position how would they have been able to keep the Carnutes in check?

The conclusion, that Cenabum and Orléans were one, is as certain as that Lutecia stood upon the island of Notre-Dame and Alesia upon Mont Auxois (*C. G.*, pp. 405–15).

Cenimagni.—This tribe may perhaps have been identical with the Eceni or Iceni, who dwelt in Suffolk and Norfolk (*A. B.*, p. 347).

Cenomani.—See AULERCI CENOMANI.

Ceutrones (*a*).—The Alpine Ceutrones (i, 10, § 4) occupied the valley of the Tarentaise and the adjoining mountains. Their frontier has been determined by an inscription which was discovered at Forclaz, between Chamonix and Sallanches (*C. G.*, pp. 364, 415).

Ceutrones (*b*).—See NERVII.

Cocosates.—Coequosa, between Dax and Bordeaux, which is mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 456), was doubtless the chief town of the Cocosates. Their territory was therefore in the western part of the department of Les Landes, between Castetz and Mimizan (*C. G.*, p. 415).

Condrusi.—The Condrusi were conterminous with the Eburones (iv, 6, § 4), 'the greater part of whose territory', says Caesar (v, 24, § 4), 'is between the Meuse and the Rhine'; and they were between the Eburones and the Treveri (vi, 32, § 1). Accordingly they are generally believed to have inhabited Condroz, which extends along the right bank of the Meuse, between Liège and Dinant, and which in the ninth century was called *Condrustum* (*C. G.*, p. 403).

Coriosolites.—This people inhabited the country round Corseul in the department of the Côtes-du-Nord. Their frontiers cannot be certainly defined, because the geography of this part of Gaul is obscure. The number of dioceses in the Aremorican peninsula (Brittany) greatly exceeds the number of states: all of them, except those of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes, were created after the Gallo-Roman period by invaders from Britain; and when those invaders formed their dioceses they took no account of the existing political divisions. On

the south, however, the territory of the Coriosolites was probably separated from that of the Veneti by the natural barrier of the Montagnes Noires; and westward it may have extended as far as Feins, which is supposed to represent a town called Fines, mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 387). Thus the territory of the Coriosolites corresponded more or less closely with the Côtes-du-Nord (*C. G.*, pp. 415–18).

Daci.—The Dacians possessed Hungary, east of the river Theiss, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, west of the Pruth, &c.

Decetia is represented by the modern Décize, which is on the Loire, about 20 miles south-east of Nevers.

Diablintes.—Caesar does not help us to determine the territory of this tribe; but Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 7) says that their chief town was Noeodunum, which in the *Table of Peutinger* (p. 23, col. 1) appears as Nu-Dionnum, on the road between Le Mans and Bayeux. Accordingly it is believed that they occupied the neighbourhood of Jublains, which preserves their name, and on the site of which the remains of a Gallo-Roman town have been discovered. Moreover, a document of the eighth century mentions *condita Diablintica* (a district or canton of the Diablintes) as situated *in pago Cenomannico*. The conclusion is that the Diablintes possessed the northern part of the diocese of Le Mans, the rest of which belonged to the Aulerci Cenomani (*C. G.*, pp. 418–22).

Dubis was the Gallic name of the river Doubs.

Durocortorum, the chief town of the Remi, was on the site of Reims.

Eburones.—The greater part of their country was between the Rhine and the Meuse (v, 24, § 4); so we may infer that the remaining part was west of the Meuse. Their neighbours on the south were the Treveri, the Segni, and the Condrusi (vi, 32, § 1); on the north the Menapii (33, §§ 1-2); and on the south-west the Atuatuci (v, 38, § 1). Their territory may also have been conterminous on the west with that of the Nervii. But it is impossible to define the frontiers of any of these peoples, except perhaps the Nervii; and therefore it is impossible to define the frontier of the Eburones. We only know that it extended westward of Bonn and Cologne and included parts of the provinces of Limbourg and Liège (*C. G.*, p. 387). See TREVERI.

Eburovices. See AULERCI EBUROVICES.

Elaver was the Gallic name of the river Allier.

Eleuteti. See CADURCI.

Elusates. The name of this people survives in that of Eauze, the country round which they possessed (*C. G.*, p. 422).

Esuvii.—The Esuvii were one of the tribes from whom Crassus requisitioned corn (iii, 7, § 4) when he was sent to receive the submission of the states of Normandy and Brittany. Their position has been determined with reasonable probability in this way. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iv, 18, § 107) mentions the Baiocasses, or, as he calls them, Bodiocasses, whose chief town was Augustodurus (Bayeux), and the Viducasses, whose chief town was Aregenua or Araegenue (Vieux, near Caen). The *Notitia provinciarum* (p. 263 [ii, 6]) mentions a people called the Saii, whose territory corresponded with the diocese of Séez. None

of these three tribes figures in the *Commentaries*. As Caesar (ii, 34) notices the Esuvii side by side with the Aulerci (Cenomani and Eburovices), who possessed the dioceses of Le Mans and Évreux, it is generally believed that they inhabited the diocese of Séez, which is adjacent to those two dioceses. If this opinion is right, the Esuvii and the Saii were the same, and the Esuvii were not a maritime people, though Caesar (ii, 34) says that they were. It seems more probable that they also possessed the territories of the Baiocasses and the Viducasses, and that, just as the Helvetii were divided into four *pagi*, or clans (i, 12, § 4), so the Baiocasses, the Viducasses, and the Saii were *pagi* of the Esuvii (*C. G.*, pp. 422–4).

Gabali.—The Gabali, who were dependants of the Arverni (vii, 75, § 2), inhabited the Gévaudan, in the department of the Lozère (*C. G.*, p. 371).

Garumna was the native name of the Garonne.

Garumni.— The Garumni probably dwelt in the upper valley of the Garonne (*C. G.*, p. 425).

Gates.—I cannot find any satisfactory evidence for locating this Aquitanian tribe (*C. G.*, p. 425).

Geidumni. See Nervii.

Genava was, I need hardly say, the Gallic name of Geneva.

Gergovia was long ago identified with a mountain which rises fully 1,200 feet above the plain, about 4 miles south of Clermont-Ferrand. It is the only mountain in Auvergne—the country of the Arverni—which corresponds with Caesar's narrative (vii, 35; 36, §§ 1-2, 5; 44-6).

Gorgobina was the stronghold, or the chief stronghold, of the Boi (vii, 9, § 6). Caesar says (i, 28, § 5) that after he had defeated the Helvetii he allowed the Boi, at the request of the Aedui, to settle in Aeduan territory; and he adds that the Aedui made this request because they knew that the Boi were brave. One might be inclined to infer that the Boi were established in the western part of the Aeduan territory, where they would serve as an outpost against those old rivals of the Aedui, the Arverni. Indeed, unless their settlement was in that neighbourhood, Caesar's account (vii, 11, § 9; 12-13) of his march from Cenabum (Orléans) to Noviodunum and thence to Avaricum (Bourges), taken in conjunction with his statement that Vercingetorix, marching from the country of the Arverni to Gorgobina, passed through the country of the Bituriges (9, § 6), cannot be explained. Besides, while Caesar was besieging Avaricum he expected a supply of corn from the Boi (17, § 2); and he would hardly have done so unless they had been near enough to forward the supply,—that is, somewhere in the western part of the Aeduan territory. M. Jullian, however, thinks that they were intended to serve as an outpost, not against the Arverni but against the Bituriges, and accordingly he believes that, besides the country between the Allier and the Loire, they also possessed a strip of land between the Aedui and the Bituriges, south of that part of the Loire which separated those two tribes (5, § 4), that is, south of the confluence of the Allier and the Loire (see Haedui). I cannot see what reason the Aedui had for establishing an outpost against the Bituriges, who were in a state of friendly dependence upon them (5, § 2).

To identify Gorgobina is at present impossible. Numerous guesses have been made; but most of them may be ignored, for the proposed sites are either outside the Aeduan frontier or otherwise irreconcilable with Caesar's narrative. Three only are worth considering:—(1) St. Parize-le-Châtel, between the Allier and the Loire, stands upon ground which is better adapted for a Gallic stronghold than any other in this district. (2) Sancerre, on the left bank of the Loire, about 30 miles north by west of Nevers, is also a very strong position. Its earliest known name was *Castrum Gordonicum*, and if Caesar wrote *Gortona*, which is found in the β MSS., it is more than likely that the stronghold of the Boi was Sancerre. But Sancerre is in the ancient diocese of Bourges, and therefore most probably belonged to the Bituriges. (3) La Guerche-sur-l'Aubois, about 11 miles west by south of Nevers, has the support of von Göler and of M. Jullian, who supposes that the site of the stronghold was the rising ground on which the church now stands. I do not agree with them, because, as I have already argued, it is unlikely that the Boi had any territory except in the peninsula formed by the Allier and the Loire. I have, therefore, marked Gorgobina on the map on the site of St. Parize-le-Châtel, but with a note of interrogation (*C. G.*, pp. 425–30).

Graioceli.—This tribe, as the name shows, inhabited the Graian Alps. Where was their town, Ocelum? Caesar (i, 10, § 5) passed through it when he was returning from Italy to Transalpine Gaul, to deal with the Helvetii. He says that it was the last, that is to say, the westernmost town in Cisalpine Gaul, and that he marched thence into the country of the Vocontii (q.v.) in 7 days. He crossed the Alps by way of Mont Genèvre (see the note on 10, §§ 3–5), and in order to reach the pass he must have moved along the river Dora Riparia. According to Strabo (iv, 1, § 3), Ocelum was 99 Roman miles from Epeprodunum (Embrun); and, within a mile or two, this is the distance from Embrun, along the Roman road which ran past Brigantio (Briançon) and over Mont Genèvre to Avigliana. Four vases, on each of which an itinerary is inscribed, have been discovered at Bagni di Vicarello: three of them place Ocelum at 20 Roman miles from Turin, and two of them at the same distance from Susa. These figures nearly correspond with the actual distances of Avigliana and of Drubiaglio from Turin and from Susa respectively, Drubiaglio being on the northern, and Avigliana opposite it on the southern bank of the Dora Riparia. According to the fourth vase, there was a station called *Ad Fines*, 23 Roman miles from Turin; but the *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 341) gives 18 Roman miles as the distance, and in another passage (pp. 356–7) 16. An inscription, containing the words FINIB(*us*) COTTI—'on the frontier of Cottius'—has been found at Drubiaglio; and Strabo (iv, 1, § 3) says that Ocelum was the boundary of Cottius's kingdom. The inscription proves that at a town which stood upon the site of Avigliana was collected the duty of 2½ per cent. (*quadragesima* or one-fortieth) which was levied upon merchandise; and on the fourth vase Ad Fines is called *Ad Fines* $\overline{XXXX}$, which means *Ad Fines quadragesimae*. Accordingly Desjardins identified Ad Fines with Avigliana and Ocelum with Drubiaglio. If he was right,

there were two Roman roads in the valley of the Dora Riparia, one on the left bank and the other on the right. He asserts that there were, and that mile-stones found between Turin and Susa prove it. I can find no evidence for his assertion; and Mommsen (*C. I. L.*, v, pars ii, pp. 811–12) denies it. Mommsen points out, further, that, according to the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (ed. M. Parthey and G. Pinder, p. 250, 1–3), Ad Fines and Ocelum were on the same road, the former being nearer to Turin. He concludes that these two towns were very close to one another; and this much at all events is certain (*C. G.*, pp. 430–2).

Grudii. See NERVII.

Haedui.—This tribe was so called by Caesar; but as the form *Aedui* is more familiar, we may use it except when we are quoting from Caesar's book. The territory of the Aedui comprised the dioceses of Autun (Augustodunum), Chalon-sur-Saône (Cavillonum), Mâcon (Matisco), and Nevers (Noviodunum). This territory corresponded with the departments of the Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre and parts of the Côte-d'Or and the Allier. A mile-stone erected in A.D. 259 at the distance of 72 Roman miles from Augustodunum on the road to Autessiodurum (Auxerre) stood, as we learn from the inscription which it bears, *Aeduorum finibus*, and was also in the territory that belonged to the *civitas Autessiodurum*. Therefore, if Desjardins is right in saying that *Aeduorum finibus* means 'in the country of the Aedui', in A.D. 259, if not in the time of Caesar, the Aedui also possessed the Auxerrois. Desjardins argues that unless *finibus* means 'territory', the diocesan boundary does not represent the boundary between the imperial *civitates*, Autessiodurum and Augustodunum; but Mommsen (*C. I. L.*, xiii, pars 2, fasc. 2, p. 682) is probably right in holding that *finibus* is here equivalent to *confinio* (*C. G.*, pp. 351–3, 473 [here modified]).

Helvii.—This tribe (vii, 7, § 5) possessed the Vivarais, which forms the southern part of the department of the Ardèche (*C. G.*, p. 432).

Illyricum extended east of the Adriatic, as far southward as Epirus and Macedonia and eastward as far as Moesia.

(Portus) Itius.—Between Dieppe and Ghent there is not a harbour, a roadstead, or a fishing-port which has not been at one time or another during the last four centuries identified with Portus Itius. But the reader will be quite safe in ignoring almost all of them. Caesar had ascertained before he embarked for Britain in 54 B.C. that Portus Itius was the most convenient starting-point for his fleet, which numbered over 800 small craft (v, 2, § 3; 8, § 6): he sailed from it to the eastern coast of Kent, certainly north of Walmer and almost certainly between Sandown Castle and Sandwich (see the note on iv, 23, § 6); and he reckoned the length of the passage at about 30 Roman miles (v, 2, § 3). It has been said that any such calculation, made before the time of scientific map-making, was worthless; but in the twelfth century an Arab geographer estimated the distance between Wissant and England correctly, and early in the seventeenth century Kentish seamen told the German geographer, Cluver, that the run from Dover to Boulogne was 32 English miles,—an estimate which erred by less than a mile (*A. B.*,

p. 562, n. 3). Anyhow Caesar's account of his voyage (v, 8, §§ 2-4) proves that his statement was not far wrong. It is clear, then, that we need not look for Portus Itius south of Boulogne or east of Calais. Calais is out of the question: it was not a port at all in Caesar's time, indeed it was not even mentioned before the twelfth century, and to sail from it to any place in England with a south-west wind (8, § 2) would have been impossible. Ambleteuse and Sangatte may also be rejected: the former was a tiny port, in which Caesar's huge fleet could not have found room; the latter had no recommendation at all. Only two places remain,—Boulogne and Wissant, which is between Cape Blanc-Nez and Cape Gris-Nez. It is now generally believed that Portus Itius was Boulogne. But without excavating for traces of Caesar's camps it is not possible to do more than show that this opinion is highly probable.

It is certain that the harbour from which Caesar sailed in 55 B. C. was Boulogne. This has been proved in *Ancient Britain* (pp. 558, 581-2, 588), and the argument is summarized in the note on iv, 22, § 4. It is there shown by the unanimous testimony of nautical experts that if Caesar had sailed from any other port, his cavalry transports which, after they were caught by a storm, returned to the port from which they had started (iv, 28), could not have done so. But Caesar does not say that the port from which he started in 55 B. C. was Portus Itius: indeed he does not mention Portus Itius in the *Fourth Commentary*, and the former of the two passages in which he mentions it in the *Fifth* (2, § 3) might suggest that in 54 B. C. he used it for the first time. For he tells us that he 'ordered all the ships to assemble at the Itian harbour, from which he had ascertained that the passage to Britain was most convenient'. Certainly these words do not prove that he had not sailed from the Itian harbour in 55; but they might suggest that he had since found that it would be better to use a new harbour, as his fleet was now eight times as numerous as it had been in the previous year. Now there is not the slightest doubt that even in 54 Boulogne was in most respects by far the most convenient port for his purpose. It was then considerably larger and deeper than when Napoleon I chose it as the principal port for his intended invasion of England, and it could have sheltered the whole of Caesar's fleet. It was connected by roads with the interior, and therefore the supplies which he needed for his army could easily have been transported to it. The country near it is fertile, whereas the country near Wissant is barren. Ships could have been built at Boulogne, but not at Wissant, where there could have been no dockyards: therefore if Portus Itius was Wissant, Labienus, who was left by Caesar in charge of 'the ports' (8, § 1), must have ordered the sixty ships which were built while Caesar was in Britain (23, § 4) to be built at Boulogne. Lastly, Caesar could have sailed to Britain with a south-west wind more conveniently from Boulogne than from Wissant. But Boulogne may have been open to one serious objection: I say 'may have been', because we do not know enough about the ancient harbour of Boulogne to be sure that the objection existed. When Napoleon was preparing to invade England the admiral

in charge of the flotilla at Boulogne found it impossible, in the most favourable circumstances, to get more than 100 vessels out of the harbour in one tide; and therefore it was necessary for each successive relay of ships to anchor outside in the roadstead until the whole flotilla had cleared the harbour. But experience proved that it was dangerous to keep more ships in the roadstead than would be able, in case an unfavourable wind arose, to return for shelter into the harbour; for south-westerly winds, which were favourable for the voyage, generally made the roadstead unsafe. Now Caesar says (8, § 2) that he 'set sail towards sunset' (*ad solis occasum naves solvit*); and these words appear to mean that his fleet *began* to move out of the harbour towards sunset. If so, assuming that Portus Itius was Boulogne, the whole business of clearing the harbour must have been completed within an hour and a half, or the fleet would have been strung out over a space of at least 7 nautical miles. Perhaps, if the harbour was sufficiently large and deep, such a feat would have been just practicable; but, as there were more than 800 ships, the crews could not have accomplished it unless they were very smart and perfectly organized. It is, indeed, possible to interpret Caesar's words in the sense that the leading ships had begun to move out some hours before sunset and anchored in the roadstead until the whole fleet had cleared the harbour; but Caesar, like Napoleon, may perhaps have feared that freshening winds would make the anchorage unsafe. On the other hand, from Wissant, or rather from the beach between Cape Gris-Nez and Cape Blanc-Nez, the shallow flat-bottomed vessels, which had been specially constructed 'to enable them to be . . . hauled up on shore' (1, § 2), could have started simultaneously; and Caesar may perhaps have thought that this advantage would outweigh all the disadvantages of Wissant.

The upshot of the matter is this. The balance of probability is greatly in favour of Boulogne; but unless the question is settled by excavating for traces of the Roman camps, an element of doubt, however slight, will remain (*A. B.*, pp. 552-95; *C. G.*, pp. 432-8).

Latobrigi.—The Latobrigi, the Rauraci, and the Tulingi were near neighbours of the Helvetii (i, 5, § 4). According to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 9, § 9), the chief towns of the Rauraci were Augusta (Augst), about 7 miles east by south of Basle, and Argentovaria, which was probably near Heidolsheim, close to the common frontier of Upper and Lower Alsace: but this evidence is not decisive; for, like the Ubii and other Rhenish tribes, the Rauraci may have changed their abode before Ptolemy wrote, or their territory may have been smaller in Caesar's time than in Ptolemy's. It is impossible to do more than guess at the positions of the other two tribes; for we have no clue except doubtful similarity of names. The Latobrigi are commonly placed in the neighbourhood of Brugge, on the rivers Brege and Briggach, tributaries of the upper Danube; the Tulingi in the country round Stühlingen, a town near Schaffhausen (*C. G.*, pp. 438–42).

Lemonum, the chief town of the Pictones (viii, 26, § 1), stood upon the site of Poitiers.

Lemovices.—This tribe possessed the ancient diocese of Limoges, which corresponded roughly with the departments of the Haute-Vienne, Corrèze, and Creuse (*C. G.*, pp. 442–4).

Lepontii.—The Lepontii inhabited those parts of Switzerland and Italy which lie south of the sources of the Rhône and the Rhine and north of Lake Maggiore. Their name survives in that of the Lepontine Alps.

Leuci.—The Leuci (i, 40, § 11), whose chief town was Tullum (Toul), possessed the diocese of Toul, or the department of the Vosges, and perhaps also the diocese of Verdun, or the southern parts of the departments of the Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle. This diocese corresponded with the territory of the Verodunenses, who are not mentioned in any document earlier than the *Notitia provinciarum*; and we do not know whether they were grouped with the Leuci or the Mediomatrici (*C. G.*, p. 444).

Levaci. See NERVII.

Lexovii.—This tribe possessed the diocese of Lisieux, which comprised adjacent parts of the departments of the Calvados and the Eure (*C. G.*, p. 444).

Liger was the Gallic name of the Loire.

Lingones.—The territory of the Lingones comprised the dioceses of Langres and Dijon (*C. G.*, pp. 444–5).

Magetobriga.—It is impossible to locate Magetobriga: we only know that it was either in the country of the Aedui or in that of the Sequani (i, 31, §§ 6–12). The only one of numerous guesses which rests upon anything like a solid foundation identifies it with Broie, close to a marsh called Moigte-de-Broie, near the confluence of the Oignon and the Saône. According to d'Anville, a piece of pottery, bearing the inscription MAG. ETOR, was found at Moigte-de-Broie; but if it ever existed, it was long ago lost (*C. G.*, pp. 445–6).

Mandubii.—The Mandubii possessed Alesia, or Mont Auxois (vii, 68, § 1), which is about 32 miles north-west of Dijon. Their territory therefore comprised part of the Côte-d'Or, but how much it is impossible to tell. As Caesar says (90, § 1) that after he had captured Alesia he 'started for the country of the Aedui' (*in Haeduos proficiscitur*), it may be concluded that the Mandubii were not in Aeduan territory; but they were probably dependants of that people (*C. G.*, pp. 446–7).

Matisco (vii, 90, § 7) was on the site of Mâcon.

Matrona (i, 1, § 2) was the Celtic name of the Marne.

Meclosedum was on an island in the Seine, opposite the site of Melun.

Mediomatrici.—The Mediomatrici are mentioned by the writer of iv, 10, between the Sequani and the Triboci (q. v.) among the tribes whose territories bordered on the Rhine; but if that statement holds good for the time of Caesar, they must have possessed the country round Worms and Spires, which in Ptolemy's time belonged to the Vangiones and the Nemetes. Their chief town was Divodurum (Metz). Their territory probably included that of the Verodunenses, whose name survives in 'Verdun', and who are not mentioned by Caesar (*C. G.*, p. 447). See LEUCI.

Meldi.—A tribe called Meldi, which was mentioned by

Strabo (iv, 3, § 5), Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 11), and other writers, certainly occupied the diocese of Meaux, that is to say, the northern part of the department of the Seine-et-Marne and a fraction of the south-eastern part of the department of the Oise; but some commentators deny that Caesar's Meldi were the same. For Caesar says (v, 5, § 2) that on arriving at Portus Itius, where he had ordered his fleet to assemble, he found that 60 ships, which had been built in the country of the Meldi, had been prevented by contrary winds from reaching the harbour, and had returned to the place from which they had started. Portus Itius was either Wissant or, much more probably, Boulogne. The troops who built the fleet had wintered in the country of the Belgae (iv, 38, § 4; v, 1, § 1): therefore all the ships had been built on or east of the Seine; and Strabo (iv, 3, § 3) says that Caesar's naval arsenal was at the mouth of that river. It has been argued, first, that as the wind prevented those ships which had been built in the country of the Meldi, but not the others, from reaching Portus Itius, and as the bulk of the fleet must have been constructed in or south of that harbour, we must look for the Meldi to the north of it; secondly, that Caesar would not have built ships so far from the sea as Meaux; and thirdly, that even if he had done so, the 60 ships would not have sailed back up the Seine and the Marne. Accordingly it has been suggested that Caesar's Meldi inhabited the country round Maldeghem, about 10 miles east of Bruges! But the 60 ships may have sailed from the same side of Portus Itius as the rest, for the wind which stopped them may not have arisen until after the others had reached port; it is certain that in the eighteenth century timber used for constructing barges at Rouen came from the neighbourhood of Meaux; and Caesar does not say that the 60 ships returned to the country of the Meldi, but only that they returned to the place from which they had sailed,—probably the mouth of the Seine, where they may have remained for a time after they had dropped down the river from Meaux. The word *Maldeghem* has no connexion with *Meldi*, but is derived from the Dutch plant-name, *melde*; and it is absurd to suppose that Caesar would have established a dockyard on the North Sea, near Bruges (*C. G.*, pp. 447-9).

Menapii.—The Menapii possessed land on the right bank of the Rhine, not far from the sea, as well as on the left (iv, 1, § 1; 4, § 2); 'the island of the Batavi', which is mentioned by the writer of iv, 10, may have belonged to them as well, for perhaps it was not occupied by the Batavi before the time of Augustus (see the first note on iv, 10); and their country was bounded on the south by that of the Eburones (vi, 5, § 4) and on the west by that of the Morini (Strabo, iv, 3, § 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 17, § 106). The land which belonged to them on the right bank of the Rhine was in the neighbourhood of Cleve and Xanten (see the note on iv, 1, § 1 [*non longe a mari*]). So much is certain; but to trace the frontier which separated the Menapii from the Morini is difficult, if not impossible.

According to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 9, §§ 4-5), the eastern limit of the Morini was the Tabula. This river, which is not mentioned by any other writer, is generally supposed to have been

the Scheldt; and if it was not, Ptolemy does not mention the Scheldt at all. But every other ancient writer who mentions the Scheldt calls it *Scaldis*; and Walckenaer maintains that the Tabula was the Aa. The known ancient name of the Aa was, however, *Agnio* or *Agniona*: so it is clear that either the Aa or the Scheldt had two names; and the balance of probability is evidently in favour of identifying the Tabula with the Scheldt. Here a difficulty arises. A place called *Castellum Menapiorum*, which is mentioned in the *Table of Peutinger* (p. 13, col. 2), was undoubtedly Cassel, about 11 miles north-east of St. Omer: therefore, unless *Menapiorum* was written by mistake for *Morinorum*, the Scheldt was not the eastern boundary of the Morini when the *Table* was compiled. But the *castellum* of the Menapii is also mentioned by Ptolemy; and as he makes the Meuse their western frontier, it is clear that, unless he defined their position wrongly, the *castellum* which he mentions was not Cassel. Perhaps the Morini were punished for their repeated revolts in the time of Caesar by being forced to surrender the eastern part of their territory to the Menapii; if so, we may suppose that *Castellum Menapiorum* (Cassel) was not built or did not belong to the Menapii until after they migrated into this district. My own belief is that in Caesar's time the Scheldt, as a natural boundary, formed the common frontier of the two tribes: if the Menapii had then possessed the country between the Scheldt and the Aa, it would be difficult to understand why they only contributed 7,000 men to the Belgic host in 57 B.C. (ii, 4, § 9), while the Morini contributed 25,000 (*C. G.*, pp. 449–53).

Morini.—The Morini were bounded on the west by the Ambiani, from whom they were separated by the river Canche, on the south by the Atrebates (and perhaps also by the Nervii), and on the east by the Menapii (Strabo, iv, 3, § 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 17, § 106). Their eastern frontier, as I have shown in the preceding article, was probably the Scheldt (*C. G.*, pp. 449–53).

Namnetes.—The territory of this tribe corresponded with the ancient diocese of Nantes, or that portion of the department of the Loire-Inférieure which lies on the right bank of the Loire, and is bounded on the north-east by the Semnon (*C. G.*, p. 453).

Nantuates.—The Nantuates possessed the territory that extended on the south of the lake of Geneva as far west as the frontier of the Allobroges (iii, 1, § 1), which was probably formed by the river Dranse. As their chief town, Agaunum, stood upon the site of St. Maurice, and their eastern neighbours, the Veragri (q. v.), occupied the western part of the Valais, the territory of the Nantuates comprised the eastern part of the Chablais and the north-western part of the Valais (*C. G.*, pp. 453–4).

In iv, 10, which was not written by Caesar, it is said that the Rhine rises in the country of the Lepontii, and flows through the countries of the Nantuates, Helvetii, Sequani, Mediomatrici, Triboci, and Treveri. If the unknown writer did not make a blunder, these Nantuates were different—different as a group, if not in blood—from the Nantuates mentioned in iii, 1, § 1,

who lived in the Chablais and the Valais; and there is no evidence for fixing their whereabouts (*C. G.*, pp. 454–5).

Narbo is now Narbonne.

Nemetes.—The Nemetes are mentioned by Caesar (i, 51, § 2) among the tribes who fought in the army of Ariovistus; and he says that the entire army of Ariovistus took part in the campaign (38, § 1), and that the few individuals who survived the battle and the retreat recrossed the Rhine (53, §§ 1–2). If these statements were accurate, the Nemetes who were settled on the left bank round Spires in the time of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iv, 17, § 106) must have been immigrants, descended from a portion of the tribe which had not followed Ariovistus into Gaul; but when Caesar wrote that Ariovistus had taken the field *cum suis omnibus copiis* (i, 38, § 1) he may only have meant 'with all his [available] forces'. In that case, however, we should have expected to find that those Nemetes who did not take part in the campaign had remained in the country which Ariovistus wrested from the Sequani (31, § 10),—that is to say, the plain of Alsace.

I have not marked the Nemetes on the map, because I only profess to represent Gaul as it was in the time of Caesar; and we do not know exactly what territory was occupied by the Nemetes before the defeat of Ariovistus (*C. G.*, pp. 455–6).

Nemetocenna was identical with Nemetacum (Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, ii, 9, § 4), which stood upon the site of Arras (*C. G.*, p. 456).

Nervii.—The Nervii are not mentioned in the *Notitia provinciarum*: but in their stead we find the *civitas Camaracensium*; and accordingly it has been concluded that their territory corresponded with the ancient diocese of Cambrai (Camaracum), which comprised Hainault, that part of Brabant which lies west of the Demer and the Dyle, East Flanders, and part of the province of Antwerp. Perhaps it extended as far northward as the estuary of the Scheldt; for Caesar (ii, 28, § 1) says that the Nervii, before encountering him in 57 B.C., sent their non-combatants for safety *in aestuaria*, which can only mean the low-lying tracts bordering that estuary. But it is not certain that the *aestuaria* were in Nervian territory (*C. G.*, pp. 456–7).

The geographical positions of the dependants of the Nervii—the Ceutrones, Geidumni, Grudii, Levaci, and Pleumoxii—are unknown. Various attempts have been made to fix them; but there is no evidence except doubtful resemblance of names,—for example, between *Geidumni* and Geidines, near Dinant (*C. G.*, pp. 457–8).

Nitiobroges.—The Nitiobroges possessed the diocese of Agen (Aginnum) and perhaps also that of Condom, which was originally included in it,—that is to say, the greater part of the department of the Lot-et-Garonne and a small fraction of the department of the Tarn-et-Garonne. It is doubtful, however, whether they had any territory south of the Garonne; for the Bituriges Vivisci possessed lands on its left bank, and therefore if the river in its central course did not separate the Celtae from the Aquitani, it did so nowhere, and Caesar's statement in i, 1, § 2 was inaccurate. But, as I have already

remarked in the note on that passage, Caesar's statements about frontiers were sometimes loose (*C. G.*, pp. 458–9).

Noreia stood upon the site of Neumarkt in Styria.

Noricus ager, or Noricum, comprehended, roughly speaking, that part of Austria which lies between the Inn, the Danube, Hungary, and Italy.

Noviodunum (Biturigum).—The only clues that Caesar gives as to the position of this town are, that it was on the road from Cenabum (Orléans) to Gorgobina; that Vercingetorix, on hearing that Caesar was marching from Cenabum, abandoned the siege of Gorgobina and marched against Caesar; that his cavalry appeared before Noviodunum on the day on which Caesar reached it, and apparently a few hours after Caesar's arrival; that Caesar, after receiving the surrender of Noviodunum, marched against Avaricum (Bourges); and that Vercingetorix followed him by easy stages (vii, 11, § 9–13; 16, § 1). Probably Caesar had intended to march to Gorgobina by way of Avaricum; for by attacking or threatening so important a town he would have compelled Vercingetorix to raise the siege.

Not to mention mere guesses, Noviodunum has been identified with ten different towns; but some of them do not satisfy the requirements of Caesar's narrative; and, with one exception, there is no evidence for the rest. Readers of this book need only consider what is to be said for that one,—Villate, near Neuvy-sur-Barangeon. Villate is on the Roman road from Cenabum to Avaricum; and though it is only 18 miles from Bourges, Caesar probably marched a much greater distance, in order to avoid the forests on the north and the marshes which nearly surrounded the town, and to reach his camping ground on the south-eastern side (15, § 5; 17, § 1): so he might fairly have said that Vercingetorix had followed him by easy stages (*minoribus itineribus*). Celtic remains, Roman coins belonging to the period comprised between the reigns of Augustus and Gratian, and the ruins of a building which is supposed to have been a Gallo-Roman theatre have been discovered at Villate. All this, indeed, only shows that Villate may have been Noviodunum; but as every conceivable site seems to have been proposed, and as there is more to be said for Villate than for any other, I mark Noviodunum there on the map with a note of interrogation (*C. G.*, pp. 459–64).

Noviodunum (Haeduorum).—Although direct evidence is wanting, this town undoubtedly stood upon the site of Nevers. Caesar (vii, 55, § 1) simply describes it as 'advantageously situated on the banks of the Loire' (*ad ripas Ligeris oportuno loco positum*). The Gallo-Roman town of Nivernum, which, as the itineraries show, was at Nevers, was identified by mediaeval writers with Noviodunum: unless Noviodunum perished, which, as it was a most important place, is hardly conceivable, it was certainly Nivernum, because there was no other Gallo-Roman town with which Noviodunum can be identified; and the great strength of the site of Nevers would have recommended it to Caesar (*C. G.*, p. 464).

Noviodunum (Suessionum) was a strongly fortified town (ii, 12, § 2): it was a long day's march from Caesar's camp on

the Aisne (5, § 4), or perhaps from another camp a little lower down the valley (see the note on 12, § 1); and we may fairly suppose that it was the chief stronghold of the Suessiones. Caesar's camp on the Aisne was either on the hill of Mauchamp, about a mile and a half NNE. of Berry-au-Bac, or on the plateau of Chaudardes, about 5 miles nearer Soissons (see the note on 8, §§ 3–5).

Noviodunum was certainly not Augusta Suessionum (Soissons), the Gallo-Roman capital of the Suessiones; for this was an entirely new town. There is only one site for which any real evidence can be produced; but that evidence is very strong. An important Gallic fortress on the hill of Pommiers, about 2½ miles north-west of Soissons, has been excavated. The ruins have yielded over 2,500 Gallic coins and 19 Roman ones earlier than 57 B.C.,—the year in which Caesar captured Noviodunum; and quite close to Pommiers, on its eastern side, the entrenchments of a Roman camp, which may well have been Caesar's, have also been revealed. Probably the fortress of Pommiers was the old capital of the Suessiones, which was succeeded by the Gallo-Roman Augusta Suessionum, just as Bibracte (i, 23, § 1) was succeeded by Augustodunum (*C. G.*, pp. 464–6).

Ocelum. See GRAIOCELI.

Octodurus. See VERAGRI.

Oppidum Cassivellauni.—Caesar does not give details enough to enable us to locate this fort with certainty. Immediately after the sentence (v, 21, § 1) in which he says that he prohibited his soldiers from plundering the Trinovantes, he informs us that the stronghold of Cassivellaunus was not far off. We may fairly conclude that it was near the common frontier of the Trinovantes and Cassivellaunus. Verulamium, which was situated immediately west of St. Albans, fulfils this condition; it was the capital of Tasciovanus, the son and successor of Cassivellaunus; and the marshes which Caesar mentions (§ 2) might have been formed by the river Ver. Accordingly the *oppidum* is generally identified with Verulamium; and the conclusion is not improbable (*A. B.*, pp. 699–702).

Osismi.—According to Pomponius Mela (iii, 6, § 48), the island of Sena, or Sein, about 30 miles south by west of Brest, was opposite territory which belonged to the Osismi; and Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, §§ 5–6) implies that the country of the Veneti extended northward as far as the Gobaean promontory,—the Pointe du Raz. The Osismi, then, inhabited the department of Finistère; and we shall not go far wrong if we assume that the Montagnes Noires—a natural boundary—separated the two peoples (*C. G.*, pp. 466–7).

Paemani.—The Paemani, who are mentioned by Caesar conjointly with the Condrusi, Eburones, and Caerosi (ii, 4, § 10), most probably occupied the Pays de Famenne, which appears to retain their name, and adjoins on the west Condroz, the territory of the Condrusi (*C. G.*, p. 404).

Parisii.—The territory of the Parisii corresponded with the modern diocese of Paris, that is to say, the department of the Seine and part of the department of the Seine-et-Oise (*C. G.*, p. 467).

Petrocorii.—This tribe possessed the ancient diocese of

Périgueux, which was nearly identical with the department of the Dordogne (*C. G.*, p. 467).

Pictones.—The Pictones occupied the ancient diocese of Poitiers, which included the departments of the Vendée, Deux-Sèvres, and Vienne, the southern part of the Loire-Inférieure, and the western part of the Maine-et-Loire (*C. G.*, p. 467).

Pirustae.—This tribe, according to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 16, § 5), dwelt in the eastern part of Albania, east of Dyrrachium (Durazzo); but Strabo (vii, 5, § 3) says that they (or a people of the same name ?) were in Pannonia. According to Caesar, they were not in Illyricum; therefore he probably meant the tribe which Strabo mentions.

Pleumoxii. See NERVII.

Ptianii.—The position of this tribe cannot be determined (*C. G.*, p. 467).

Rauraci. See LATOBRIGI.

Redones.—As the Redones are twice called a maritime people (ii, 34; vii, 75, § 4), they must have possessed, besides the diocese of Rennes, the strip of coast between the Rance and the Couesnon, which separated the Venelli from the Coriosolites (*C. G.*, pp. 467–8).

Remi.—Besides the ancient diocese of Reims, the Remi probably also possessed that of Châlons, formed out of the territory of the Catuvellauni, who are not mentioned by any writer before the time of Constantine. According to Caesar (ii, 3, § 1), the Remi were conterminous with the Celtae. This would be true whether the Catuvellauni were grouped with the Remi or the Lingones; but most probably their territory belonged to the former, who were the more powerful (vi, 12, § 7). See *C. G.*, pp. 468–9.

Rhenus,—the Rhine.

Rhodanus,—the Rhône.

Ruteni.—The territory of this people was identical with the ancient diocese of Rodez, that is to say, the greater part of the department of the Aveyron and the northern part of that of the Tarn (*C. G.*, p. 469).

Sabis,—the Sambre.

Samarobriva stood upon the site of Amiens. See p. 403 and *C. G.*, p. 469.

Santoni.—The Santoni possessed the dioceses of Saintes and Angoulême and the Pays d'Aunis; in other words, the departments of the Charente and Charente-Inférieure and part of the Gironde (*C. G.*, p. 470).

Seduni.—The name of this tribe (iii, 1, § 1) is preserved by the town of Sion, or Sitten, which is in the valley of the upper Rhône, about 17 miles ENE. of Martigny (*C. G.*, p. 454).

Segni.—The name of this tribe, which, as Caesar says (vi, 32, § 1), was between the Eburones and the Treveri, is apparently preserved in that of Sinei or Signi, a town in the county of Namur (*C. G.*, p 404).

Segontiaci.—Judging by coins, the territory of this tribe (v, 21, § 1) may have been conterminous with and was probably north of that of the British Atrebates, who possessed parts of Hampshire and Berkshire (*A. B.*, pp. 346–7).

Segusiavi.—Caesar says (i, 10, § 5) that the Segusiavi were

'the first people outside the Province, beyond the Rhône'; and it is evident from 12–13 that when he entered their country he was on the eastern bank of the Saône. The greater part of their territory, however, was on the western bank; for two of their towns, Rodumna (Roanne) and Forum Segusiavorum (Feurs), which Ptolemy mentions (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 11), were on that side, and indeed Rodumna was west of the Loire. Their chief town was Lugdunum (Lyons); and the western part of their country seems to have comprised that part of the diocese of Lyons which was on the right bank of the Rhône and of the Saône. It is impossible to define the tract which they possessed between the Rhône and the Saône; but it was probably very small, for Trévoux, which is 25 miles south of Mâcon, being situated between two places called Ambérieux, may be supposed to have belonged to the Ambarri (*C. G.*, pp. 470–1).

Senones.—The Senones certainly possessed the diocese of Sens; and the dioceses of Auxerre (Autessiodurum) and Troyes are generally attributed to them as well. Autessiodurum, which is not mentioned by any writer earlier than Ammianus Marcellinus, is assigned in the *Notitia provinciarum* (p. 265 [iv, 4]) to the Senones; but see HAEDUI. The diocese of Troyes represented the territory of the Tricasses, who are not mentioned by Caesar. Probably, then, as the reader will see if he looks at the map, they were dependants or a subdivision of the Senones (*C. G.*, pp. 471–3).

Sequana,—the Seine.

Sequani.—The Sequani were separated from the Helvetii by the Jura (i, 2, § 3), from the Leuci by the Vosges, from the Aedui, according to Strabo (iv, 3, § 2) and Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, § 12), by the Saône, and from the Allobroges, in part (see *B. G.*, i, 11, § 5), by the Rhône. The Aedui, however, probably possessed those parts of the dioceses of Chalon (Cavillonum) and Mâcon (Matisco) (vii, 90, § 7) which extend eastward of the Saône; and the Sequani were cut off from the lower reaches of that river by the Ambarri and the Segusiavi. Roughly speaking, their territory corresponded with the diocese of Besançon (Vesontio) and comprised Franche-Comté and the greater part of Alsace (*C. G.*, pp. 473–4).

Sibusates.—The Sibusates probably dwelt in the neighbourhood of Sobusse, between Dax and Bayonne; but there is no evidence except the resemblance between the names.

Sotiates.—The Sotiates possessed the country round Sos in the department of the Lot-et-Garonne. The evidence for identifying Sos with the stronghold of the Sotiates which Crassus captured (iii, 21) is this. Sos was in the Middle Ages called Sotium: the *Jerusalem Itinerary* (p. 550) mentions a place called Scittium, which is identified by the statement of its distances from Elusa (Eauze) and Vasata (Bazas) with Sos; and the form *Scit*[*t*]*ium* may have been due to a misreading of *Sotium*, the scribe mistaking an ill-formed *o* for *ci*. Crassus, having passed through the country of the Nitiobroges (see the note on iii, 20, § 2), entered Aquitania, and the Sotiates were the people whom he first encountered (20, § 3), which condition is satisfied by the position of Sos. Moreover, recent excavations at Sos prove that it was a Gallic stronghold (*R. E. A.*, 1913, p. 81).

Only one objection is worth noticing here. The principal Gallic towns did not, as a rule, exchange their names for those of the tribes to which they belonged (for example, *Lutecia* became *Parisii*) before the close of the third century, and by that time the Sotiates were incorporated with the Elusates; accordingly it has been argued that the name of the town which Crassus captured could never have been effaced by the name *Sotiates*, and therefore that the town was not identical with Sos. But the answer is easy. The Tricasses, who are not mentioned by Caesar, were incorporated with the Senones; yet *Augustobona*, the name of their chief town, was effaced by the name *Tricasii* (Troyes). See *C. G.*, pp. 474–7, one argument in which is here modified.

Suessiones.—The Suessiones possessed the diocese of Soissons, that is to say, the greater part of the department of the Aisne, and probably also the diocese of Senlis, formed out of the territory of the Silvanectes, who were between them and the Bellovaci. Caesar implies (ii, 13, § 1) that the territories of the Bellovaci and the Suessiones were conterminous, and he does not mention the Silvanectes in his list of the Belgic tribes (4, §§ 5–10). We may therefore infer that they were dependants of or included among either the Bellovaci or the Suessiones; and as the latter, according to Caesar (4, § 6), had a very extensive territory, the diocese of Senlis probably belonged to them (*C. G.*, pp. 397, 477).

Sugambri.—This German tribe dwelt between the river Sieg, which preserves their name, and the Lippe. It would appear, then, that the territory of the Ubii, who were south of the Sugambri (iv, 18, § 2; 19, § 1), was bounded on the north by the Sieg; but some writers maintain that they also possessed a strip of land north of the Sieg as far as Cologne and between the Rhine and the Sugambri. If so, the Sugambri must have crossed their territory in 53 B. C. when they made their raid into the country of the Eburones (vi, 35, §§ 4–6). But do not Caesar's words, *Sugambri qui sunt proximi Rheno*, prove that they crossed the Rhine immediately from their own territory? Cf. i, 54, § 1, and iii, 11, § 1.

Tarbelli.—The territory of the Tarbelli, according to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 7, § 8), extended southward from the frontier of the Bituriges Vivisci to the Pyrenees and therefore included the territories of the Cocosates and the Sibusates. The Tarbelli were really separated from the Bituriges Vivisci by the Boiates, who are not mentioned by Caesar; but under the Roman Empire several smaller tribes, of whom the Boiates were probably one, were evidently annexed to the Tarbelli and grouped with them under their name; and even in Caesar's time certain tribes whom he does not name may have been included with them (*C. G.*, pp. 477–9).

Tarusates.—The Tarusates are generally believed to have been identical with the Aturenses, who are not mentioned by Caesar, and who possessed the country round Aire (Atura). Some writers believe that the district of Tursan in the diocese of Aire preserves their name; while others place them, for the same reason, in the neighbourhood of Tartas, which is about 15 miles north-east of Dax (*C. G.*, pp. 479–80). See VOCATES.

Tergestini.—The Tergestini were the inhabitants of Tergeste, a town which is represented by the modern Trieste.

Tigurini.—An inscription containing the words *PAG(i) TIGOR(inorum)* has been found near Avenches, south of the lake of Morat; and accordingly the Tigurini are supposed to have inhabited that part of Switzerland (*C. G.*, p. 480). The reader will understand that the letters printed in small italics are not in the inscription; but he may be as sure that they have been rightly supplied as that *M. C. C.* stands for *Marylebone Cricket Club*. The art of deciphering Latin inscriptions was acquired gradually.

Tolosa stood upon the site of Toulouse.

Tolosates.—The Tolosates possessed that part of the territory of the Volcae Tectosages which corresponded with the ancient diocese of Toulouse (Tolosa), that is to say, the greater part of the department of the Haute-Vienne and a part of the department of the Gers (*C. G.*, p. 480).

Treveri.—Caesar says that the territory of the Treveri, whose name is recognizable in Trèves, extended to the Rhine (iii, 11, § 1; vi, 9, § 5); that it was conterminous with the territory of the Remi (v, 24, § 2); and that it was separated from the Eburones by the Segni and Condrusi (vi, 32, § 1). It cannot be defined exactly, because we do not know whether the Treveri or the Mediomatrici, who were their southern neighbours, possessed the territory which afterwards belonged to the Vangiones, and because we cannot trace the frontiers of the Eburones, Segni, and Condrusi, with which no dioceses correspond. The northern boundary of the Treveri may have been the rugged valley of the Ahr or perhaps the river Vinxtbach, between the Ahr and the Moselle; and their territory comprised the greater part of the province of Luxembourg, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and the southern part of Rhenish Prussia (*C. G.*, p. 481).

Triboci.—The Triboci were one of the tribes that fought in the host of Ariovistus (i, 51, § 2), which had for some time been settled in the northern part of the country of the Sequani (31, § 10), that is to say, in the plain of Alsace. Caesar says (38, § 1) that the whole host of Ariovistus took part in the campaign, and (53, §§ 1–3) that after his defeat the very small remnant of his host that escaped destruction was driven across the Rhine. According to Strabo, however (iv, 3, § 4), the Triboci had taken up their abode in the country of the Mediomatrici. If the ancestors of these Triboci had invaded Gaul under Ariovistus, then, Caesar's statement notwithstanding, those who fought in the army of Ariovistus were only a portion of the tribe. Anyhow it is obviously impossible to determine the frontiers of the Triboci as they existed in the time of Caesar (*C. G.*, pp. 481–2).

Trinovantes.—This tribe inhabited Essex, for their chief town, Camulodunum (Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, ii, 3, § 11), was on the site of Colchester.

Tulingi. See LATOBRIGI.

Turoni.—The territory of the Turoni corresponded with the diocese of Tours, or, roughly speaking, the department of the Indre-et-Loire (*C. G.*, p. 483).

Ubii. See SUGAMBRI.

Uxellodunum.—Hirtius says that Uxellodunum was in the country of the Cadurci, which is represented by the department of the Lot; that the stronghold, which stood upon a hill, was protected on all sides by steep rocks; that the ascent was difficult even when unopposed; that through the valley, which nearly surrounded the hill, there flowed a stream; that the stream flowed at the very foot of the hill in such a way that it was impossible to divert its course; that the descent to it for the townspeople was difficult and steep; that 3,000 men got out of the town, although it was blockaded by Caninius with two legions, and sent back a string of pack-horses, loaded with corn, into the peninsula; that below the stronghold, on that part of the hill which, for a space of about 300 feet, was not surrounded by the stream—in other words, on a part which overlooked the isthmus—there was a spring; that opposite the spring Caesar constructed an embankment 60 feet high, on which he erected a tower with 10 stories, high enough to overtop the spring, but not to reach the level of the wall of the town; and that the Roman engineers drove subterranean galleries towards the source of the spring and diverted its flow (viii, 32, §§ 1–2; 33, § 1; 34, § 1; 35, § 3; 40, §§ 2–4; 41, §§ 1, 4–5; 43, § 4).

Of the various sites that have been proposed for identification with Uxellodunum two only—Luzech (pronounced 'Luzesh') and the Puy d'Issolu—need be noticed here.

Luzech, which is about 7 miles west-north-west of Cahors, is situated on an isthmus, at the foot and on the north of a hill which rises 287 feet above the level of the Lot, and is nearly surrounded by that river. The hill occupies 42 acres,—not more than one-third of the peninsula. No spring is to be found, only a slight oozing, so to speak, of water above the isthmus.

The only point which tells in favour of Luzech is that, alone among all the sites that have been proposed, it is almost entirely surrounded by a river, and that the breadth of the isthmus approximately corresponds with the statement of Hirtius. The hill is scarped on its northern side only: on the south and west the slopes are so gentle that even carriages can ascend without difficulty; and the rocks of which the hill is composed are so hard that they cannot have suffered any considerable change of form. The Lot does not flow at the very foot of the hill; the least distance which separates them is over 100, the greatest 500 yards. The oozing of water is not more than 13 or 14 feet above the level of the isthmus, and the gigantic works which the Romans constructed in order to place themselves on a level with the spring would therefore have been unnecessary. There is a hill immediately north of Luzech and considerably higher, on which are the remains of a Gallic fort, called Impernal, the nearness of which makes it unlikely that Luzech was a stronghold at all. Lastly, if Uxellodunum was on a peninsula with an isthmus only 300 feet wide, how could 3,000 men have got out of it, how could a string of pack-horses have got into it again when it was blockaded by two legions? They could not have done so if the Roman general knew his business; and his

generalship throughout the campaign had been excellent (cf. Caesar, *B. C.*, ii, 34, § 4).

The Puy d'Issolu, near Vayrac, rises about 650 feet above the valley of the Tourmente, a tributary of the Dordogne: it is nearly surrounded by steep escarpments of rock and isolated on every side except the north-east, where it is connected by a col, or saddle, with the Pech Demont. On the north, east, and south the plateau is practically impregnable; while the western slopes, where, between the hamlets of Loulié and Léguillat, there is a break in the escarpment, are steep enough to justify the statement of Hirtius that, even if no resistance had been offered, the ascent would have been difficult for armed men. On this side, about 72 feet below the line which the walls of the alleged fortress would have followed, there was a spring. The other topographical features will be plain to any one who studies the plan (facing p. 385). A charter, dated 944, proves that the hill was then called *Uxellodunum*; and there is no evidence that any other place in the country of the Cadurci was ever called by any such name. The Puy commands the northern entrance to the country of the Cadurci; and therefore it is the very stronghold which Lucterius, fleeing from Caninius (32, § 1), might have been expected to choose. Paths such as those by which Hirtius says (35, § 3) that Lucterius endeavoured to send his pack-horses up the hill, are easily recognizable. Traces of lines of investment have been discovered, and also a gallery, driven through the western side of the hill to the source of the spring. But there is one serious objection. The Puy d'Issolu is not almost entirely surrounded by a river, but half surrounded by two rivers; and therefore there is no isthmus at all. It comes to this, then, that Luzech is the only place where there is an isthmus approximately corresponding with the description of Hirtius; while the Puy d'Issolu is the only place which, in other respects, corresponds with his description. But one can understand that Hirtius, if he never saw Uxellodunum, misunderstood the report which he followed; whereas it is hardly credible that he should have blundered wholesale, as he must have done if Uxellodunum was the same as Luzech. Uxellodunum, then, must be identified with the Puy d'Issolu, though doubts may recur (*C. G.*, pp. 483–93).

Vangiones.—The Vangiones, one of the German tribes which fought under Ariovistus (i, 51, § 2), occupied, in the time of Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 9, § 9), the country round Borbetomagus (Worms); but it is doubtful whether they were settled there in the time of Caesar (*C. G.*, pp. 493–4). See NEMETES and TRIBOCI.

Veliocasses.—The Veliocasses, whose name survives, perhaps, in 'Vexin', dwelt in the southern part of the department of the Seine-Inférieure and the eastern part of the department of the Eure (*C. G.*, p. 494).

Vellaunodunum was in the country of the Senones, on a road leading from Agedincum (Sens) to Cenabum (Orléans). Caesar marched from Agedincum to Vellaunodunum in two days, and proceeded to besiege it on the day of his arrival. In a couple of days he surrounded it with a contravallation, and on the third day the garrison surrendered. After making

arrangements for disarming them Caesar moved on, and reached Cenabum in two days,—too late in the afternoon to begin the siege, but not too late to begin the 'needful preparations' (vii, 10, § 4—11, § 5). One would infer that Vellaunodunum was about midway between Agedincum and Cenabum, but perhaps rather nearer to the former than to the latter. There was a Roman road, 67 miles long, from Agedincum to Cenabum, which passed by Château-Landon, Sceaux, and Beaune; another, mentioned in the *Table of Peutinger* (p. 26, cols. 1–2), which passed a little north of Gien, was 74 miles; a third road, about 72 miles long, passed through Montargis and Ladon. We cannot prove that any of these roads existed in the time of Caesar; but it is highly probable that they all did.

I need not here mention all the places that have been identified with Vellaunodunum. Some of them may unhesitatingly be ruled out, because they were chosen on the wrong assumption that Cenabum was at Gien: others are either much too far from Sens or otherwise objectionable. Only two are worth considering,—Montargis and a site about a mile and a half east of Sceaux. Roman antiquities have been found in the neighbourhood of the former; Celtic remains and Roman coins at the latter: both are a little nearer to Sens than to Orléans. Sceaux, however, stands upon low-lying marshy ground; and although Avaricum did the same, M. Jullian agrees with me in thinking that the site of Vellaunodunum is probably Montargis (*C. G.*, pp. 494–8).

Vellavii.—The territory of this tribe corresponded with Velay, or the department of the Loire-Supérieure (*C. G.*, p. 499).

Venelli.—The Venelli dwelt in the Cotentin,—the department of the Manche (*C. G.*, p. 499).

Veneti.—Roughly speaking, the Veneti occupied the department of the Morbihan. According to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 8, §§ 5–6), their territory extended northward as far as the Pointe du Raz: if so, their northern frontier could not have coincided with the northern frontier of the diocese of Vannes, which struck the coast far south of that promontory. All that can be safely said is that Venetia did not extend further northward than the natural boundary formed by the Montagnes Noires (*C. G.*, p. 499). See OSISMI.

Veragri.—This Alpine tribe lived in the western part of the Valais, their chief town, Octodurus (iii, 1, § 4), being situated between Martigny-la-Ville and Martigny-Bourg, on the left bank of the Rhône, near the point where it bends northward towards the Lake of Geneva (*C. G.*, p. 454).

Vesontio is now represented by Besançon.

Vienna was on the site of Vienne, on the left bank of the Rhône, about 20 miles south of Lyons.

Viromandui.—The Viromandui, whose name survives in *Vermandois*, inhabited the diocese of Noyon,—the northern part of the department of the Aisne and the eastern part of that of the Somme (*C. G.*, pp. 499-500).

Vocates.—Caesar says (iii, 23, § 1) that Crassus, after he had defeated the Sotiates, marched for the country of the Vocates and the Tarusates. According to him, then, those two tribes were conterminous. The Sotiates occupied the country round

Sos, and the Tarusates dwelt either in the district of Aire or in the neighbouring district of Tartas. The Vocates are generally identified with the Boiates, who occupied the district of Buch, near Arcachon. But this will not do; for Arcachon is far away from Aire and from Tartas, whereas the Vocates were close to the Tarusates. Whether the Vocates possessed Buch or not, their country must have extended southward into the department of Les Landes (*C. G.*, pp. 500–1).

Vocontii.—The chief towns of this Alpine people were Vasio (Vaison), Lucus Augusti (Luc), and Dea (Die), and on the north they were conterminous with the Allobroges (i, 10, § 5). But it is impossible to define their frontiers, because the territory which undoubtedly belonged to them was surrounded by the territories of minor peoples—the Memini, Vulgientes, Quariates, Bodiontici, Avantici, Tricorii, and Uceni—whom Caesar ignores, and who may have been *pagi* of theirs, actually included within their territory, or may only have been their dependants (*clientes*); while some of these peoples may have been *pagi* or dependants of the Caturiges or of the Allobroges (*C. G.*, pp. 501–2).

Volcae.—The Volcae (Arecomici and Tectosages) possessed the country between the Rhône, the Cevennes, the upper Garonne, and the Mediterranean. According to Strabo (iv, 1, § 12), Narbo belonged to the Arecomici; according to Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, ii, 10, § 6), to the Tectosages. A passage in *B. G.*, vii, 7, § 4—*praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus, circumque Narbonem . . . constituit*—seems to imply that Narbo was not, at all events in 52 B. C., in the country of the Arecomici.

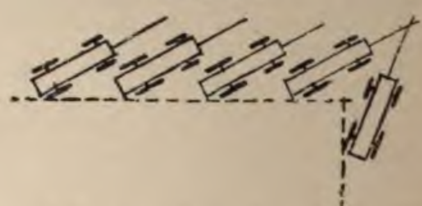
APPENDIX A

WHEN CAESAR WROTE THE COMMENTARIES
(see pp. ix–x)

In *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (p. 208, note 2) I briefly noticed a dissertation which Chr. Ebert had recently published in support of the theory that Caesar wrote each of his commentaries immediately after the campaign which it described. I may add that Meusel (*Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1913, pp. 28–31) has since written a searching criticism of Ebert's work, in which he supports my view,—that the seven commentaries were written continuously after the campaign of 52 B.C.

APPENDIX B

On i, 26, § 3



The annexed diagram shows the usual arrangement of wagons in a laager. The wheels are fastened together, and thus play an important part in the defence: indeed they might have done so in any arrangement. See Lord Wolseley's *Soldier's Pocket-Book*, 1886, pp. 409–10.

APPENDIX C

PROFESSOR DELBRÜCK ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE HELVETIAN HOST (see the first note on i, 29, § 3)

After listening to Professor Delbrück's lectures, delivered at University College, London, on October 6 and 7, 1913, I thought it advisable to write a supplementary note on

Caesar's statement of the numbers of the Helvetian host. The professor, who holds that Caesar habitually and deliberately exaggerated the numbers of his enemies,[1] referred to a familiar sentence in his account of the destruction of Sabinus's brigade—*Erant et virtute et numero pugnandi pares* (v, 34, § 2)—from which he concluded that the brigade was annihilated by an equal number of Gauls, and therefore that Caesar could not have defeated the Helvetii if they had been as numerous as he says. But the passage in question is notoriously corrupt and, as it stands in the MSS., untranslatable; Caesar's narrative (v, 26–37) shows that Sabinus's force was greatly outnumbered by the Eburones; it is incredible that Ambiorix would otherwise have ventured to attack a fortified Roman camp, situated on a commanding position; and Professor Delbrück himself justly remarked that Roman armies overcame superior numbers by superior discipline. Let us therefore test Caesar's statement about the Helvetii on its own merits.

Caesar had four veteran legions in the battle (i, 24, § 2). As we have seen (7, § 2), the ideal strength of a legion in his time was 6,000 men: these four legions had apparently suffered little or no loss before they went into action; and it is reasonable to suppose that immediately before the battle they numbered about 20,000. The original strength of the allied Gallic force, according to the Helvetian schedule (29, § 2), was 92,000. About one-fourth had been destroyed or dispersed in the affair on the left bank of the Saône (12, §§ 2–3): the natural rate of mortality and casualties in the skirmishes recorded in 15, § 3 would account for the loss of a few hundreds more. Accepting provisionally the Helvetian estimate, we may suppose that on the day of the battle the allies numbered about 68,000. Is it credible that 20,000 Roman veterans defeated 68,000 brave but undisciplined semi-barbarians? I gathered from Professor Delbrück's remarks that, considering the power of discipline, he was willing to admit that a Roman army might have defeated a Gallic force which outnumbered it in the proportion of 2 to 1 or even of 5 to 2; and I may add that the efficiency of the allied force would have been weakened by its consisting of tribal groups which lacked interdependence and cohesion. It was for this reason among others that Sir Charles Napier defeated an army of

[1] I have myself in various notes called attention to exaggerations, which may have been due to erroneous reports. Professor Delbrück in his lectures did not specifically refer to the question of the Helvetii, which he had discussed before. See my note on i, 29, § 3.

warlike Baluchis, which several times outnumbered his own, in the battle of Miani. Still, 7 to 2 is an excessive discrepancy (though if, as I believe [*Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 239, 630], many of the Gauls never came into action, it would have been considerably reduced); and one is the more inclined to be sceptical when one remembers that, according to Caesar's own estimate (i, 31, §§ 5, 10), the army of Ariovistus, which, after a hard struggle, he defeated with *six* legions, amounted to not more than 36,000, or perhaps about 40,000 men (see *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 654–5 and 655, note 5). Again, Caesar tells us (i, 29, § 3) that the host, including women and children, which he sent back to Helvetia numbered 110,000; and, as I have shown in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (pp. 240–1), if we accept both this estimate and his abstract of the Helvetian schedule, we must infer that about 126,000 perished in the battle (!), or else that very large numbers had dispersed on the march. The former supposition at all events is utterly incredible.

Let us now consider the question with reference to the length of the Helvetian column. The Helvetii had no artillery or ammunition wagons, which occupy so much space in modern marches, but they were encumbered by numerous supply wagons. I have quoted (i, 29, § 3) Napoleon's estimate,—8,500. Flour sufficient to feed, say, 307,000 persons (see the note on i, 29, § 3, and *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 241, note 3) is said to have been taken. A fair allowance for each man in a modern army is $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of bread or 1 lb. of biscuit per day (*The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, pp. 96–7). The Helvetii, who plundered largely, doubtless ate meat as well; and the women and children would have needed less food than the men: so let us suppose that the average daily allowance of bread or its equivalent was 1 lb. per head. A sack of flour (280 lb.) yields at least 92 4-lb. loaves (*Ency. Brit.*, iv, 1910, p. 469): therefore 68 lb. of flour per head, or 20,876,000 lb. for the whole host, would have sufficed.[1] Over very bad roads two horses will draw a load (exclusive of the wagon) of 1,900 lb. (*The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 70), and 4 bullocks will draw 2,000 lb. (*ib.*). Caesar (i, 3, § 1) says that the Helvetii used *iumenta*, by which he may have meant not only horses but also mules and oxen. 10,987 two-horse wagons or 10,438 bullock-carts could

[1] Bread, in the absence of field ovens, is evidently out of the question: perhaps the emigrants made their flour into porridge. We are not told that the Rauraci, Tulingi, Latobrigi, and Boi took any flour with them; but I assume that they did not depend upon plunder.

have carried the grain. Of the former, 160 in single file would have covered a mile; of the latter 117 (*The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 340). Thus the length of the wagon-train in single file would have been from 68 to 88 miles. Moving four abreast (see the note on i, 29, § 3), they would have occupied from 17 to 22 miles, and after the defeat of the rear-guard from 13 to 17.[1] We must, however, allow at least 20 per cent. for inevitable opening out (*The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 324); so let us say from 16 to 21. The length of the column of emigrants, if all had gone on foot and marched, like a modern army on a fenced road, four abreast, would have been, after the defeat of the rear-guard, with due allowance for opening out, about 45 miles. But the modern army is obliged to leave room for the passage of orderlies, vehicles, &c.; and we may be sure that the Helvetii marched with a much broader front. In open country Roman armies occasionally marched in a *quadratum agmen*—baggage train flanked on either side by infantry—and sometimes, as Polybius says (vi, 40, §§ 10–12), in three parallel columns. Moreover, many of the emigrants may have tramped alongside of the wagons, as Wellington's troops did in their retreat from Quatre Bras (Hamley, *Operations of War*, p. 29); and as the wagons became emptied, women and children would have ridden in them.

But Professor Delbrück will not admit that several wagons moved abreast (see *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 239). He insists that they must have moved in single file, not only on account of defiles (see the note on 29, § 3), but also because the roads were bad and discipline was lax. I do not think that these reasons are sufficient. When Caesar says (i, 6, § 1) that the defile between the Jura and the Rhône 'was so narrow and difficult that carts could barely pass along it one at a time', does he not imply that elsewhere they could move abreast? Wagons can go two abreast on almost all roads (*Soldier's Pocket-Book*, p. 408); oxen can draw wagons where there are no roads (*ib.*, p. 78); and Gallic roads were at all events good enough to allow large numbers of wagons to travel over them notwithstanding disorder and lack of discipline (viii, 14, § 2; *B. C.*, i, 51, §§ 1–2). A bad road, wide enough to allow two or more wagons to move abreast, will present the same obstacles to one file of wagons as to two. Perhaps

[1] According to Froissart (Hamley, *Operations of War*, p. 11), a train of 6,000 wagons in one of Edward III's wars stretched 'upwards of two leagues', or 5 miles. If the figures are correct, there must have been 7 or 8 abreast.

in some places tolerably firm ground was not sufficiently wide to allow more than two wagons to move abreast; and here delay would have arisen;[1] but this, as I have remarked in the note on 29, § 3, would not have increased the length of the train. The emigrants must, however, have taken some baggage with them,[2] and they must have been accompanied by their droves of cattle. The length of the column, then, presents a difficulty which, if not insuperable, is at least serious.

Anyhow, as the reader will have seen, I do not believe that 92,000 men started on the expedition. If we were to reduce this number by one-third, we should probably be nearer the truth. I see no reason to distrust Caesar's abstract of the Helvetian schedule; but, as I have suggested in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (p. 241), it may only represent a census of the population, many of whom perhaps declined to emigrate. That Helvetia was left absolutely uninhabited I can hardly conceive.

[Readers who examine the plan of the battle-field (facing p. 25) will perceive that when Stoffel indicated a site for the Helvetian encampment, he was thinking of the Helvetian fighting men only. The laager marked in the plan could not have consisted of more than a few hundred wagons, for its perimeter is barely two kilometres. Stoffel of course supposes that only the leading wagons were parked.]

APPENDIX D

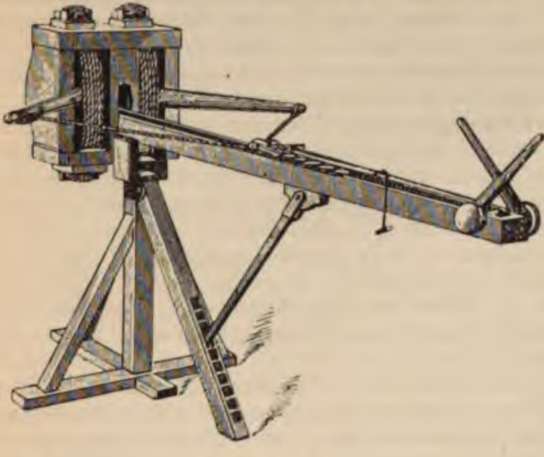
On ii, 8, § 4

Some readers may desire a fuller explanation of *tormenta* than that which my footnote gives. The accompanying illustration should make everything clear. It will be seen that the two arms of the engine were passed through the skeins of twisted cordage. A block, furnished with a hook which held the bowstring and which was itself held down by a trigger, could slide up and down in the groove. When the engine was loaded the block was forced back, despite the resisting cordage, by a windlass, and fixed by

[1] I doubt whether Captain Veith's suggestion—that many wagons were abandoned (see the note on 29, § 3)—is admissible. Wagons were doubtless lost, owing to breakages and the weakness of draught cattle which could not get enough to eat; but were they not too valuable to be needlessly abandoned?

[2] Napoleon III argued that more than 2,000 wagons would have been required for baggage.

a catch which fitted into a row of teeth: when the missile was to be discharged the trigger was pressed, the bow-string was released, the recoil of the cordage caused the arms to fly back, and the missile sped on its way.



APPENDIX E

On iv, 19, § 4 and vi, 29, § 1

In a suggestive article on the operations of Caesar and Drusus in Germany (*Journal des Savants*, 1913, pp. 6–7) M. Jullian argues that Caesar intended to conquer Germany as well as Gaul:—'If', he says, 'Caesar crossed the Rhine twice . . . if in one year [53 B.C.] he established camps and redoubts on the further bank, if he assembled his entire army and a considerable quantity of stores, we may be sure that it was not for idle demonstrations.' Then, remarking that while we are acquainted, on the one hand, with Caesar's military movements and on the other with the contemporary political events in Rome, we are ignorant of the connexion between the former and the latter, he concludes 'that it was due to Rome, to Cato, and to Domitius that Julius Caesar did not penetrate into Germany'.

I cannot share this belief. The reasons which Caesar gives for having re-crossed the Rhine in 55 and again in 53 B.C. seem to me more probable than those which M. Jullian imagines. For in the former year Caesar was obliged to prepare for his invasion of Britain (iv, 20, § 1),

in the latter he had more than enough to do in suppressing the insurrections of the tribes of North-Eastern Gaul; it seems to me incredible that a statesman who understood so well what was possible should ever have dreamed of embarking upon an impracticable and insane enterprise; and if he returned from Germany because he dreaded the machinations of Cato or Domitius, some messenger must have conveyed to Rome the news of his expedition and from Rome to Germany the news of his enemies' intentions, for which movements there was not sufficient time.

APPENDIX F

On iv, 28, §§ 2–3

In the *Classical Journal* of 1911 (pp. 76–79) Mr. Alfred R. Wightman discussed the passage (iv, 28, §§ 2–3) in which Caesar describes what befell his cavalry transports, and incidentally criticized my explanation. Commenting on the interpretation of *tamen*—'notwithstanding' (the gale)—which I have given, in common with Kraner-Dittenberger and other editors, Mr. Wightman says that 'the sailors . . . cast anchor . . . not because the desirability of remaining off the coast of Britain was just then uppermost in their minds, but because they were under the instant need of . . . avoiding shipwreck'. I maintain, on the contrary, that they cast anchor because they purposed to remain in a position from which they might be able, when the gale ceased, to reach their destination,—the coast of Britain, near Caesar's camp. But, says Mr. Wightman, 'if the storm was so violent that the transports were falling to leeward in spite of all efforts to hold them on their course [what efforts? Caesar does not mention any.], one might naturally expect that when rounded up and swung head to at anchor they would pitch so heavily as to put their bows under.' No doubt they did pitch heavily; and no doubt this explains why, as Caesar says, they 'were becoming water-logged' (*fluctibus complerentur*).

Mr. Wightman then proceeds to deal with me. On p. 319 of *Ancient Britain* I wrote, 'The ships which were swept down past the Foreland and the Dover cliffs scudded before the north-easterly gale; and although they were evidently in no danger of being driven ashore, they were in great peril because only the most watchful steering could prevent them from broaching to: if a heavy sea struck the stern, it might swing the vessel round, and

in a moment she would overset and founder. The ships which were carried back to the point from which they had started were of course handled differently,' &c. Again, on p. 582, speaking of the transports that ran before the wind, I wrote, 'They were in no danger of being driven ashore; for while the gale was at its height they stood out to sea.' Referring to the latter passage, Mr. Wightman says, 'This reasoning seems to me inconsequent. When Caesar says the ships were being carried out of their course, all we are to understand therefrom is that they were falling rapidly to leeward; and as he plainly tells us land was under their lee bow, the danger to which he refers is obviously that of striking. To avert this it was necessary to tack ship and stand off shore. But the fact that they did this while the gale was still at its height does not warrant the assumption that they were in no danger of being driven ashore when on the other tack standing westward.'

The radical error in this criticism lies in the words 'as he plainly tells us land was under their lee bow, the danger to which he refers is obviously that of striking'. Caesar does not tell us that 'land was under their lee bow'. What he does tell us is that 'they were getting close to Britain and were seen from the camp, when such a violent storm suddenly arose that none of them could keep their course, but some were carried back to the point from which they had started, while others were swept down in great peril[1] towards the lower and more westerly part of the

[1] Mr. Wightman cavils at my translation of *magno suo cum periculo*, which he would render by 'at (or 'to their') great peril'. What is the essential difference? Were the Roman traders not *in* danger when they crossed the Alps *magno cum periculo* (iii, 1, § 2)? Or Cicero's troops when they were defending their camp (v, 52, § 8)? Does Mr. Wightman mean that the ships were not in peril? He cannot mean this; for he says himself that 'the danger to which he [Caesar] refers is obviously that of striking', and that we must not assume 'that they were in no danger of being driven ashore'. If they were '*in* danger of being driven ashore', why does Mr. Wightman find fault with my translation? And why did their captains fatuously incur this danger, when all that they had to do, in order to avoid it, was *immediately* to follow the example of the other group of transports,—'tack ship and stand off shore'?

Perhaps Mr. Wightman, although his own words imply that the ships were *in* danger, means that they would only have been in danger if they had approached so near a lee shore that striking would have been inevitable. But if so, the word 'danger' would be inadequate. Anyhow in all the other passages in which Caesar uses the phrase *magno* (or *quanto*) *cum periculo*—i, 10, § 2; 17, § 6; 47, § 3; iii, 1, § 2; v, 16, § 2; 19, § 2; 47, § 5; 52, § 3; vii, 14, § 7—he plainly means that the individuals or groups in question were *in* danger.

Of course in certain passages, e.g. iii, 1, § 2, *magno cum periculo* might advantageously be translated, with no essential difference of meaning, by 'at great risk'.

island' (*quae cum adpropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno suo cum periculo deicerentur*). The camp, as I have shown in *Ancient Britain*, was at Walmer. This conclusion has been generally accepted; and Mr. Wightman does not gainsay it. Indeed unless the camp was somewhere in East Kent, no lee shore can by any ingenuity be discovered; and supposing that when the storm arose the transports were a little south of Walmer —say somewhere near the point where the South Sand Head Light Vessel is now moored—they were obviously in no danger of being driven ashore by a north-easterly gale: they would have been driven through the Dover Strait into the Channel. If Mr. Wightman does not know the British coast, let him consult a map, and he will see that the only lee shore to which he can point is the shore of East Kent. But this is out of the question, not only for the reason which I have just given, but also for others:—first, the ships had been making for East Kent, but when the storm arose they could not keep their course; secondly, the ships with which we are concerned were swept down towards 'the lower and more westerly part of the island'. When they were running in what was, as Mr. Wightman himself says, a 'south-westerly direction' and before what he rightly calls 'a north-easter',[1] they were evidently in no danger of striking either the British coast or the Gallic coast;[2] and the nearest lee shore was the shore of Central America, or, possibly, one of the Bermudas! Mr. Wightman insists that '*deici* applied to ships refers, not to their scudding before a gale with plenty of sea-room . . . but to their being swept down upon some danger point to leeward'. It may refer to either: anyhow in this case the 'danger point' was 3,000 miles or more away.

'Yet', continues Mr. Wightman, 'aside from all this, Mr. Holmes's theory breaks down on internal evidence. If two methods of procedure were open to the Gallic sailors—either to run before the wind or lie to—why, I ask, after pursuing the former method for a time, did they subsequently anchor?' Evidently, I reply, because

[1] A wind blowing from the north-east off Walmer or Kingsdown would be diverted a point or two southward off the south coast.

[2] Caesar's words—*ad inferiorem . . . deicerentur*—show that the course of the ships was roughly parallel with the British coast, not diagonal in the direction of Cape La Hague. Moreover, I need hardly say that the skippers had no intention of running 170 miles.

they did not want to be driven into the Atlantic and did want to land the cavalry. 'If', Mr. Wightman continues, 'there was plenty of sea-room . . . no real sailor, having once started to run before the wind, would ever think of casting anchor except he had got into some sheltered position.' Precisely what these Gallic sailors had done; that is to say, they had got into a *comparatively* sheltered position. There are several points off the southern coast of Kent where, owing to the high ground, the force of a north-easterly gale would have been in some measure broken, though, as it turned out, the shelter was not enough. But, Mr. Wightman insists, 'to anchor was a blunder, and blunder number two if the vessels had really been running before the wind, for by so doing the shipmasters had not only wasted time and effort but had put themselves in a position which, as regards laying their course back to the continent, was much worse than that they occupied when it came on to blow. They were now forced to close-haul from a point just so much further dead to leeward. Compared with their fellows in the other group of transports what a mess they had made of it—according to Mr. Holmes.'

Yes and, what is more important, according to Caesar. Certainly to anchor was a blunder, in the sense that it was an attempt which failed,—a blunder which the 'shipmasters' committed because they clung to the hope of being able to achieve the object of their voyage by landing the cavalry, which Caesar was anxiously awaiting. How much further to leeward they were when they began 'to close-haul' we do not know,—perhaps not more than a few miles; and since they got safely back to the continent, what did it matter? But what is truly amazing is that Mr. Wightman fails to see that if, as he maintains, they did not commit this 'blunder' and if, as he implies, the vessels had not 'really been running before the wind', they acted in exactly the same way as 'the other group of transports', whereas it is clear from Caesar's narrative that they acted quite differently. The only way of escape open to Mr. Wightman is to suppose that the 'shipmasters', with their eyes open, allowed their ships to drift helplessly towards 'some danger point to leeward', but at last, when the danger of striking became imminent, woke up and put them on the other tack! Let us see how Mr. Wightman absolves them from the charge of having 'made a mess of it'. 'I venture', he says, 'to suggest that anchors were not thrown out at all; that the ablative absolute [*ancoris iactis*] here puts a hypothetical case merely; that *tamen* sets over against their [the seamen's]

present peril the danger involved in casting anchor . . . that the subjunctive *complerentur* is one of Ideal Certainty, being future to a past tense. . . . Accordingly I should render "And though they were to cast anchor, still since in that case they would fill, these latter, as their only resource, standing to sea even in the face of night, headed for the continent".'

Can the reader follow Mr. Wightman's argument? He asserts that the transports 'had been caught by a gale . . . on a lee shore. What', he asks, 'was to be done? Two courses of action were open—to cast anchor, or to put to sea'. Mr. Wightman says that they did not cast anchor: therefore he evidently means that they put to sea. Certainly they put to sea,—'in the face of night'; but, whether they anchored or not, before they put to sea 'they were swept down *magno suo cum periculo* towards the lower and more westerly part of the island'. Evidently, then, when they stood out to sea 'in the face of night' they *were* 'forced to close-haul from a point just so much further dead to leeward', and the shipmasters *had* 'put themselves in a position which, as regards laying their course back to the continent, was much worse than that they occupied when it came on to blow'. But, I repeat, since they were swept towards 'the lower and more westerly part of the island'—in other words, down the Channel—there was no 'danger point to leeward' within 3,000 miles. What, then, was this 'danger point to leeward'? What was the 'lee shore'? We have seen that, if it existed at all, it could only have been East Kent. But Mr. Wightman will hardly maintain that East Kent was 'the more westerly part of the island' or that the shipmasters would have been mad enough to let the ships drift towards East Kent even for one minute. If the wind had blown them towards that 'danger point', they would immediately have acted like their comrades of 'the other group' and made for the continent.

APPENDIX G

On vi, 21-4

CAESAR's description of the manners and customs of the Germans is perhaps not altogether trustworthy: for he only spent a few weeks in Germany, never moving far from the Rhine; we may suppose that he depended for information principally upon Gallic traders (i, 39, § 1), though he may have learned something from the friendly Ubii; and it would seem that he ascribed to the Germans

in general the characteristics which, according to his informants, belonged to the Suebi. It has been argued that the nomadic tribes of whom he speaks (i, 36, § 7; iv, 1, § 2; 4, §§ 1–2) could not have practised the agriculture which is described in iv, 1, §§ 4–6; but does not he himself expressly say (iv, 1, § 2) that they were prevented from doing so? See W. Fleischmann, *Caesar . . . und die Deutsche Landwirtschaft*, 1911, and the reviews of that work in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1913, col. 74–6, and *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1913, p. 60.

APPENDIX H

On vii, 3, § 1

CAESAR was evidently prepared on occasion to pay for the corn which he requisitioned from the Gallic tribes; for in i, 16, § 6 he writes *graviter eos accusat, quod, cum* [frumentum] *neque e m i neque ex agris sumi possit* &c.; and the *negotiatores* who had settled at Cenabum may have contracted, as *negotiatores* did under the Empire, to supply the army. On the other hand, he of course took without payment from rebellious tribes the corn which he required. Probably he only paid when he could not afford to give offence. Cf. v, 41, § 5 and Tacitus, *Agricola*, 19.

APPENDIX I

HOW TO VISIT CAESAR'S BATTLE-FIELDS, ETC.

THE 'sheets' which I recommend belong, when no scale is mentioned, to the *Carte de France* ($\frac{1}{200000}$). The scale $\frac{1}{80000}$ is that of the *Carte de l'État-Major*.

It would be well worth while to visit the Musée des Antiquités Nationales (especially Salle XIII) at St. Germain-en-Laye, which may be reached from Paris (St. Lazare) in 40 minutes. The various sites which I recommend are

1. Bibracte (Mont Beuvray).—Paris (Gare de Lyon) to Étang, changing at Nevers. From Étang drive to St. Léger-sous-Beuvray. Sheet 41.

2. Armecy (i, 24, § 1).—Étang to Toulon-sur-Arroux. Or drive from St. Léger-sous-Beuvray. Sheet 41, or sheet 136 SE. ($\frac{1}{80000}$).

3. The probable site of the battle with Ariovistus (i, 48, § 1).—Strasburg to Rappoltsweiler (43 minutes). The alternative site mentioned in my note is near Thann, 39 minutes from Mühlhausen. Sheets 28 and 36.

4. Mauchamp and Pontavert (ii, 8, §§ 3–5).—Paris (Gare du Nord) to Soissons: thence by light railway to Pontavert, changing at Roucy. From the plateau of Chaudardes walk or drive to Mauchamp. Return to Soissons by train from Berry-au-Bac. Sheet 17.

5. The battle-field of Neuf-Mesnil (ii, 18, § 1).—Paris (Gare du Nord) to Hautmont or Maubeuge, which may also be reached without changing from Namur or Huy (the station near Mont Falhize). Sheet 5.

6. Namur and Mont Falhize (ii, 29, § 2).—See p. 409.

7. Octodurus (Martigny) is accessible by rail either from Lausanne or from Chamonix. See the first note on iii, 1, § 6 and p. 434 (Veragri).

8. Atuatuca.—The site, as I have shown (p. 407), is uncertain. Tongres, with which it is generally identified, may be reached in 45 minutes from Liège. The supposed *magna convallis* (v, 32, § 1), close to Koninxheim, is less than two miles south-west of Tongres.

9. Avaricum (Bourges) may be reached without changing from Paris (Quai d'Orsay). For the surrounding country see sheet 122 ($\frac{1}{80000}$).

10. Gergovia.—Paris or Bourges to Clermont-Ferrand. See the second note on vii, 36, § 1. Sheet 52.

11. The site of the cavalry combat with Vercingetorix.—Near Dijon. See the second note on vii, 68, § 2. Sheet 34.

12. Alesia (Mont Auxois).—Paris (Gare de Lyon) or Dijon to Les Laumes. Sheet 34.

13. Mont St. Marc (viii, 9, § 2; 20, § 1).—Paris (Gare du Nord) to Compiègne for Choisy: Compiègne to Rethondes (9 minutes) for Mont St. Marc. Sheet 33 NW. ($\frac{1}{80000}$).

14. Uxellodunum (pp. 432–3).—Paris (Quai d'Orsay) to St. Denis-près-Martel. Change at Limoges. Sheet 183 SE. ($\frac{1}{80000}$).

Mr. Scholefield, of 54, Bedford Square, W. C., has constructed for me and in accordance with my notes (iv, 17) a model on the scale of $\frac{1}{48}$ of one truss of Caesar's bridge over the Rhine, and is prepared to send a facsimile of it for 10*s.* 6*d.* (post free) to any of my readers who may care to possess one.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF NOTES

[Only those notes are included which readers might not be able to find easily without help. Very few of the critical notes are indexed.]

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

Page 2, ll. 1, 14, 19. *For* Garumna *read* Garunna.

p. 10, l. 8. *For* conentur . . . possit *read* conarentur . . . posset.

p. 10. The last foot-note may be deleted, as I prefer to accept the reading of ρ.

p. 44, l. 7. *For* contingant, hunc *read* contingant. Hunc

p. 47, ll. 11–12. *For* sublevarint *read* sublevarent.

p. 47. The fifth foot-note should run as follows :—*sublevarent.* Morus proposed *sublevarint* ; but cf. v, 10, § 2.

p. 49, l. 7. *For* dubitet *read* dubitaret.

p. 49. The third foot-note should run as follows :—*dubitaret*, following *sequatur*, may seem anomalous ; but it would be rash to accept the emendation, *dubitet.*

p. 55, l. 4. *For* iis *read* his.

p. 55, l. 11. *For* sese *read* se. See Klotz, *C. S.*, p. 237.

p. 56. The second foot-note should run as follows :—*adequitare, lapides . . . coicere.* For the Asyndeton cf. iii, 14, § 1 ; v, 39, § 3 ; 52, § 5 ; vii, 90, § 1.

p. 68, l. 5. *For* iis *read* his.

p. 86, l. 12. *For* sese *read* se. See Klotz, *C. S.*, p. 226.

p. 105, l. 17, and p. 110, l. 7. *For* Coriosolites *read* Coriosolitas.

p. 119, l. 11. *Delete* impeditos. In β it is omitted.

p. 127, l. 6. *For* Garumni *read* Garunni.

p. 133, l. 20. *For* iis *read* his.

p. 185, l. 2. *For* ipsa *read* ipsi. See Klotz, *C. S.*, p. 45, n. 2.

p. 189, l. 11. *For* his *read* iis.

The first volume of Meusel's revision of Kraner's edition has just appeared, and some of the foregoing corrections are due to his arguments. On the other hand, he has abandoned various emendations, &c., which I had already rejected (i, 12, § 2 ; 14, § 4 ; 30, § 2 ; 31, § 11 ; 46, §§ 1, 4 ; 47, § 2 ; ii, 23, § 3 ; iii, 20, § 4 ; 22, § 1 ; iv, 17, § 6 ; 33, § 1) and adopted one which I had accepted (i, 24, §§ 2-3).

Of the following additional notes those to which an asterisk is prefixed supplement or modify existing foot-notes :—

i, 1, § 2. *dividit.* The singular is used because the Seine, being fed by the Marne, is regarded as forming with it one whole, or perhaps because each river is thought of separately, and the verb referred to the nearest subject.

2, § 1. It is doubtful whether (omnibus) *copiis* is equivalent to *militibus* or to the Greek πανδημεί (men, women, and children) or to *opibus.* Meusel decides for *opibus,* remarking that this is what *copiae* means in Caesar when it does not mean 'troops'. But when Ariovistus *praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit* (48, § 2), the *copiae* evidently included, or were accompanied by, women and children, though Caesar may only have been thinking of the troops. See 51, § 3.

*19, § 4. The note on *simul* (p. 23) is perhaps hardly clear. I meant that *simul* is not here equivalent to *eodem tempore*, but that *simul* . . . *et* is equivalent to *et* . . . *et*. Meusel may be right in supposing that Caesar had already said things which it was unnecessary to particularize (*cum eo colloquitur*), and therefore that *simul* is equivalent to *praeterea*; but I believe that *simul* . . . *iubeat* (§§ 4–5) gives the gist of all that he said.

*30, § 2. Meusel now admits that Caesar may have written *terra Gallia*, for similar phrases are frequent in Livy.

31, § 15. *sumat* does not mean the same as *sumpturus sit*. The present tense shows that the punishment which Ariovistus was expected to inflict was imminent. See the note on ii, 32, § 15.

*35, § 4. Meusel now admits doubtfully that 'si id (ita fecisset)' may be genuine, for *id ita* occurs in Cicero (*Att.*, ii, 24, § 3; v, 8, § 2; &c.).

Meusel suggests that *quod* may here be equivalent to *quoad*, in which sense the word is used by Varro.

45, § 1. *pati ut*. *Patior* never takes a subjunctive except in negative sentences, and rarely in them.

ii. 16, § 1. *triduum*. The reading of *β*—*triduo*—may be right; for when Caesar uses an accusative of time, the verb generally connotes uninterrupted duration: but there is an exception in i, 48, § 3.

*33, § 2. *viminibus intextis*. On reconsideration I conclude that *intextis* agrees with *scutis* and that *viminibus* is instrumental.

*35, § 1. *incolerent*. Meusel now adopts Schneider's explanation of this subjunctive,—'even such tribes as dwelt'. He explains similarly the subjunctives in ii, 27, §§ 1, 4.

iii. 9, § 7. *vastissimo atque apertissimo* is open to suspicion; for the MSS. differ greatly. In *β* *vastissimo atque* is omitted: *vastissimo* is inserted in *π* before *mari*: and *χ* omits *atque apertissimo*.

*10, § 2. *equitum R. marcrum*. Military tribunes, as such, had equestrian rank.

11, § 5. *Gallisque navibus . . . iusserat*. M. Jullian (*H. G.*, iii, 292) thinks that the ships which Caesar borrowed from the Pictones and Santoni were used for transport [of grain?]; but is it not possible that he may have thought it advisable to include in his fleet some ships of native build?

13, §§ 7–9. These sentences were condemned as an interpolation by W. A. Hecker, who is now followed by Meusel. The weightiest reasons are that the passage contains statements which have been already made in the same chapter and others which are repeated in the next; that § 9 is obscure and illogical, for the words *et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cotes timerent* have no real connexion with the preceding words, *cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent*, which describe what took place in the open sea; and finally that, as commonly happens in interpolated passages, the readings of *α* and *β* differ widely. Every careful reader will have noticed these things; and the passage is at least suspicious.

*18, § 1. *auxilii causa*. Perhaps the Gaul whom Sabinus employed was a foot-soldier, for Crassus raised auxiliary infantry in Gaul before he invaded Aquitania (20, § 2); but this is the only passage in which Caesar mentions Gallic auxiliary infantry.

*23, § 7. It has been suggested as an alternative explanation that *quod si* may be merely a connecting particle like *Quod si* (i, 14, § 3).

, 9, § 2. *interea.* Even in an English translation 'meanwhile' might conveniently come first in the sentence; for, though *interea* properly belongs to *moveret*, it also serves as a connecting particle. If it had been placed after *ne*, another particle would be indispensable.

§ 1. *orabant.* Schneider remarks that if the envoys had made only one request, and not also that denoted by *petebant*, Caesar would have written *oraverunt.* I doubt it: cf. vii, 78, § 4. The imperfect seems to me to show that the request was urgently reiterated.

, § 7. The mere fact that Commius was arrested on landing (27, § 8) proves nothing, for the tribes of South-Eastern Britain were divided into antagonistic groups (*A. B.*, p. 300); and if Caesar wrote *his*, not *iis* (which is constantly confounded with it), *his regionibus* may mean North-Eastern Gaul *and* South-Eastern Britain, which were united by the closest ties (*ib.*, pp. 299-300).

, § 9. *auderet.* It has been said that the legionaries on board the galley could have protected Volusenus! What sort of a fight could a few legionaries have made? Volusenus, with all his faults, was no coward.

, § 3. *angustis.* I might have added that, as Meusel himself remarks, *prognati* (ii, 29, § 4) is poetical, and that Caesar uses *brevitas* (ii, 30, § 4) in a sense which is elsewhere only found in poets and late writers.

§ 2. *frumentum.* Though standing corn is generally denoted by the plural, there is an exception in iv, 32, § 4. Perhaps, however, as Meusel suggests, the corn which Caesar 'brought in daily from the fields' had already been cut and stacked by the Britons.

, § 3. *per temonem . . . consuerint.* Meusel, remarking that *uti in declivi . . . flectere* undoubtedly refers to the drivers, maintains that they, and not the warriors, must have run along the pole. What for? They were not performing in a circus. The earlier words, *Ita mobilitatem . . . in proeliis*, evidently refer to the warriors as well as the drivers; and it is clear that the subject of the whole sentence is *essedarii*, i.e. warriors *and* drivers. Which of the two is to be thought of as the subject of each verb, is left to the reader's common sense.

§ 1. *perturbatis nostris.* Meusel, who agrees with me, remarks that with *auxilium ferre* Caesar generally uses a dative.

§ 5. *equitatus* includes *essedarii* (33, § 1.)

, § 2. Schneider argues that *nostro mari*, by which most readers would assume that Caesar meant the Mediterranean, was only that part of it which lay between Italy and Spain: but the passages which he cites (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 17, § 4; 18, § 4; Livy, xxvi, 42, § 4; xxviii, 1, § 3) only prove that the Western Mediterranean was part of *nostrum mare*; long before Caesar's time the Eastern Mediterranean had been a highway of traffic with Italy; and Pomponius Mela (i, 1, §§ 6-7) says that the whole expanse between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Sea of Azof was called *Nostrum mare.* Besides, if Schneider was right, Caesar distinguished between the ships that sailed the Western Mediterranean and those that were used in the various waters of the East, which is improbable: *reliquis maribus* means all the waters navigated by the Romans, except the Atlantic.

vi, 4, § 3. Schneider says that *instantis belli* depends not upon upon *tempus* understood; but may one not compare *temporis ista oratio est*?

13, § 1. *omni Gallia* perhaps includes the country of the Belgae, in ii, 1, § 2 it means the country of the Celtae the note on § 11.

vii, 15, § 4. *prope*, though it usually precedes the adjective qualifies, belongs to *pulcherrimam*.

*77, § 6. My foot-note on this sentence is somewhat mislead *dignitas* here means 'authority' or 'distinction' abstract, and *tantum apud me dignitas potest* may be by 'so highly do I respect authority', though Critognatus had in mind the authority of th advocated the view which he had opposed.

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